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## ERRATA.

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### INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME VII.

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This Report has been prepared and edited, on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, by MR. WALTER FITZPATRICK. The Index has been compiled by MR. R. H. BRODIE.

## INTRODUCTION.

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THE correspondence contained in this volume covers a period of eleven months—from the beginning of February, 1806, to the end of that year. It deals with only a part of the brief life of the "All the Talents" Ministry. For although the entire existence of that Administration did not quite extend to sixteen months, the papers left by Lord Grenville to illustrate its various aims, phases, and aspects exceed the compass of an ordinary volume. This Preface is therefore only a survey of the points of its foreign and domestic policy which chiefly claim the reader's attention during the year 1806.

Perhaps no Ministry was ever formed in England under greater difficulties, arising partly from its own discordant elements, partly from other conditions of the political situation. Fox and Grenville had been strenuously opposed for twenty years on the two main questions of British policy during that period—the course pursued by Great Britain in regard to the French Revolution, and in regard to Ireland. And although a common sense of the public needs had led them to combine against the Addington administration, yet when Pitt returned to office to carry on war with greater vigour against Napoleon, the old divergence of opinion on foreign policy revived in full force. A letter written by Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Buckingham on January 7, 1806, on the very eve of the meeting of Parliament, expresses the intense repugnance with which he shrank from a proposal to join Fox in turning out Pitt and forming a new Ministry.<sup>1</sup> It was only, indeed, on learning a few days later Fox's view that England, since the defeat of Austerlitz, had no longer any option but to pursue the war, that he yielded to the proposal, in deference to the advice of his brother and other political friends. Again, both Fox and Grenville had treated Lord Sidmouth, whom they now invited to join them on the principle of giving the new government the widest possible basis, with an avowed contempt which had been deeply resented by him and his followers, and which it was not easy for even a good-natured but vainglorious political leader to forgive. Moreover, they both differed from him irremediably on Irish policy, the most urgent and important domestic question of the day. The new Ministry could expect little support from the King. This was one of the worst aspects of the situation. The whole tenor of his reign must have brought clearly to their minds that an English administration distasteful to

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<sup>1</sup> *Court and Cabinets of George III.*

George III. was a house built on the sand. And his dislike of the one which had now been forced on him sprang from personal as well as political motive. His hatred of Fox was a plant of ancient growth, with many and deep roots. Lord Grenville's imperious and unbending temper had often chafed his own during the last years of Pitt's great ministry. It seems to have brought vividly to his Majesty's mind the intolerable yoke of George Grenville in the early days of his reign. Not only had Fox and Lord Grenville championed the cause of Catholic emancipation, their political programme included as a prominent feature the reform of military administration, bringing that department of public business more directly under the control of a responsible Minister. But the King resented such an interference with the army as an invasion of the royal prerogative. It was only, indeed, on receiving an explicit assurance from Lord Grenville that no change of the existing system would be attempted without his previous concurrence, that he accepted the new Administration, which found in his favourite son, the Duke of York, a vigilant enemy, entrenched at the Horse Guards. Its accession to office the Duke declared to be "a public calamity."<sup>1</sup> Nor could it hope to derive much advantage from the ostentatious patronage of the Prince of Wales. The Prince's unpopularity, his unstable character, his manifest desire to use the Ministry for his own ends, and especially to rid him of his wife, whose indiscretions had already become notorious, made his favour, to Lord Grenville at least, more often embarrassing than helpful. Then in regard to the distribution of offices, as the number of candidates with valid claims far exceeded the places available, selection necessarily provoked jealousies and ill-humour.

It was perhaps with the view of assuaging the pangs of exclusion by spreading them over a wider area that the Cabinet was limited at first to eleven members. His great position and unrivalled qualifications assigned to Fox the lead of the House of Commons and the conduct of foreign affairs. An equally unanimous call compelled Lord Grenville to take the Treasury, much against his will. There was nothing of political coquetry in this reluctance. For, besides his deep and even painful sense of the want of some of the qualities that go to the making of a leader of men, there was a peculiar circumstance which seemed even to not unfriendly critics to disable him from filling the office. Twelve years before, he had accepted from Pitt the permanent post of Auditor of the Exchequer on the understanding that he should not draw its salary in addition to his emoluments as Secretary of State.<sup>2</sup> It was a provision against retirement from active service. The Auditorship had been created, as Mr. Rose pointed out in the House of Commons, to

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of the Earl of Malmesbury.*

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, Vol. III, p. 27.

form an independent check on public expenditure, and therefore its duties could not properly be discharged by a First Lord of the Treasury. But as Lord Grenville had little private fortune of his own, he could not afford to give it up. After some unpleasant wrangling in the House of Commons, Mr. Percival, the Attorney General, suggested a way out of the difficulty, which Fox adopted. Parliament passed a Bill appointing a trustee responsible to itself for the discharge of the functions of Auditor, and responsible for the official income to Lord Grenville. This impediment being removed, Lord Grenville became Prime Minister, and other vacancies were gradually filled up. Fox brought into the Cabinet Mr. Grey, soon afterwards known as Lord Howick in consequence of an earldom being conferred on his father, as First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Moira as Master of the Ordnance; and Lord Henry Petty, a younger son of his old antagonist the Marquis of Lansdowne, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Grenville introduced his old colleagues Lord Spencer as Secretary for Home Affairs, and Mr. Windham as Secretary for the Colonies and War. Both leaders welcomed Lord FitzWilliam as President of the Council. The high office of Lord Chancellor having been refused by the Master of the Rolls and by the Chief Justice, Lord Ellenborough, fell to Mr. Erskine, a somewhat unsteady Whig, the most famous advocate at the English Bar, but in low repute as a lawyer. Lord Sidmouth, having a considerable following in the House of Commons, claimed two seats in the Cabinet. He intended them for himself and his principal adherent Lord Buckinghamshire, who had sat in the Addington Cabinet as War Secretary, and afterwards with him for a few months in the Cabinet of Pitt. But Lord Buckinghamshire seems to have incurred such general dislike, without acquiring reputation as an efficient Minister, that he was shunted by general consent to the subordinate post of Joint Postmaster with Lord Carysford; and to satisfy the claims of Sidmouth, now Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough was selected to complete the Cabinet. This arrangement, for which the case of Lord Mansfield was thought to afford a not too remote precedent, provoked severe comment in both Houses of Parliament, and added little to the strength of the Government. In regard to employments below Cabinet rank, Lord Grenville showed himself mindful of old obligations, and contributed to his own ease at the Treasury, by making Lord Auckland President of the Board of Trade. The arrangement satisfied Auckland's personal expectations; and his wide knowledge of matters of commerce and finance, and unusual acquaintance with political eddies and undercurrents, enabled him on many occasions to give useful advice to the Prime Minister. But many other politicians of great note had to accept posts inferior in rank to their just expectations, or to remain outside the

official circle. Neither Sheridan, as Treasurer of the Navy, nor Lord Minto, as President of the Board of Control, had a seat in the Cabinet. Whitbread, Tierney, Francis, even Thomas Grenville, who more than any other might fairly regard the new Government as his own handiwork, remained in the ranks. And the extravagant pretensions of Lord Sidmouth's followers; nearly all, with the exception of Mr. Vansittart, who became Secretary of the Treasury, men of little ability or weight, excited much angry murmuring among excluded Whigs and Grenvillites.<sup>1</sup> In fact, it required Fox's singular gifts and powers as a political leader, and Grenville's absolute sincerity, and determination at every personal sacrifice to make the experiment a success, to bring their comprehensive non-party system of Government into working order. When established it had to face an outlook in the last degree discouraging. The battle of Austerlitz on December 2, followed immediately by the retreat of the Russian Emperor to St. Petersburg; the treaty of Vienna between France and Prussia on December 15; and that of Presburg between France and Austria on December 28, had laid the Continent at the feet of Napoleon. The French Emperor, now relieved by victory from the financial embarrassments which had so severely hampered his former efforts, was a more formidable adversary than ever. On the other hand, Pitts' lavish war expenditure had strained national credit, without increasing reserves of national strength to repel invasion. In Ireland the Act of Union had aggravated all the causes of disaffection, and put the old machinery of government out of joint.<sup>2</sup>

These various disadvantages were matters of public notoriety. There were other circumstances deriving force from Lord Grenville's personal character and environment, and known to few outside the Ministerial circle, which made for discord, and sometimes even imperilled the stability of his Administration. Although cold and reserved in general intercourse, Lord Grenville's relations with his own family and with one or two particular friends were informed by affection of unusual depth and sensibility. His devotion to Lord Buckingham, to whose early and constant assistance he attributed mainly the prosperous course of his life, time and the severest trials had only served to augment. The friends to whom he was most attached appear to have been Pitt and Marquis Wellesley. Curiously enough, private sentiment in each of those three cases acted as a disturbing element in his new political relations. Lord Buckingham's character is easily read in the pages of the Dropmore Correspondence. To some amiable and even admirable qualities it united many narrow prejudices which he cherished as principles, a querulous, exacting temper,

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville, February 7.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Redesdale to Mr. Wickham, January 30, p. 35.

and an intense egotism which invested his personal aims with all the importance of great public objects. These aims, or rather claims, had been for many years a dukedom, or as a step to that dignity, a seat in the Cabinet. The former he reluctantly deferred, after repeated refusals by the King. The latter Pitt, warned by a short but painful experience of Lord Buckingham as a colleague in the early days of his first Ministry, contrived to evade by sending him to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, decorating him with the Garter and a marquise, and making his youngest brother Secretary of State. Fox at the formation of the "All the Talents" Ministry won the good-will of the Marquis by offering him a seat in the new Cabinet. Fortunately for all concerned, his family dissuaded him from accepting the proposal on the ground of his failing health. But as chief of the Grenville interest, in return for this self-denial and his constant solicitude for their advancement, he jealously expected from his brothers, what they indeed willingly gave in all ordinary circumstances, entire confidence in regard to their public views and aims, general deference to his advice, and a large share of the official patronage at their disposal. This habit of mind took no account of Lord Grenville's altered position as Prime Minister, of the absorbing anxieties of a man morbidly conscious of its responsibilities, and reticent from a sense of its obligations. The silence of official pre-occupation and restraint soon aroused in the Marquis unjust suspicions of ingratitude, which found vent in bitter reproaches. Lord Grenville's answer discloses a state of mental agony under this treatment which is almost incredible.<sup>1</sup> He solemnly protests before heaven that it was only in deference to the Marquis that he had accepted an office which had proved to be a bed of torture, and which he would quit at the first opportunity. And in a touching appeal he implores his brother not to aggravate his misery by depriving him of the fraternal affection which had been the chief happiness of his life. Lord Temple, the Marquis's eldest son, appears to have shared his father's feeling of discontent. But Thomas Grenville, who, although inferior to the Prime Minister in ability, excelled both his brethren in amiability and in generous instincts, and who now served the ministry from which he had been excluded with unselfish devotion, exerted all his influence as peace-maker; and seems gradually to have brought Lord Buckingham, for a time at least, to a more rational frame of mind.

As to jars produced by collision between Lord Grenville's affection for Pitt and the political views of some of his colleagues, it will perhaps surprise some readers of this volume to learn that, owing to what Fox termed his "unreasonable personal delicacies," he was quite prepared to break up the new government rather than suffer any slur to be cast, even by

<sup>1</sup> Lord Grenville to Marquis of Buckingham, May 9, 1806. — *Court and Cabinets of George III.*

implication, on the administrations of his old leader; not only on the first, of which he had himself been a member, but even on the second, to which he had been publicly opposed. Flagrant abuses appear to have crept into the practice of granting reversions of lucrative offices. Lord Henry Petty as Chancellor of the Exchequer, after discussing the matter with the Prime Minister, gave notice in the House of Commons of motions to abate the evil, without, so far as appears, reflecting on any individual. But this well-meant proceeding elicited an excited letter from Grenville to Fox dated February 28, and Fox's admirable reply of March 1. Again, not Fox alone, but members of the Government not belonging to his party, indignant at what they considered the desperate straits to which the country had been brought by Pitt's reckless policy, represented to Lord Grenville that the Ministry owed it to the public and to themselves to fix the blame of the situation on the authors of it.<sup>1</sup> This seemed the more needful as Pitt's colleagues, in their anxiety to shift the odium of failure to the Austrian Government, had challenged discussion by hastily presenting to Parliament a selection of official papers relating to the late Coalition; thereby giving just offence to the Emperor of Russia and other foreign powers concerned, whose consent had not been asked.<sup>2</sup> Grenville's answer to Fox on this occasion is excellent in tone and in argument, and put an end to further discussion on the subject. It speaks well for the spirit which guided the Cabinet that, in deference to sensibilities, with which probably not one of them really sympathised, all Lord Grenville's colleagues should have refrained, often under considerable provocation, from any hostile criticism of the policy or conduct of their predecessors and opponents.

Pitt was only a passing difficulty among Ministers new to each other and to office: Lord Wellesley was a permanent cause of strife, that never ceased from troubling the Administration. He was Lord Grenville's earliest and most intimate friend; the most highly gifted by nature, the most richly endowed by education and taste, of a remarkable Irish family. Nearly of the same age, close companions at Eton and Oxford, William Grenville and Lord Mornington had both entered public life in the dawn of manhood. And when Grenville began his official career as Chief Secretary of his eldest brother Lord Temple, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, under the Shelburne Ministry, Mornington, who then figured in Irish politics as a patriot of the school of Grattan, linked his political fortunes with those of the English party to which his friend belonged, and became the exponent of its policy in the Irish House of Lords.<sup>3</sup> Grenville introduced him to Lord Temple and to Pitt, both of whom were captivated

<sup>1</sup> Auckland to Grenville, February 10. Fox to Grenville, April 18.

<sup>2</sup> Lord G. L. Gower to Fox, March 2.—F.O. Despatches.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to Vol. I, p. xv.



by his brilliant and attractive qualities. Through the interest of Temple, now Marquis of Buckingham, he obtained a seat in the British House of Commons. Pitt rescued him from the slough of Irish politics, by placing him at the Treasury Board and at the Board of Control; and finally sent him to India as Governor General. Nor was this all. If a somewhat obscure family, without wealth or political influence, could boast of the unique distinction of four brothers obtaining six English and two Irish peerages, ranging from baron to duke, for eminent services to the Crown, this result was, in the three most conspicuous cases, due in large measure to Grenville's steady friendship, which opened to them opportunities of service and advancement in the earlier stages of their careers when such help was most needed. Lord Mornington's letters in this collection overflow with grateful acknowledgment of favours thus conferred.

When Mornington sailed for India, in November, 1797, the East India Company was heavily burthened with debt, resulting from French rivalry, and the devastating inroads of Hyder Ali, Sultan of Mysore. Peace and retrenchment were therefore the chief aims of its policy. Lord Cornwallis had done much to promote them by his victories over Tippoo, Hyder Ali's successor, in a war forced on the Company; by the friendly relations he had cultivated with the other independent princes of India; and by an economical administration. His successor was expected to tread in his footsteps. But neither the hour nor the man favoured those aspirations. Although French power in India had been utterly broken, there was good ground for suspicion that intrigues with the object of restoring it were carried on by the Governor of the Mauritius with native rulers, several of whom employed French officers to train their armies. Early in 1798 Bonaparte invaded Egypt. Rumours of vast schemes of conquest he meditated, embracing the subjugation of India, found ready credence in the excited fears of ruling English politicians. Of those fears and suspicions, Mornington, a man of ardent imagination and imperial views, ambitious of fame, and conscious of great ability, had his full share. Under the strange dual system devised by Pitt, or suggested by Dundas, as a substitute for Burke's great India Bill, the Governor-General found himself at once chief servant of a trading corporation, which had, as particular objects, reduction of debt and increase of dividends, and guardian of the interests of the British Crown. As was natural to a man of Mornington's character, the larger duties of his office engrossed all his attention. He bent all his thoughts and energy to baffle French designs, and to secure British supremacy by extending it over the entire peninsula. In the pursuit of that policy he displayed a capacity for large conceptions, a fertility of resource in carrying them into execution, which might have moved the admiration

of Bonaparte himself. For a long time they commanded success. His brothers, Henry, who had adopted diplomacy as a profession under Lord Grenville's auspices and accompanied Mornington to India as private secretary; and Arthur, who now won his first laurels in war, were among the chief instruments he employed. Having first by the conquest of Mysore swept away the only formidable foe of British rule in southern India, he initiated, or adopted, the system of bringing all the native princes into dependence on the Company by compelling them to receive British Residents in their capitals, and to cede part of their territory to supply revenue for the payment of native armies commanded by British officers. But he seems to have pursued this comprehensive scheme with a disregard for existing treaties, for the authority and situation of the East India Company, even for an Act of Parliament passed by Pitt himself disabling a Governor-General from engaging in offensive warfare without the concurrence of his Council, that could not fail to bring him trouble in England. The same imperial spirit pervaded every part of his administration; his style of living, his public buildings, his admirable but costly scheme for the education of Indian civil servants. Mindful only of what seemed to him befitting the ruler of a great empire, he assumed a state and magnificence altogether unknown to his predecessors; which seemed to aim at recalling to the native mind the vanished glories of Aurungzeebe. Unfortunately also, prosperity and the adulation that attends it, forced out into baneful luxuriance the weaknesses of his character. Vanity, clamorous for applause and honours, exaggerating desert, resenting fair criticism as unjust depreciation, engrossed, and banished all the old charm of his letters from, those written by him in India to Pitt and Grenville. Personal grievances bemoaned in them as supremely tragical only appeal to the reader's sense of the ridiculous, as mole-hills magnified into mountains. He complained bitterly of the Irish marquisate conferred on him after the conquest of Mysore, instead of an English marquisate conferred on his predecessor, Lord Cornwallis, not only as a personal affront, but as a blow struck at British supremacy by degrading him in the eyes of all India; as if India knew or cared about the difference. In these melancholy revelations of character the vivid imagination remains in full force, but we do not find a trace of the lively humour which chastened it in his earlier letters to Grenville, and combined with it to make them so delightful. The Company, finding its patronage usurped, its regulations over-ridden, its revenues dissipated in what it considered wasteful display, its debt increased from 13 millions to over 30 millions sterling, did not conceal its dissatisfaction. The directors annulled the Governor-General's (now Marquis Wellesley) irregular appointments; censured his extravagance and usurpation of authority; refused to sanction his new scheme of education

as involving expenditure they could not afford. But while success continued to crown his aggressive policy towards the native chiefs, they paid homage to his great public services by refusing to accept his proffered resignation. This policy, however, found able opponents in the British Parliament. Francis, the old accuser of Warren Hastings, and other members of the House of Commons conversant with Indian affairs, made Wellesley's dealings with the native princes a subject of inquiry and hostile comment. In the House of Lords, on the other hand, his whole administration had an enthusiastic champion and panegyrist in Lord Grenville, who lost no opportunity of exalting its merits, and could see in it no defect. At length, in 1804, a terrible reverse, which, through a blunder of Lord Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, befel the British arms in conflict with the Mahratta chief Holkar, exhausted the forbearance of the East India Company. Pitt found it necessary to recall Wellesley. And at the united solicitation of the British Government and the Board of Directors, Lord Cornwallis, now old and worn with long service, returned to India to repair a misfortune which threatened the most disastrous consequences.

It should be said, however, that although his craving for applause betrayed a certain want of strength and elevation in Wellesley's character, there was nothing in it mean or sordid. He never indulged his weakness at the expense of any who co-operated loyally in his labours. In his dealings with subordinates, he showed himself generous alike in awarding praise for success, and in assuming responsibility for failure. And although he may have expended the revenues of the Company with, as they thought, too profuse a hand, no suspicion attached to him of diverting a fraction of them to enrich himself or serve any purpose of his own. In fact his personal disinterestedness passed the bounds of prudence. He refused a grant of 100,000*l.* made to him by the Company from the spoils of Seringapatam, in order not to diminish the prize-money of the army employed in the siege. Lord Cornwallis was able to say in one of his letters that after providing liberally for every expense that concerned the dignity and splendour of his great office, he had been able to save 90,000*l.* from its appointments. Wellesley went to India poor, and after remaining as Governor-General for an equal period, returned no richer than he went.

Wellesley arrived in England barely in time to take a last leave of Pitt. His subsequent career was a long course of disappointment. Autocratic rule had, in fact, unfitted him for the rough struggles of English party life, with its limited aims, its constant checks, and partial successes. Coming home with a dominating sense of the great part he had played, the little interest his arrival aroused beyond a large circle of private friends, mortified him exceedingly. Englishmen in general, engrossed by the stupendous conflict which

convulsed Europe, in those days of Ulm, Trafalgar and Austerlitz, had little attention to spare for remote and obscure struggles in Asia. Lord Grenville at once invited the help of his old friend in forming an administration, and Wellesley accepted a seat in the new Cabinet. At first there seemed to be no obstacle to this arrangement. The board of directors, satisfied by Wellesley's recall, and, after the untimely death of Cornwallis, by the temporary appointment of Sir George Barlow, a permanent servant of their own, as Governor-General, did not carry the quarrel further. Francis and other Whig members, influenced by the Prince of Wales and by personal hopes which the return of their party to power inspired, refrained from further proceedings against the late Governor-General in the House of Commons. But the cause of the native princes found an advocate in Mr. Paull, an almost unknown member, who had recently returned from India deeply impressed by the wrongs of the Nabob of Oude. Lord Wellesley contended that this attack on his government was a mere outcome of envy and malice, having as organ an obscure adventurer—"the tailor" Wellesley called him—who aimed at forcing himself into notoriety by an unpatriotic appeal to popular ignorance and prejudice. Lord Grenville, and his nephew Lord Temple, Wellesley's leading champion in the House of Commons, adopted this view of the case without reserve. They wished to quash the charges at once as undeserving of consideration. Neither Lord Sidmouth's followers nor members of the late Ministry lent any countenance to Paull. But Fox, Windham, and other antagonists of Warren Hastings saw the matter in a different light. Without pronouncing an opinion on the case, they held that, in the public interest, grave charges of misgovernment, to which the East India Company lent tacit sanction, should be investigated; and that Paull should have a fair hearing. This opinion, which had much independent support in the House of Commons, including that of the little band composed of Wilberforce, Bankes and others known as "the Saints," prevailed; and excluded Wellesley from the Cabinet until the issue had been determined. Paull's ignorance of the forms of Parliament, and the difficulties thrown in the way of his obtaining copies of the official correspondence he relied on as proving his allegations, protracted the inquiry to an inordinate length. Lord Temple and Sir Arthur Wellesley protested loudly against repeated delays. But Paull's courage and evident sincerity appealed to the equity of the House of Commons, and saved him from being crushed by the powerful forces arrayed against him. The conduct of the defence was taken out of Temple's hands by more judicious advisers on the front Opposition bench, and the final decision was deferred to a future session of Parliament. During all this time Lord Wellesley's intense irritation, working incessantly on the sympathy of the Prime Minister, was a

constant peril to the harmony of the Cabinet. How grave it might become at any moment may be gathered from a correspondence between Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham in June. Mr. Bond, Judge-Advocate-General and a follower of Lord Sidmouth, having expressed an intention to resign, Windham reminded Lord Grenville of the claims of Dr. Lawrence, not only on account of superior qualifications for the office, but also as a valued friend of Burke and of himself, who had been excluded from it when the Ministry was formed by political exigencies. Lord FitzWilliam wrote to press the appointment on the same grounds. But just at this conjuncture Lawrence, during a debate in the House of Commons, condemned Lord Wellesley's policy in India. And Lord Grenville for this reason, while fully admitting the strength of the doctor's claims on Government and his fitness for this particular employment, withheld his consent. This objection drew a warm remonstrance from Windham; and the rejoinder shows with what passionate fervour Grenville espoused the cause "of his oldest and most intimate friend." The dispute was a violent clashing of principle as well as of feeling, the parties to it being unusually tenacious in their friendships and their beliefs. Bond's decision to remain in office probably averted the disruption of the Ministry.

On the whole, however, its early course was smooth. It had the support of public opinion. Opposition in Parliament was disorganised. There was no member of Pitt's last Cabinet sufficiently eminent to fill the vacant place of leader. Many, indeed, of the most considerable men of the Tory party, such as Lords Lonsdale and Carrington, and even Canning, in spite of his restless ambition, looking on Lord Grenville as Pitt's most fitting successor, were willing to give his political experiment a fair trial. Age and infirmity depressed the King's energies and made him desirous of repose. Being unable to form another administration, and having received satisfactory explanations in regard to their projects of army reform, he frankly accepted his new advisers, and discountenanced intrigue against them. Grenville had one able and implacable personal foe, who plotted against the new Government with a hostility that never slept till he wrought its overthrow. This was the Earl of Malmesbury. They had lived many years in close official relations without being friends. But Malmesbury's active enmity was aroused in 1800 by what he regarded, not without reason, as a public slight offered to him by the Foreign Secretary at the close of a long and highly distinguished diplomatic career. During the Conference at Lille in 1797 Malmesbury, representing Great Britain, had secretly concerted with Pitt to accept terms of peace with France precluded by Grenville's official instructions. When the question arose in 1800 of another Congress at Luneville, Grenville, not taking sufficient account of Malmesbury's services and expectations, silently passed him over, and named his brother Thomas Grenville to represent

George III. Malmesbury asked an explanation from Pitt, who made him an Earl. But Lord Grenville's offence rankled in the old diplomatist's mind, and all intercourse between them ceased. In this feeling of aversion originated the theory announced in Malmesbury's *Diary*<sup>1</sup> that Grenville's political course after Mr. Addington's accession to office was governed by an ungrateful desire "to be emancipated from Pitt's supremacy"; that under this "ruling motive," stronger than "ties of blood and past obligations," he formed a connexion with Fox as opening freer scope to his personal ambition. Malmesbury grounds this surmise solely on his own observation. It was, however, the observation of a stranger, and a hostile critic. It had no countenance from Canning, Lord Camden, Lord Chatham, the Bishop of Lincoln, or any other common friend of Pitt and Grenville. The conjecture and the conclusions built on it are disproved by the correspondence published in Volume VII. of the Dropmore Papers. Malmesbury had been of late years in high favour at Court. He lived in close intimacy with the Duke of York, and appears to have exercised almost absolute sway over the feeble will and failing faculties of the Duke of Portland. His interesting *Diary* tells us how he strove in vain to hold Pitt's followers together in organized opposition to his successors; with what vigilant perseverance he intrigued to bring the Coalition Ministry into discredit with the King and the public; and how futile all his efforts proved until the revival of the Catholic question gave him the opportunity which had hitherto been wanting. No doubt, also, this persistent hostility was animated by unavowed ambition. During Pitt's last Ministry, and again when that of the Duke of Portland was forming in 1807, he seems to have cherished the hope, while professing reluctance on the score of increasing deafness, of entering the Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Early in spring 1806 a sudden change came over the political outlook. Great Britain found itself at war with Prussia, and negotiating with France. Count Haugwitz, as has already been told,<sup>2</sup> had been despatched by the King of Prussia at the end of November, 1805, to Napoleon's camp in Moravia to impose on France terms of peace which had been agreed on by the Allied Powers. On December 15, under the influence of the crushing defeat of the coalition at Austerlitz, he concluded at Vienna a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Prussia, which gave the latter power the Electorate of Hanover in exchange for Anspach, Luxembourg and Cleves. But Frederick William III shrank from the shame and odium he must incur at home and abroad by such a sudden change of policy; which, moreover, would involve him in a quarrel with George III., and possibly also with the Emperor Alexander of Russia. By the advice of a Council of State, to which he summoned the Duke of Brunswick and Marshal Mollendorf, he modified the treaty of Vienna in

<sup>1</sup> *Diary and Correspondence*, May 1804.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to Volume VII.

essential particulars before attaching to it his signature. The words "offensive and defensive" preceding "alliance" were struck out, and possession of Hanover was accepted only till the conclusion of a general peace. Haugwitz was despatched on a second mission to Napoleon to obtain his consent to those modifications; official assurances were given to the British Government by Baron Hardenberg that Hanover should not be annexed to Prussia except with the free consent of George III.; and the Duke of Brunswick went to St. Petersburg to explain the necessities of the situation to the Czar, to attenuate as far as possible the meaning of the treaty with France, and to persuade Alexander to become a party to it. Without waiting for Napoleon's answer, Frederick William recalled his troops from the advanced positions they had taken up in Franconia, which were immediately occupied by the French; disbanded half of the army he had called out in the previous autumn; and dismissed the Russian auxiliaries the Czar had sent to his aid. Haugwitz, however, met with a rough reception in Paris. Napoleon declared the treaty of Vienna at an end, and would only consent to renew it on harder conditions. Hanover, he declared, was a French conquest, which the King of Prussia must accept from him unconditionally or not at all; and in return for it must join France in war against England. Haugwitz, in order to avoid a conflict to which he knew Prussia to be unequal, signed a new treaty embodying the terms thus dictated, on February 15; and Frederick William, by the advice of the great majority of his Council, reluctantly ratified it, as a defensive alliance. Hanover, in fact, was an object of supreme desire to Prussian statesmen of all shades of opinion. Baron Hardenberg, however, retired, and the direction of foreign affairs at Berlin was resumed by Count Haugwitz. The King of Prussia represented the Treaty of Paris, which was officially communicated to the British Government at the end of March, as a sacrifice made for the patriotic object of excluding the French from North Germany. A few days afterwards, proclamations of Count Schulemberg, Governor of Hanover, announced the annexation of that electorate to the kingdom of Prussia, and the closing of the ports of the North Sea against British commerce. Count Haugwitz, however, privately assured Mr. Jackson, British Minister at Berlin, that those measures were only temporary, taken under compulsion, and opposed to the true intention of the King.<sup>1</sup> Baron Jacobi, representing Prussia in London, gave the same explanations to Mr. Fox. Later on after the rupture of direct relations, Baron Goltz, Prussian envoy at St. Petersburg, proposed to his English colleague, Lord Granville Levison, to embody them in a secret treaty.<sup>2</sup> But Fox would not listen to excuses. He replied to the closing of northern ports against British commerce by a formal

<sup>1</sup> F. J. Jackson to Fox, March 27, 1806.—*F.O. Despatches*,

<sup>2</sup> Lord G. L. Gower to Fox, April 14, 1806.—*Ibid.*

declaration of war. He urged the Czar to punish Prussian bad faith by annexing Prussian Poland to his own dominions. British squadrons blockaded the mouths of the Ems, Weser and Elbe, and captured 250 German merchant vessels sailing for greater security under the Prussian flag. Nor did the shame, humiliation, and loss incurred by the Treaty of Paris purchase for Prussia permanent advantage or even safety. The evident reluctance of the Prussian Government to enter into an alliance with him stung Napoleon's pride. The hostile attitude it had assumed towards him after the treaty of Potsdam, which papers subsequently presented to the British Parliament disclosed, its paltry evasions and excuses and equivocal attitude since the Treaty of Vienna, aroused his anger and contempt. He came to the resolution to pursue his own objects without regard for obligations contracted with a power he neither feared nor trusted.<sup>1</sup>

In February, also, a proposal for the assassination or overthrow of Napoleon made by a foreigner to Fox, and promptly communicated by the latter to Talleyrand, opened a way for correspondence of a pacific tendency between the two Ministers. Talleyrand sent Fox a copy of the French official gazette containing a report of the Emperor's annual address to the legislative body, in which Napoleon expressed his readiness to make peace with England on the basis of the treaty of Amiens. Fox's acknowledgment gave assurance of the desire of the British Government to treat with France on terms honourable to all parties, in concert with its ally the Emperor of Russia. The draft of this letter, when submitted to him by Fox, was read with much ill-humour by George III. "His reply," Fox wrote to Grenville on March 8, "is as unpleasant as possible." The conflict seems to have been obstinate. The King only yielded to the unanimous advice of the Cabinet, conveyed to him in a minute drawn up on March 26, when it had become a question of his acquiescence or of their resignation. The British note produced another hitch in Paris. Napoleon, Talleyrand declared, would not treat with a Congress, only with each power separately. George III., Fox replied, would on no account break faith with an ally. So the project of negotiation fell stillborn; only, however, to revive in a new shape when the Russian Emperor's pacific disposition was publicly declared soon afterwards in M. D'Oubril's mission to Vienna.

By the treaty of Presburg, signed on December 28, 1805, the Emperor Francis II. ceded Dalmatia and the mouths of the Cattaro to France. Before, however, the French troops despatched to receive possession of the forts guarding this important inlet, had arrived, the Austrian commandant gave them up to the Russian admiral in the Adriatic. Napoleon, on hearing this news, refused to withdraw his troops from the river Inn until the ceded territory was in his hands; and

<sup>1</sup> Thiers—*Consulate and Empire*.



insisted at Vienna that an Austrian army should be sent to recover it from the Russians, if necessary by force. In this dilemma, Francis II. appealed to the Emperor Alexander to enable him to fulfil his engagements to France without an open breach with Russia. The decisive defeat of Austerlitz; the ignominious desertion of the King of Prussia, although master of what was regarded at St. Petersburg as the most formidable army in Europe; the change of ministry in England, had greatly depressed Alexander. He became impatient of the strenuous counsels of Prince Czartoriski and the other young advisers, his personal friends, who of late years had directed Russian policy, without representing Russian opinion; and who still urged him to remain steadfast in his alliance with England against the aggressions of France. But, although inclining to peace, he wished if possible to avoid giving up the mouths of the Cattaro to Napoleon, except as a part of some general arrangement which should secure to Russia other advantages in the Mediterranean. In response to the Emperor Francis's appeal, he sent M. D'Oubril to Vienna to discuss the whole question with the Austrian Government. The French Ambassador, M. de la Rochefoucault, appears to have assisted at the conferences that followed. During their progress Prince Czartoriski and his political friends resigned office at St. Petersburg; and General Budberg, a man of little ability, who had been Alexander's governor, assumed the direction of foreign affairs. In June D'Oubril proceeded to Paris to negotiate directly with Talleyrand.

In the meantime the improved relations of the English and French Governments had enabled Fox to ask for and obtain indulgences for various English subjects detained as political prisoners at Verdun and other depots throughout France. Among the *détenus* thus favoured, Lord Yarmouth, eldest son of the Marquis of Hertford, and a particular friend of the Prince of Wales, received permission to reside at Paris. Lord Yarmouth had already entered on the career of debauchery and political intrigue which gave him such notoriety during the Regency and the reign of George IV. He is a prominent if not edifying figure in the literature of the Victorian age, not only in political memoirs such as those of J. W. Croker and Charles Greville, but also in two at least of its most famous novels. Although his wife, Maria Fagniani, a few years later, as Thomas Grenville relates, inherited enormous wealth under the will of the Duke of Queensberry, it would appear that at this time he was poor, and supported an extravagant style of living by extraordinary success at play. Early in June Talleyrand sent this nobleman to London on a secret mission to Fox. Yarmouth brought an offer from the French to the British Government to negotiate for peace on the basis of (1) restoration of Hanover to George III., (2) retention of Sicily by Ferdinand IV., and (3), as both Fox and Lord Grenville understood the message, *uti possidetis*, or, keep what you have got,

for Great Britain. In regard to this last point, however, there appears to have been misunderstanding or wilful deception. Both Talleyrand himself and General Clarke, who was specially appointed to represent France in subsequent conferences, declared, in discussion with Lord Lauderdale, afterwards associated with Yarmouth, that no such idea had ever entered Napoleon's mind. And Clarke mocked at Talleyrand's alleged assurances on the point to Yarmouth, when quoted to him by Lauderdale, as *des romans politiques*.<sup>1</sup> A proposal apparently so advantageous was promptly accepted by the British Cabinet. Yarmouth returned to Paris authorised by Fox to discuss informally with Talleyrand terms of peace on the basis offered. Nothing, however, was to be concluded without the consent of Russia. The state of the Continent, the difficulties of recruiting, an urgent need of economy, and reaction against the more adventurous policy which had ended in such disaster, had hitherto led the Coalition Cabinet to confine its military efforts to the safer and more profitable aim of augmenting British power and securing British interests in the Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> Grenville now urged Fox to obtain by treaty from the Kings of Sicily and Sardinia the right of keeping garrisons of British troops in those islands, with the view of acquiring practical possession of them before making peace with France on the basis of *uti possidetis*. But Yarmouth's next report from Paris was less satisfactory. At their first interview after his return, Talleyrand informed him that recent advices from Italy had convinced Napoleon that the possession of Sicily was absolutely necessary for Joseph Bonaparte's security at Naples. The French Government therefore, he declared, could not relinquish that object; and Napoleon considered that Hanover, Malta and the Cape should satisfy Great Britain.<sup>3</sup> Fox, however, insisted that the basis originally proposed must be adhered to strictly. And although later on, at the urgent demand of the French Government, as communicated to him by Yarmouth, he sent the latter full powers as accredited representative of George III, he accompanied them with express directions that they should not be produced until that condition had been formally admitted. This was the state of the negotiation between France and England when M. D'Oubril arrived in Paris.

Fox was ill when he took office; but attacks of his malady were intermittent, and its grave character was still unknown. Early, however, in the session of 1806 the strain imposed by the lead of the House of Commons and the conduct of foreign affairs overtaxed his failing strength, and the disease which proved fatal to him in the following autumn began to develop with alarming rapidity. For some months he spoke occasionally in debate with undiminished power. But he was

<sup>1</sup> Lauderdale to Fox, August, 1806.—*F.O. Despatches*.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Grenville to Mr. Windham, April 12, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Yarmouth to Fox, June 21, 1806.—*F.O. Despatches*.

unable to give the constant attendance, or to exercise the close supervision which the orderly progress of public business required. His colleagues in the House of Commons, engrossed by the work of their own departments, gave him little efficient help; and the Tory Opposition gathered courage from a state of confusion occasionally hinted at in Lord Auckland's confidential letters to his chief. Passive at first, Opposition now leaped up in spasmodic activity; better sustained after Lord Melville's acquittal by the House of Lords had given it a temporary leader. Lord Henry Petty's Budget offered few points for adverse criticism. But Windham's Army Bill, intended to supply the admitted failure of Pitt's *Additional Forces Act*, substituting limited service for life service, paring down the extravagance and jobbery of the existing military system, after encountering strenuous obstruction in its initial stages from the Duke of York, was fiercely assailed both in Parliament and in the country. Notwithstanding, however, the clamour industriously raised against it as unjust and injurious to the Volunteers, and what Thomas Grenville termed the "particular impracticalities" of the War Minister, it became law after a severe struggle. A still more signal success of the Ministry was the celebrated resolution abolishing the slave trade. The difficulties in its way seemed at first sight almost insuperable. A similar motion made by Wilberforce in the previous session, and supported by both Pitt and Fox, had been rejected even in the House of Commons. Powerful commercial and colonial interests, a great body of conservative and even of religious prejudice, which enlisted the King's thorough sympathies, were arrayed against it. But the government of the country was in the hands of men who not only championed the cause with heart and conviction, as Pitt had done, but who prized fidelity to principle more than place and power. A resolution in favour of abolition, moved by Lord Grenville in the Lords, and by Fox, at Wilberforce's special request, in the Commons, and thus adopted for the first time as a government measure, passed triumphantly through both Houses. Press of business caused a Bill giving the resolution effect to be deferred till the beginning of the next session. This was the last and crowning achievement of Fox's public career. One reverse, however, caused him deep mortification. The Government, acting within its rights, revoked the temporary appointment of Sir George Barlow, a permanent servant of the East India Company, as Governor-General of India, and nominated the Earl of Lauderdale for that high office. The board of directors resented this step. Acting also within their rights under Pitt's dual constitution, and irritated, as Lord Grenville thought, by the favour shown in high official circles to Lord Wellesley, they rejected the nomination. Whatever the dominant motive, the blow fell with especial severity on Fox, Lauderdale being one of his dearest friends. Having thus asserted its independence, the Company accepted the

nomination of Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control, as successor to Barlow. This arrangement opened a vacancy in the administration for Thomas Grenville, who, to the great satisfaction of his own family, and with Fox's particular goodwill, was also taken into the Cabinet. But although a man of good counsel and of fair general ability, the new President of the Board of Control did not shine in the House of Commons. His accession to office gave little relief to his overworked leader.

A scandalous incident which occurred in the spring was also used by the Opposition, in a manner little to its credit, to defame the Ministry. The Prince of Wales accused his wife, whom he had married in 1795, and separated from in the following year, of having given birth to a child in 1802. The charge rested on the testimony of Sir John and Lady Douglas, who had lived on intimate terms with the Princess in the year 1802, and quarrelled with her subsequently. George III. appointed a Commission composed of four members of the Cabinet, Lords Erskine, Ellenborough, Grenville and Spencer, to investigate the case. The four lords, assisted by the Solicitor-General, Sir Samuel Romilly, held private sittings and examined witnesses during the month of June, at Camel-ford House. They reported that the charge of child-bearing was not proved; but that trustworthy evidence given in the course of their investigation disclosed grave misconduct on the part of the Princess with Sir Sidney Smith, and Captain Manby of the Royal Navy. The King then called on the Princess for her defence. Her answer claimed a complete acquittal. The Commission, she complained, had exceeded its functions in raking up against her trivial circumstances beyond the scope of the matter laid before it. She prayed his Majesty to put an end to proceedings against her, receive her again at Court, and publicly proclaim her innocence. Having read this reply, George III. referred it and all the other papers bearing on the case to the whole Cabinet for consideration and advice. In the meantime her Royal Highness posed in public as the innocent victim of a profligate husband. The Opposition eagerly espoused her cause. Lord Malmesbury, who had brought her to England in 1795, became her confidential adviser. Mr. Percival, one of her counsel, drew up her defence. Prominent Tory politicians, who in after years as Ministers of George IV. conducted the "delicate investigation" and subsequent proceedings against his wife in the House of Lords, now inveighed against the Grenville Cabinet as accomplices of their patron in the shameful persecution of a much-wronged woman. And while Grenville was thus assailed by partisans of the Princess, he had to defend himself against the complaints of the Prince of Wales, who winced under public obloquy and attributed the King's delay in giving judgment in his favour to slackness on the part of the Ministry in affording him the support he had expected from them.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, the Ministry

<sup>1</sup> Lord FitzWilliam to Lord Grenville, November 6, 1806; Lord Grenville to Lord FitzWilliam, November 8, 1806.

acted with entire impartiality. The whole Cabinet adopted the finding of the Commission of Lords, but excused itself from advising his Majesty in a matter which concerned the honour and the internal discipline of his family. This answer appears to have been a compromise between conflicting opinions. Windham, as well as Lord Grenville, thought the evidence of Lady Douglas and her husband entirely unworthy of credit; and in the chivalrous and independent spirit which distinguished all his public conduct he insisted on expressing this opinion more distinctly in a separate minute. The somewhat evasive reply of his Cabinet displeased the King. He again asked it to advise him in what terms and what mode he should reply to the petition of his daughter-in-law. His Ministers in a second minute, drafted by Lord Grenville, counselled him to permit her to appear at Court, but to admonish her to mend her behaviour. They also submitted for his approval a letter to that effect, also drafted by Grenville, to be handed to her by the Lord Chancellor. The King adopted the advice, and also the letter with one alteration. In order, as he explained, to avoid any appearance of harshness, he substituted the phrase "serious concern" for "disapprobation" as marking his sense of her misconduct. Here the incident closed,<sup>1</sup> not to the satisfaction of the Prince of Wales.

On December 1, 1812, Lord Grenville, in reply to a request from Lord Holland to be allowed to see the papers relating to this investigation, wrote "I kept no copy either of the examinations, or of that impudent libel which Percival drew up under the shelter of the Princess's name as the answer, and which forms the substance of the famous *Book* privately printed by him, and which will, no doubt, one day or other come to light."<sup>2</sup>

In July, M. D'Oubril, under pressure from the French Government, took the responsibility on himself of signing a separate treaty between France and Russia. Having sent a copy of this instrument to Count Stroganoff, Russian Minister in London, with an intimation that he had acted with the knowledge and consent of Lord Yarmouth, D'Oubril hurried back to St. Petersburg to lay the original before the Czar. It stipulated that Alexander should surrender the mouths of the Cattaro, but retain Corfu. He was also to assist Napoleon in persuading Ferdinand IV. to cede Sicily to Joseph Bonaparte, in consideration of a pension for Ferdinand himself, and of the Balearic Islands, with the title of King, for the Duke of Calabria. Lord Yarmouth reported at the same time to Fox that the separate treaty had been signed by D'Oubril in spite of his remonstrances. He also informed Fox that he had thought himself justified by the altered circumstances resulting from D'Oubril's treaty, and by information of changes impending in Germany which might interfere with the restoration of Hanover to George III., in disobeying his instructions by producing his full powers in

<sup>1</sup> [In February, 1807.—The documents referred to in the text will be printed in the Appendix of the next Volume.]      <sup>2</sup> Dropmore Papers.

conference with General Clarke, without insisting on the basis of negotiation originally proposed by Talleyrand.<sup>1</sup> He stated also that a French army was assembled at Bayonne for the purpose of compelling the Regent of Portugal to close the ports of that kingdom against the English. The British Government now found itself in a position of considerable embarrassment.

A crisis in Fox's illness completely disabled him from transacting business. Official communications between London and St. Petersburg had been much interrupted of late by adverse weather. And although Count Stroganoff seemed confident that D'Oubril would be disavowed, Lord Grenville, on whom the conduct of negotiations had now virtually devolved, entertained strong doubts on the subject. "I have been too long used," he wrote in a desponding vein to Lord Buckingham, "to the total debasement of all Continental Courts to rely much on any such hope."<sup>2</sup> He, however, acted with promptitude and vigour. A despatch was sent to St. Petersburg, protesting against the breach of faith involved in D'Oubril's separate treaty, and appealing to Alexander to repudiate it. Other despatches from Downing Street conveyed a severe reprimand to Yarmouth for disobeying his instructions, and forbad him to make any further concession without the concurrence of Lord Lauderdale, who was about to join him in Paris. This announcement of the approaching arrival of a second English envoy was received with great ill-humour at the French Foreign Office. Talleyrand, Yarmouth wrote, charged the British Government with wilful delay and disclaimed responsibility for the consequences. But Grenville retorted with great effect, by showing, what Yarmouth had left unsaid, that whatever delay had occurred was attributable solely to the refusal of the French Government to adhere to its own proposals. In view of the doubt that hung around the intention of the Emperor Alexander as to the disposal of Sicily, Lauderdale was authorised to discuss the question of an exchange of territory, on the condition that the indemnity offered should be entirely acceptable to the Bourbon King. In other respects he was to insist on the terms of peace originally offered through Lord Yarmouth. He had been only a few days in the French capital when information from various sources which he could trust convinced him that Talleyrand and Yarmouth, acting in corrupt concert, had been using the negotiation for the purpose of speculations on the Paris *Bourse* and the London Stock Exchange. His confidential letters to Lord Grenville on the subject, printed in this volume, pp. 270-8, were laid by the Prime Minister before the Cabinet. Lord Yarmouth was immediately recalled on the pretext of satisfying the objection of the French Government to the employment of a second British negotiator at Paris. It speaks well for the patriotic reticence of the Cabinet that this disgraceful episode in the history of British diplomacy should have remained so long

<sup>1</sup> Yarmouth to Fox, July 19, 20, 21, 27, &c., 1806. *F.O. Despatches.*

<sup>2</sup> *Court and Cabinets of George III*, July 26, 1806.

undivulged. Talleyrand, of course, to borrow his own description of the French *père de famille*, was *capable de tout*.

About the same time Lord St. Vincent was despatched to Lisbon in command of a powerful naval armament, which carried General Simcoe as military adviser, and Lord Rosslyn as British Ambassador. They were to offer protection to the Prince Regent against a French invasion; and, if things came to the worst, to obtain, if necessary by force, the surrender of the Portuguese fleet, so as to prevent its falling into the hands of the French. The expedition was premature. More authentic intelligence satisfied the Admiral and his colleagues and the Cabinet in London that Lord Yarmouth's report of Napoleon's preparations at Bayonne was greatly exaggerated. As no immediate danger threatened the independence of Portugal, the expedition returned to England.

While peace or war between England and France thus hung in suspense, two events—one of deep significance, the other fertile only in illusions—exercised an important influence on the issue of the negotiations. Since the treaty of Presburg pacified the Continent, Napoleon had bent his energies to the building up of his new empire much on the lines of the old empire he had laid in ruins—raising around it dependent kingdoms and principalities; strengthening, unifying and embellishing it by the institutions, the great public works, the ornamental structures, which keep his memory alive. Holland accepted his brother Louis as its king. Marshal Massena, notwithstanding General Stuart's brilliant but barren victory at Maida, gradually brought all Naples under the sway of Joseph Bonaparte. From his acquisitions in Germany and Italy the conqueror carved out grand duchies and principalities to be held as imperial fiefs by other members of his family, and by the statesmen and warriors who supported his throne. The marvellous achievements of the Consulate in the fields of peace were now completed or developed. Improvements in the systems of administration, finance and legislation then established; the University of Paris crowning a national edifice of popular education; the harbours of Antwerp and Cherbourg; the great public roads spanning the Alps or bordering the Mediterranean and the Rhine; vast canals connecting the chief waterways and ports of the empire; the churches, palaces, bridges, fountains and splendid monuments which transformed Paris into the most beautiful capital of Europe, bear testimony to the prodigious and fruitful activity of this the most glorious and prosperous year of his reign. It was the last year too of his noblest work. In July, when the treaty between France and Russia signed by M. D'Oubril seemed to have secured a long period of tranquillity on the Continent, Napoleon announced as an accomplished fact the Confederation of the Rhine. This was a league of the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Arch-Chancellor, the Elector of Baden, and several minor princes of South Germany, who declared their independence of the Emperor, seceded from the Diet

of Ratisbon, and formed another Diet of two colleges, under the protection of Napoleon. The Arch-Chancellor became president of this body with the title of Prince Primate, receiving as an official appanage the free city of Frankfort, which thus became the capital of the Confederation. The remaining free cities of southern Germany, many independent princes, and the immediate nobility which owed allegiance only to the Emperor, were disfranchised to feed the rapacity and thus purchase the adhesion of the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg. The new league gave Napoleon command of 63,000 German auxiliaries. No intimation of a change which concerned him so nearly, was vouchsafed to the King of Prussia, till it had been accomplished by Talleyrand in a series of secret negotiations. He was then informed that the French Government would not object to his forming a similar confederation in the north of Germany. This bold move towards supremacy over all western Europe swept away the last vestiges of the Holy Roman Empire. Francis II formally renounced the title of Roman Emperor, which had been borne by eighteen princes of the House of Hapsburg; released the vassals of that dignity from their ties of allegiance; and incorporated his German dominions with the empire of Austria. The Germanic Diet which had held its sittings at Ratisbon for one hundred and fifty years, vanished into oblivion. This revolution, however, gave a terrible shock to conservative opinion throughout Europe. The blow was felt most severely in Germany, where the Emperors, with few exceptions, had for ages represented and defended established order. Nor did the secrecy and contempt for established rights, with which the change had been wrought, tend to mitigate the apprehensions it aroused. Napoleon's disregard of an alliance which had been purchased at the price of national dishonour filled the Court and people of Prussia with indignation and distrust. The Emperor of Russia had looked on himself as guardian of the settlement forced on the Germanic Diet in 1803, by the united pressure of France and Russia, and now suddenly abrogated without his concurrence. This public slight wounded his self-esteem. And the pacific leanings displayed in D'Oubril's mission to Paris gave place in his mind to a renewed desire to set bounds to Napoleon's insatiable ambition.

The second event which told against peace and caused irrational excitement in England was the capture of Buenos Ayres by Admiral Sir Home Popham in June, 1806. Popham and General Sir David Baird had been despatched by Pitt in 1805 in command of an expedition against the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch governor of Cape Town surrendered the place to them in January, 1806. Then Popham, having persuaded Baird to place at his disposal a body of troops under General Beresford, carried them away of his own accord to Rio de la Plata, and captured Buenos



Ayres by a *coup de main*. He announced this feat in a manifesto addressed to the trading corporations of Great Britain, which depicted in glowing colours the boundless prospects of expansion and the golden harvests of profit thus opened to British trade. When this appeal to national cupidity reached England, apparently late in August, a fever of speculation seized the whole mercantile community. The concluding of peace which must probably restore to Spain such a valuable conquest, or at least diminish the advantages promised by Popham, became every day more unpopular. Lord Grenville at first seems to have distrusted the admiral's well-known proneness to bombast, but he soon yielded himself up to the illusions it created. It would appear from his correspondence that he persuaded himself, or allowed himself to be persuaded, that the British Government would find little difficulty in conquering the whole Spanish Indies in the course of a single year.<sup>1</sup> Fox, whose sound sense might have proved invaluable in tempering this spirit of adventure, was on his death-bed. Government recalled Popham, and sent him before a court-martial for quitting his station at the Cape without orders. But it sent a reinforcement of troops under General Auchmuty to pluck the fruits of Popham's disobedience, and a whole fleet of English merchantmen crossed two oceans to gather them in. This ambitious scheme was little better than a chimera, a dream of avarice. It took no account of the wishes of the Indo-Spanish population, the people chiefly concerned. It counted on the continued possession of Buenos Ayres, which remained only for six or seven weeks in British occupation. Before news of its capture reached England the Spaniards had risen in arms, recovered the city, and made prisoners of the British garrison. General Auchmuty attacked and took Monte Video, but this second conquest proved as barren and untenable as the first. Meantime the British Government and nation clung to their vain expectations with a credulity that made peace with France on any terms which Napoleon would accept, impossible. It seems to have required General Whitelocke's disastrous failure at Buenos Ayres in the following year to teach public opinion in England that, however gladly the Spanish colonists might have welcomed help to establish their independence, they had no desire to exchange a Spanish for an English yoke.

It seems strange also, viewing the matter in the light of subsequent experience, that no doubt appears to have crossed Lord Grenville's mind in regard to any injurious effect his ambitious scheme, which, as we shall see, included Mexico, might have on the relations, already strained, of Great Britain and the United States of North America. The American Government aimed openly at extending its boundaries by acquisitions from European powers. It had lately purchased Louisiana from France. It was now worrying the Spanish

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Grenville to Lord Howick, September 29, 1806.

Government to conclude a similar bargain for the cession of the Floridas. Messrs. Munro and Pinckney had just arrived in London on a mission from President Jefferson to claim redress from the British Government. The grievances they alleged were (1) vexatious interference with American trade to the West Indies by British cruisers, which not only stopped ships, but (2) carried off American seamen on the pretext that they were British subjects. Lord Grenville appointed Lords Holland and Auckland as British commissioners to discuss these complaints with the American envoys. After numerous and prolonged conferences a settlement was arrived at in December. But this treaty was rejected at Washington, as not affording the satisfaction required.

The King of Prussia, acting on the suggestion flung out to him from Paris, was labouring with a want of success, which he attributed in great measure to French intrigue, to form a northern league as a counterpoise to the Confederation of the Rhine, when despatches from Marquis Lucchesini, his minister in the French capital, informed him that Napoleon had offered Hanover to George III as a condition of peace. One of these despatches having been intercepted by Fouché's secret police, Talleyrand instructed M. La Foret, French ambassador at Berlin, to declare the intelligence it conveyed a false report, and to demand Lucchesini's recall. But during the panic which seized the Prussian Cabinet on learning Napoleon's breath of faith, the news leaked out at Berlin, and aroused a storm of national anger which swept the Government helplessly along into war. Frederick William, by the advice of his Council, took immediate measures to place the Prussian army on a war footing. To gain time for preparation, he recalled Lucchesini, one of his ablest servants, to Berlin, and sent General Knobelsdorf, a dull man but known to be acceptable to Napoleon, to represent him at the Tuileries. The general had instructions, while accepting the explanations and friendly professions of the French Foreign Office, to demand the immediate withdrawal of French troops from Germany as a concession absolutely necessary to allay the public ferment which the Prussian Government could no longer control. As the evacuation of Germany was an article of the treaty he had just concluded with Russia, Napoleon, who had no immediate purpose of provoking war with Prussia, would no doubt have made some concession to German susceptibilities, if intelligence from St. Petersburg had not materially altered the political situation.

Lord Lauderdale in his conferences with General Clarke, representing France, had insisted on the terms of peace originally proposed to Mr. Fox through Lord Yarmouth, while expressing willingness to entertain the question of an exchange of territory for Sicily. Clarke answered with equal decision that Napoleon would not go beyond Hanover, Malta

and the Cape of Good Hope in the path of concession to England. Both parties awaited with anxiety the decision of the Russian Emperor on the subject of D'Oubril's treaty. In the meantime they discussed various proposals in regard to the Sicilian question, brought forward by the French, but rejected as inadmissible by the English Government. Early in September Alexander's decision became known. He disavowed D'Oubril, who had disobeyed the instructions given to him. He insisted not only that Sicily should be left to the Bourbons, but that the French should relinquish Dalmatia, and obtain the Balearic Islands from Spain as compensation for the King of Sardinia. And he authorised Lord Lauderdale to represent Russia as well as Great Britain at Paris. This intelligence was highly gratifying to Lord Grenville, who immediately instructed Lauderdale to present the Russian demands conjointly with those of England as an ultimatum to the French Government; and, in case of refusal, to ask for passports and return home. He even suggested confidentially to Lauderdale that if the British Government was asked to restore Buenos Ayres, and thus renounce the immense prospects of advantages implied by its possession, France might reasonably be required in return to restore Naples to Ferdinand IV.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Napoleon, finding himself unable to make peace on conditions he was willing to accept, and seeing in the turn of affairs the prospect of a new European coalition in the following spring, changed his policy with characteristic promptitude. He resolved to crush Prussia as he had crushed Austria, while exposed alone to the full force of his power; and disable the Czar from interfering further in the affairs of western Europe. In reply to the Prussian demand for the evacuation of Germany, General Knobelsdorf was curtly informed that the French army should be withdrawn when Prussia disarmed. And while Prince Talleyrand cloaked his master's designs by spinning out negotiations with Lord Lauderdale, Napoleon pursued them with the same secrecy, expedition and thoroughness which had marked the opening of his campaign against Austria in 1805. The frenzied excitement which reigned in Prussia favoured his plans. It completely blinded all classes to the facts of the situation. The whole Prussian army, even if reinforced by the Saxons and Hessians whose aid was counted on, unwisely in the latter case, was considerably inferior even in numbers to the veteran French troops assembled in Franconia within a few marches of the Saxon borders. Its commander-in-chief, the Duke of Brunswick, inspired no confidence. Furious discord distracted the Council of War. The Prussian treasury could not support alone the cost of a prolonged struggle; and the Government was at war with its old and only possible paymaster, the Government of Great Britain. All the Russian auxiliaries had returned

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Grenville to Lord Lauderdale, October 1.—*F.O. Despatches.*

home. The Emperor of Austria had not forgiven the cowardly desertion which left him at Napoleon's mercy at the end of the previous year. Ordinary prudence, self-preservation even, required of the Prussian Government to accept the situation it had created for itself; to dissemble and submit till the national forces had been fully organised, faults of policy had been repaired, and old alliances restored to repel a danger common to all independent states. But the military spirit, fed on memories of Rosbach, chafed to fury by echoes of Gallic vaunting in Franconia, completely dominated Court and people. The King, who hated war, and knew himself to be incapable of directing military operations, was no longer master of his own conduct. Count Haugwitz and his other advisers, who remained in office at his earnest entreaty, and, as they averred, to cheat Napoleon into the belief that pacific counsels still governed Prussia, secretly fanned the flame of war they could not subdue; deceiving themselves with vain hopes of foreign support. This support had only been sought after Talleyrand's reply to General Knobelsdorf dispelled the expectation of concessions from France to which they had hitherto clung. The Czar, indeed, in answer to an appeal from Frederick William, placed all the resources of the Russian empire at the service of his ally. But this aid was still distant. In reply to assurances from Berlin through M. Balen, Prussian agent in London, that Hanover should be restored to George III. the British Government raised the blockade of north German ports and rivers, and sent Lord Morpeth on a mission to the Prussian Court. But it refused to entertain the question of financial help until a treaty yielding up the electorate had been signed by Frederick William and guaranteed by Alexander. The Austrian Cabinet would not even listen to overtures for an alliance against France from the Prussian minister at Vienna.

A vivid and authentic picture by a master of his art, of the confusion that reigned in Prussian councils, military and political, during the fortnight preceding the battle of Jena may be found in the Appendix of this volume. It is the journal of M. de Gentz, the most brilliant, powerful, and well-informed political writer of this time. In the early days of the French Revolution Gentz had been a Prussian official, using his pen with great effect under the protection of Count Schulemberg to stem the diffusion of French principles in Germany. When Count Haugwitz and the neutral policy he represented acquired ascendancy at the Court of Berlin, Gentz migrated to Vienna and pursued his work there under the patronage of the Emperor Francis II. The main object of his numerous publications was to create a national spirit in Germany which should unite Austria and Prussia in close alliance with each other and with Great Britain; it being his firm belief that by this union only could French aggression be repelled. Lord Carysford,

when British ambassador to Berlin, in furtherance of this patriotic aim, and more particularly in the hope of reconciling, by Gentz's assistance, German opinion to the privations inflicted on the Continent by the maritime policy of Great Britain, had, as has been already related,<sup>1</sup> prevailed on Lord Grenville to retain, not ungrudgingly, Gentz's literary services by the grant of a small English pension of 200*l.* a year. It is to Gentz's writings that the anti-Gallican feeling which compelled Frederick William III to sign the Convention of Potsdam in November, 1805, must in large measure be attributed. And it was for the crime of selling them in June, 1806, that Napoleon caused Palm, the Nuremberg bookseller, to be shot. Towards the end of September, 1806 Gentz, then at Dresden, received a pressing invitation from Count Haugwitz to visit the headquarters of the Prussian army at Erfurth. He had hitherto been incredulous in regard to the danger of war between France and Prussia. That the astute and experienced statesman who had so long guided Prussian policy should have shrunk from a conflict with Napoleon in the previous December when all the circumstances were so much more favourable to Prussia, only to plunge recklessly nine months later, under every disadvantage, into a single-handed struggle with the same aggrandised antagonist, was a problem which completely puzzled him. And it was as much from the curiosity of a political student intent on solving this mystery, as from a patriotic desire to serve the German cause that he obeyed Haugwitz's summons. Of the chief personages assembled at Erfurth, Haugwitz, Lucchesini, Lombard the King's confidential secretary and for many years past the real inspirer of Prussian policy, among civilians; the Duke of Brunswick, Generals Kalkreuth and Ruffel among the leaders of the army, courted his advice, and treated him with flattering confidence. And although he did not see the King, Queen Louisa, of whom he speaks in the language of enthusiastic admiration, opened her mind to him without reserve in the course of a long interview. Haugwitz had two main objects in desiring his presence—to make use of his pen against Napoleon, and secondly, of his influence at the Austrian Court to reconcile the two great German Powers. He placed his pen freely at the service of the Prussian Government; but his knowledge of the state of affairs and of public feeling at Vienna led him to decline the second task. During his stay at the Prussian headquarters he made full use of the exceptional opportunities offered him of collecting information. He compared and corrected with insight and candour different versions of the events leading up to the present emergency; supplying the reticence of one statesman or warrior by information skilfully extracted from another, until the whole situation, with its manifold blunders, furious discords, and pitiful illusions, lay bare before his eyes; and filled his mind with painful forebodings, only too prophetic of the tragedy

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to Vol. VI, p. 394.

that followed. This journal of M. de Gentz, in which he jotted down his experiences day by day while consciously oppressed by the deepening gloom of a catastrophe which was about to overwhelm in common ruin the Prussian monarchy and his own hopes of German freedom, is a historical document of singular interest and value.

Fox died on September 13. "Regretted by all," Lord Malmesbury records; "the last period of his life brought him great and just honour."<sup>1</sup> The unbridled passions which had dominated his glorious faculties, obscured, his natural virtues, and more than once wrecked his political fortunes in earlier life, evaporated as years went on, leaving a too short period of mellow strength; just enough to show the world how supremely great his career might have been had his early training been less unfortunate. For the Ministry it was an irreparable loss. Whether as leader of the House of Commons, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, or mediator in a Cabinet containing such jarring elements, there was no one left who could supply it. The reader notes, not without astonishment, how completely, in the course of a few months of intimate association, his commanding talents, sound sense, and genial nature established an ascendancy over such old political foes, so opposite to himself too in character and habit of life, as Lords Grenville and Sidmouth. On the former of these statesmen, union with him, had, for the time at least, a most beneficial effect; broadening his mind, softening its asperities, making it more tolerant. Even the rooted dislike of the King seems to have yielded to the charm Fox exerted in personal intercourse. Lord Grenville's letter announcing Fox's death to Lord Lauderdale is a tribute of genuine sorrow and affectionate admiration. The feeling evoked by the event in old friends of Fox who had adhered to him with unswerving devotion in good and evil fortune, is expressed in Lauderdale's reply. Lord Sidmouth seems to have been deeply affected.<sup>2</sup> Whatever slight chance of peace still remained vanished with the Whig leader. To firmness of purpose and a wide knowledge of Continental affairs, he alone united freedom from international prejudice, preference for friendly relations with France, and the disposition to exclude invective from diplomatic discussion especially necessary in treating with Napoleon. Within a fortnight after his death the French ruler virtually brought negotiation to an end by suddenly leaving Paris for Germany, taking with him Prince Talleyrand and General Clarke. It was not, however, till October 8 that Lord Lauderdale succeeded in obtaining passports and returned to England.

Fox's old enemy Lord Thurlow, whose force and readiness in debate and awe-inspiring aspect made him such a redoubtable antagonist in Parliament, died on September 12. Even in the zenith of Thurlow's power as dictator of the House of Lords

<sup>1</sup> *Diary and Correspondence.*

<sup>2</sup> Pellew—*Life of Sidmouth.*

and privileged adviser of George III, Fox used to insist that the grim Chancellor was an imposter. "No man," he declared, "could possibly be so wise as Thurlow looked." Common enmity to Pitt, and the good offices of the Prince of Wales brought those old foes into more amicable relations during the last years of their lives. Thurlow's death was a piece of good news for Lord Auckland, which Lord Grenville hastened to communicate. It meant the falling in of a rich sinecure, of which the reversion had been given by Pitt to Auckland's eldest son.

Not the least unfortunate result for the Ministry of Fox's death was a more decided exercise of Lord Buckingham's influence over Lord Grenville, which the deceased statesman's authority had held in salutary check. The Marquis had never been satisfied with what he considered the inadequate representation in the coalition Government of the Grenville element, representing war with France and existing order at home, in passive resistance to the Whig programme of peace, and progressive as distinguished from radical reform. He now became urgent with the Prime Minister to make the conservative interest in the Administration predominant, by asserting the personal pre-eminence among English statesmen to which his brother succeeded when Pitt and Fox disappeared from the political stage. As early as July, 1806 Lord Grenville, in order to mitigate a calamity which even then appeared inevitable, had sought by negotiation to draw an accession of strength from the Opposition in the House of Commons, where the blow would be most felt. Lord Howick's claims to succeed Fox as leader in that House were not disputed; but the age and feeble health of Earl Grey made Howick's removal to the House of Lords an immediate danger; and no one else in the ministerial ranks was considered eligible for the post. This may sound strange when we recollect that two of the most prominent politicians and most splendid orators of that great age of political genius, Sheridan and Windham, sat on the Government bench; and that in the ranks behind them, were Tierney, Whitbread, Francis and others who had won renown in debate. But Sheridan owned allegiance only to Fox, and that in an independent fashion of his own. His relations with the Grenvilles were those of mutual aversion and distrust. Windham, whose noble and chivalrous nature and shining intellectual gifts made him one of the brightest ornaments of English public life, was the victim of a morbid scrupulosity<sup>1</sup>; and occasionally indulged a Quixotic humour which unfitted him for the practical work of party leader. Whitbread held radical opinions which made Lord Buckingham shudder, and were too advanced for the most liberal Whig. Tierney had not sufficient personal weight to atone for a want of political connexion. Lord Henry Petty, although a debater of considerable promise, was too inexperienced for the office of leader, and too modest to accept it. In these circumstances

<sup>1</sup> [His *memoirs* bear painful testimony to this defect.]

Lord Grenville had authorised Marquis Wellesley to make an overture to Mr. Canning, whose political views were in general harmony with their own. The inducements Wellesley held out for co-operation would seem to have been a seat in the Cabinet for Canning, and some high legal appointment for Mr. Perceval. Canning appears to have been not unwilling to accept; but it is doubtful whether in any circumstances the bait offered would have tempted Perceval, whose ambition had now taken a loftier flight. By this time, however, the principal members of the late Ministry had come to a working agreement among themselves, under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland. Their claims to office could only be satisfied by reconstruction and change on a much larger scale than was compatible with Lord Grenville's engagements to his Whig colleagues. A letter from him to Lord Wellesley, and a statement of Mr. Canning to Lord Lowther, printed on pages 387-391, throw light on this abortive negotiation, which lingered on until the death of Fox. Lord Fitz-William now resigned as President of the Council, but consented to remain in the Cabinet without office. It only remained for Lord Grenville to fill the gaps in his Administration by selections from the Ministerial ranks. Lord Howick, as chief of the Whigs, the strongest section of the Ministerial forces, succeeded Fox at the Foreign Office, and as leader of the House of Commons. But Lord Buckingham insisted that Thomas Grenville, not Windham, should lead the Grenville wing of the party in that House as Secretary for the Home Department, and next in official standing to Lord Howick. This arrangement had the public advantage of allowing Lord Spencer, now Home Secretary, to return to the Admiralty, which he had formerly ruled with extraordinary efficiency. But as by the *Civil List Act* only two Secretaries of State could sit in the House of Commons, it would also compel Windham, the Secretary for War, to take a peerage or give up his office. Windham had carried through Parliament the most important measure of the session for the reorganisation of the military forces of the country. As his reputation as an administrator was in a measure bound up with its success, he naturally desired to bring it himself into operation. He had sat in Pitt's first Cabinet from the time of the Whig secession from Fox in 1794 to 1801, in particular connexion with Lord Grenville; had adhered to Grenville in opposition to Addington and Pitt as a personal as well as a political friend; and whether in office or in opposition was "a bright particular star" in a galaxy of Parliamentary talent which shines through the ages with a lustre all its own. Grenville knew well that all Windham's aims and interests and happiness in public life were centred in the House of Commons. But Lord Buckingham had taken a strong dislike to the War Secretary, and wished to expel him from the Ministry, or, if he remained in office, from the House of



Commons.<sup>1</sup> Two days before Fox's death Lord Grenville wrote to Windham on the subject of the difficulties that must attend a new arrangement of offices. He suggested that Windham might help him to overcome them by accepting a peerage, but added: "it is a question on which the slightest intimation of your wishes either way must outweigh in my mind all other considerations. The object of this letter is only that of bringing the subject under your own consideration, that you may yourself decide upon it." Windham replied at once that public and private motives forbade him to entertain the proposal. This should have settled the question as it regarded him. But a few days afterwards, in a family council, Lord Grenville seems to have abandoned Windham to Lord Buckingham's private spite and ambition. He drew up a statement declaring his inability to form a new Government unless the War Secretary made way for Thomas Grenville by moving up to the House of Lords; and he asked his principal colleagues to join with him in persuading Windham to take this step as a sacrifice to the common interests. His colleagues, under stress of what they were assured was "indispensable necessity," acceded to this request; but Lord Howick, much to his credit, and the more so as Windham belonged to the Grenville not the Whig section of the Ministry, wrote: "I feel we are not acting kindly to him, and if he should reject this proposal, I cannot concur in pressing it to his exclusion from office." Windham again refused, questioning the necessity or even advantage of the change proposed, and expressing his determination to resign office rather than consent. Then Lord Grenville, somewhat ashamed probably of the line he had taken, sent a common friend, William Elliot, Chief Secretary for Ireland, to explain confidentially to the War Minister circumstances of the situation which could not be set down on paper. Windham adhered to his resolution, but wrote in most friendly and even affectionate terms to express his regret. Lord Howick and Lord Spencer proposed new arrangements in a self-denying spirit, with the view of promoting reconstruction, but they were not needed. When Lord Buckingham saw that he could not carry his point without breaking up the Government, the "indispensable necessity" vanished of itself. Thomas Grenville accepted the office of First Lord of the Admiralty without any worse consequences, apparently, than those which might result from Lord Buckingham's exercise of naval patronage. Lord Sidmouth mounted up from the post of Lord Privy Seal to that of Lord President of the Council. Lord Holland entered the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal. Mr. Tierney succeeded T. Grenville at the Board of Control, and Lord Sidmouth's brother-in-law, Mr. Bragge-Bathurst, became Master of the Mint. It cannot be said that in the course of this political shuffle Lord Grenville acted a dignified or a generous part. He was, no doubt, coerced into his harsh

<sup>1</sup> Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville, July 23 and September 11, 1806.

dealing with Windham by a threat of Lord Buckingham to withdraw his support from the Ministry unless his scheme of reconstruction were adopted. Their correspondence shows that at a later period of Lord Grenville's career, his brother used this threat with decisive effect in nearly analogous circumstances. We may safely infer that it was not personal ambition made Lord Grenville play what must be considered an unworthy part on this occasion, but habitual submission to family influence. There is no reason to doubt his repeated assertions that his own inclinations led him to prefer the lettered ease of Dropmore to political turmoil in high office; and that he would abandon office unless sustained in it by the support of his brothers.

The Government being again in working order, Lord Grenville suddenly dissolved Parliament at the end of October, having removed some objection to this proceeding raised by the King in consequence of a misunderstanding. A great part of the correspondence for the last months of the year 1806 is devoted to the business of the elections. The task of adjusting claims to the same seat put forward by candidates belonging to the three parties composing the administration, and alike seeking official support; and especially the conflicting pretensions of jobbing peers in Ireland which Dublin Castle cautiously referred to Downing Street, appear to have occupied the Prime Minister's attention much more than the overthrow of the Prussian monarchy.

Early in October Count de Jacobi had arrived in London, bringing a letter from the King of Prussia to George III. He assured Lord Howick that the Prussian Government would restore Hanover at the conclusion of a general peace, and look to some other arrangement, such as the annexation of the new kingdom of Holland, as compensation for the loss; and he proposed to renew the negotiation for an alliance against France which had been broken off at the beginning of the year. But the British Government refused to be content with assurances, or to discuss an application for aid until the articles of agreement with which Lord Morpeth had been despatched to Germany were actually signed. Morpeth appears to have reached the Prussian headquarters at Weimar, where the King, Queen, Court and Cabinet of Prussia were now assembled, on the night of October 12. He immediately requested an audience of Count Haugwitz, who promised to see him on the following day.<sup>1</sup> The interview never took place.

The Duke of Brunswick, to whom the King of Prussia had given the chief command of his troops, was a man of undoubted ability, well versed in military science. But his constitutional caution and indecision, which served the cause of the French Revolution so effectively at Valmy, had lost him the confidence of the Prussian army. Had he been allowed

<sup>1</sup> Morpeth to Howick, October 16, 1806.—*F.O. Despatches.*

to follow his own judgment, he would have taken up a strong defensive position at Magdeburg on the Elbe to await there reinforcements coming from Russia. This no doubt would have been the wisest course. It was what Napoleon feared, and used every artifice to prevent; his object being to bring the enemy to a decisive battle and cut him off from the Elbe, as he had cut off the Austrians under Mack from the Inn. It had also a strenuous advocate in General Dumouriez, the Duke's able antagonist at Valmy, and lately military adviser of the British Government. The best way of fighting Napoleon, Dumouriez declared, was to oppose to him time, distance, and climate. But the Prussian army, which owed its most glorious traditions to the untiring energy and bold tactics of Frederick the Great, scouted the idea of retreat. It found a vigorous exponent of its rashness in Prince Hohenloe, second in command to the Duke of Brunswick, a soldier of approved merit, who had been deprived of a petty sovereignty in South Germany by Napoleon in forming the Confederation of the Rhine. Under this influence the Prussian Council of War decided to fall on the Grand Army before its six corps, each commanded by a marshal of France, and scattered, as it was thought, over Franconia and the Upper Palatinate, had time to concentrate. The day appointed for this forward movement appears to have been October 10, when the time fixed by a Prussian proclamation for the French to quit Germany should have expired. Hardly however was this resolution taken, when it was discovered that Napoleon had already been for a week at Wurtzburg, conferring with the King of Wirtemberg and Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and completing his arrangements for the campaign. After another fierce conflict in the Prussian Council of War, the middle course was adopted of awaiting the French attack in a position on the river Saale, screened in front by the Thuringian Forest, and having its headquarters at Erfurth.

Napoleon veiled his designs by such skilful tactics that not one of the Prussian generals, in an unceasing conflict of opinion, succeeded in penetrating them. Instead of advancing, according to universal expectation, along the great main road running to the left of the Thuringian Forest, the French moved rapidly forward along a line to the right of the forest which the Germans had failed to take into calculation; routed a detached body of troops at Saalfeld under Prince Louis of Prussia, who was killed in the action; burned the magazines of the Prussian army on the Saale, and threatened to cut it off from the Elbe. The Prussian army to avoid being turned on the left, retired in great confusion to Weimar. Here it was resolved in a Council of War to continue the retreat towards the Elbe, along the left bank of the Saale, which, being crowned by a succession of wooded heights, afforded strong positions for defence. On the morning of October 13

the Duke of Brunswick led the way with the main body of about 90,000 men, accompanied by the King and Marshal Möllendorf. He left Prince Hohenloe with about 50,000 Prussians and Saxons to guard the bridge across the Saale at Jena, while he marched on to take possession of another bridge further down the river at Naumberg, and thus secure, as he hoped, the Prussian line of retreat. General Rüffel, with a Prussian corps of 20,000 men, remained at Weimar to await the return of the Duke of Weimar with another body of Prussians still scattered in the Thuringian Forest. The French, pursuing more rapidly along the right and lower bank of the Saale, seized the bridges. Napoleon crossed the river at Jena on the night of the 13th, followed next morning by the bulk of his army; having ordered Marshals Davout and Bernadotte to cross at Naumberg and support him with the two corps under their command. The French under the Emperor ascended a series of steep ravines, dragging along with them guns and ammunition, and, being favoured by night and a dense fog, established themselves unknown to the enemy on a wooded hill, since known as Napoleonsberg. On the morning of the 14th, as the fog began to clear off, Napoleon saw before him Prince Hohenloe's troops, which he took to be the whole Prussian army, stretching away towards Weimar. Only a part of his own army had yet joined him, but Marshal Ney, not to be restrained, began the attack. Hohenloe, though completely surprised, called General Ruchel to his aid, and held his ground for a time with obstinate valour; but after a prolonged and desperate conflict the French, increasing every hour in strength, dislodged the Germans from all their positions, and drove them in wild rout towards Weimar. In the meantime Marshal Davout crossed the Saale at Naumberg, took possession of the defile of Kosan leading up to the opposite heights, and summoned Marshal Bernadotte to join him. Such, however, was the rivalry between French marshals that they rarely acted cordially together, even under the eye of Napoleon. Bernadotte, instead of joining Davout, marched away to another passage of the river, and took no part in the fighting. The consequence was that Davout, on emerging from the defile and gaining foothold on the upper ground, found himself with 26,000 men exposed to the onset of the main Prussian army advancing from Auerstadt. But the three divisions composing his corps were the flower of the Grand Army. They held their ground with great loss, but invincible tenacity, for six hours against repeated assaults, in the course of which the Duke of Brunswick and Marshal Mollendorf were mortally wounded, and the King, who exposed his person to the hottest fire, had a horse shot under him. At length the King, discouraged by the loss of his chief generals, retired from the field in good order, with the intention of

renewing the attack next day when joined by Prince Hohenloe and General Richel. His troops in their retreat towards Weimar came into collision with the beaten army of Hohenloe flying in utter confusion, with 20,000 French cavalry under Prince Murat flashing and thundering in their rear. The roads to Weimar were choked with fugitives and baggage wagons. Panic spread to the ranks of the main army. Whole divisions exhausted by fatigue and hunger, broke and fled, and finally disbanded. The King escaped with a small band of followers. The wounded generals were borne away in safety ; and Prince Hohenloe also extricated himself from the rout. But prisoners in thousands, with all the abandoned guns and wagons, fell into the hands of the victors. On October 15 the Prussian army no longer existed.

Lord Morpeth left Weimar on the morning of the 14th without having seen the King or Count Haugwitz, and repaired to Brunswick. Hearing there that, in the opinion of Marshal Kalkreuth, who had commanded the Prussian reserve at Auerstadt and saved it from the general wreck, no further resistance was possible, and that the King had asked for an armistice to treat for peace, he retired to Hamburg. A little later, on the approach of the victorious French, he took ship at Cuxhaven for England, without any further attempt to discharge his mission, or waiting for fresh instructions. In truth, the amazing events which followed each other in breathless succession might well have dazed a stronger brain. Terror and bewilderment were in the air. On October 13, the day before the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, Napoleon sent M. de la Rochefoucault with a letter to the King of Prussia, which expressed a wish to prevent the effusion of blood by coming to some accommodation. Such was the confusion that reigned at Prussian headquarters that the King did not read this letter till the 15th, when the battles had been fought and lost.<sup>1</sup> He then despatched M. Lucchesini to ask for an armistice. Napoleon refused the request. He had already sent his marshals in hot pursuit of the flying Prussians, and hastened in person to Potsdam, sending forward Marshal Davout to occupy Berlin. Prince Hohenloe, now Prussian commander-in-chief, succeeded in collecting about 50,000 fugitives at the rendezvous of Magdeburg, in a miserable state of disorder and want. Fearing to exhaust the supply of provisions in the fortress, he set out with about half his men along the coast-line for Stettin, but was overtaken by Murat and Lannes, and compelled to lay down his arms. General Blucher with the remaining half turned northwards, and forced his way into the free city of Lubeck, in the hope of finding ships to transport his followers to East Prussia. But the French, pressing close on his heels, took Lubeck by storm, drove him out into the plain, and compelled him to surrender. An epidemic of discouragement invaded, mastered and betrayed all the Prussian strongholds. Fortresses with large

<sup>1</sup> Stuart to Howick, November 11.—*F.O. Despatches.*

garrisons, and supplied for long sieges, opened their gates to the enemy one after another with hardly a show of resistance. General Lasalle with a body of cavalry galloped up to the gates of Stettin, defended by 6,000 men and a numerous artillery, and by mere bravado compelled the governor to capitulate—a feat of audacity said to be unexampled in the annals of war. Finally the governor of Magdeburg, one of the most strongly fortified cities in Europe, defended by a garrison of 22,000 troops, yielded to the clamour of the terror-stricken inhabitants, and gave the place up to Marshal Ney on November 8. Within one month from the opening of the campaign Napoleon had made himself absolute master of all Prussia and its dependencies from the Rhine and the Ems to the Oder. Only East Prussia, Silesia, and about 25,000 troops remained to Frederick William III. The French Emperor spared Saxony, the old enemy of Prussia, and the minor Saxon potentates. The Elector became a king, and with all of his House joined the Confederation of the Rhine. But Marshal Mortier took possession of the territory of the Elector of Hesse, the old trafficking stipendiary of the British Government who had deserted Prussia in her hour of need, and disbanded the Hessian army. What wonder if Napoleon became intoxicated with the fumes of power and glory! The past thirteen months were crowded with his extraordinary achievements. Probably no ruler of men known to history had, within an equal period of time, accomplished such marvels of the material order in the fields of war and peace. Visions of universal dominion dazzled his imagination. It seemed to him not only that he could subdue all Europe as easily as he had subdued Germany; but also, as he phrased it, “conquer the sea by the land.” In order to liberate trade from the tyrannical naval supremacy of Great Britain, he would bring all the free kingdoms of Europe into vassalage to himself. In this spirit he issued on November 21, 1806, the Berlin Decrees; and answered a second request brought to him by Marquis Lucchessini and General Zastrow from the King of Prussia, for an armistice to treat for peace. The decrees declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade; closed all the ports of Europe from the Adriatic to the Oder against British trade; ordered all British goods to be confiscated, and all British subjects to be arrested and held as prisoners throughout France, Italy, Holland, and northern Germany. Napoleon’s answer to the Prussian envoys announced his intention to keep all his German conquests until Great Britain had restored the colonies she had captured. He would, however, consent to an armistice on condition that all Prussian territory between the Oder and the Vistula, with its fortresses and those of Silesia, should be delivered up to him; and that the Russian army, then on the Vistula, should withdraw behind the Niemen. Frederick William naturally preferred to this demand of absolute submission the chances of another campaign, in

union with the Czar, and under conditions much more arduous for the French. British Governments replied to the Berlin decrees by a series of Orders in Council, which annihilated neutral trade, and ultimately brought on war with the United States of America. The King of Prussia now fixed his residence at Königsberg. Haugwitz and Lucchesini, who had become obnoxious to Alexander, retired, leaving the conduct of foreign relations to General Zastrow. Napoleon proceeded to join his army on the Vistula; welcomed as a liberator with immense enthusiasm by the Poles under Prussian rule; and to find, as Dumouriez had predicted, in time, distance, and climate, antagonists more formidable than any he had hitherto encountered.

Early in November, after Lord Morpeth's return to England, a treaty of peace between Great Britain and Prussia was signed in London by Lord Howick and Count de Jacobi, on the terms required by the British Government. Howick then despatched Lord Hutchinson to represent Great Britain at Frederick William's headquarters. The new envoy was instructed to examine attentively and report on all the circumstances of the military situation in Poland, and to encourage the Prussians to resist Napoleon by cordial offers of help from Great Britain. If the Prussian Government asked for money, he was to reply that the British Government expected that all the resources of Prussia should be exhausted before such a demand was made. Frederick William, it was reported in England, had carried away with him from Berlin a secret hoard of 2,000,000*l.* Should this rumour prove unfounded, and should Hutchinson be able to satisfy himself that the King was in actual need, and that the expenditure would produce advantageous results for the common interests, he was authorised to advance 200,000*l.* as a loan, or even as a subsidy. The contrast here between liberal promise and meagre performance is sufficiently marked. There is a great falling off from the 8,000,000*l.* granted or offered to the allied powers in 1805 by Pitt. But it represented the policy which had been deliberately adopted by the British Ministry. Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, the War Minister, had come to the conclusion that, in view of the enormous expense of British expeditions to the Continent of Europe as compared with the little effect that could be expected from them, all the available resources of the monarchy should be employed in enterprises which more immediately concerned the particular interests of Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> The Cabinet generally, seem to have adopted this opinion: and the collapse of Prussia only confirmed it. When news reached England of the battle of Jena, Lord FitzWilliam, anticipating the sentiment and almost the words with which Canning, nearly twenty years later, electrified the House of Commons, wrote, "There is an end of the Old World; we must look to the New."

<sup>1</sup> Windham to Lord Grenville, September 22, 23; Grenville to Windham, September 22, 23.

Lord Auckland urged a concentration of effort in pursuit of merely British interests. Lord Sidmouth alone protested, ineffectually, against sending to America troops which should be employed in aiding Prussia. The attention of Government was now engrossed by a scheme conceived by Lord Grenville for the conquest of Mexico. It apparently embraced several small combined expeditions of troops of all colours, from England, Buenos Ayres, and the East and West Indies. In preparing it Lord Grenville took counsel with Lord Buckingham, and afterwards with Sir Arthur Wellesley, for whom he designed the chief command. It would seem that the execution of it was first fixed for the winter of 1806. Thomas Grenville, now First Lord of the Admiralty, wrote to Lord Buckingham on November 15 that "the attack on Mexico had to be given up on account of the general inefficiency of the naval services."<sup>1</sup> The chief culprit was Admiral Warren, who commanded in the American seas. Writing again on November 25, Grenville asks, "How can I weed out the list of admirals? It is a list of incurables." In fact, at this time British admirals appear to have got out of hand. Some of them, as Popham at Buenos Ayres, and Cochrane who aided General Miranda to raise a revolt in the Caracas, were too enterprising, and acted without or against instructions; the majority were negligent and did less than enough. It may be said in extenuation, they had no longer an enemy in any strength to encounter on the seas. However, the Mexican enterprise was merely postponed. Consultations on the subject between Lord Grenville and Sir Arthur Wellesley were continued during the months of November and December. In December advice was also sought from Lord Holland; and from his friend Mr. Allen, Lady Holland's "pet atheist" of later days, who had made the Spanish colonies a subject of special study. Lord Holland, who, as a traveller, knew far more of the Spanish character than Lord Grenville or any other member of the Cabinet, set his face against an attempt to conquer Mexico for Great Britain. He would help the Mexicans to establish an independent monarchy. But in the greed of acquisition which possessed the Ministry his warnings were rejected. The project being based on the hypothesis that Buenos Ayres still remained in British hands, was illusory; and there can be little doubt that General Whitelocke's disastrous failure to recover that city, which put an end to the scheme, was a "blessing in disguise."

In the meantime there were other applications for aid against Napoleon to which the British Cabinet turned a deaf ear. When the Spanish Government, still in the hands of Godoy, Prince of the Peace, learned that the French Emperor had left Paris for another campaign in Germany, it began to arm for the purpose of throwing off his galling yoke. The King, Charles IV, wrote a letter of encouragement and friendly profession to the King of Prussia. He also made an overture through the

<sup>1</sup> *Court and Cabinets of George III.*



Emperor Alexander of immediate peace with Great Britain, and of eventual alliance, when he had completed his military preparations. Lord Howick replied curtly through the British Minister at St. Petersburg that the Spanish proposals were inadmissible.<sup>1</sup> No doubt the Mexican project blocked the way. This premature burst of national spirit, which the overthrow of the Prussian monarchy quenched in terror, had to be expiated by an act of atonement which covered the Spanish Government with ridicule. Godoy hastened to congratulate the conqueror, and excused his raising troops by the alleged necessity of repelling an African inroad of the Moors. Napoleon had already found the King of Spain's letter to the King of Prussia in the royal archives at Potsdam.<sup>2</sup> Dissembling his resentment, he accepted the explanations offered, and requested as a mark of Charles IV's friendship that the recent levies, no longer required apparently to oppose the Moors, should be despatched to his aid. With a promptitude unusual in affairs of Spain, a body of Spanish troops, commanded by the Marquis de la Romana, arrived in North Germany to swell the forces that held Prussia in subjection to the French Emperor.

There was another urgent claim on its support, which the British Cabinet must have found peculiarly embarrassing. The Emperor Alexander, who was already straining all the resources of the Russian Empire in obstinate efforts to hold Prussian Poland against the Grand Army, applied urgently to Lord Grenville, not for a subsidy which Pitt had so freely given, but for the aid of British credit in raising a Russian loan of 7,000,000*l.* at five per cent. interest, charged on revenues which, as Mr. Stuart, English Minister at St. Petersburg reported, offered ample security.<sup>3</sup> He pressed the British Government also to help its allies and weaken the common enemy by hostile expeditions to France and Holland.<sup>4</sup> And he made repeated complaints of injuries inflicted by British cruisers and prize courts on Russian commerce, in defiance of the treaty of St. Petersburg. Lord Howick's silence or evasive answers, which were practical denials of the aid and of the redress claimed, aroused bitter resentment at St. Petersburg. This appearance of selfish indifference occurred too at a moment when Mr. Stuart was importunate with the Czar to guarantee Hanover to George III, and to renew a commercial treaty, very advantageous to England, which was about to expire.<sup>5</sup>

A financial project which he devised to enable Great Britain "to carry on many years of war without new taxes" also occupied Lord Grenville's mind during the last month of 1806. It was apparently intended to supersede Pitt's famous scheme of a sinking fund, borrowed from Dr. Price, and, as Price

<sup>1</sup> Howick to Stuart, November 14, 1806.—*F.O. Despatches.*

<sup>2</sup> Stuart to Howick, December 18, 1806.—*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Same to same, November 19, 1806.—*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Same to same, November 28 and December 18, 1806.—*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Howick to Stewart, September 24, October 3 and November 4, 1806.—*Ibid.*

complained, spoiled in adoption, which was now generally admitted to be a costly failure. In working out his plan, Lord Grenville called to his aid Lord Auckland and Mr. Vansittart, Secretary of the Treasury, both of them able financiers. They gave him zealous co-operation; but, finding his calculations too sanguine, they suggested various modifications with the view of giving his idea a more practical shape. Discussions on the subject, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer took part, seem to have been continued without definite result to the end of the year.

The rupture of negotiations with France having been popular throughout the country, and particularly among the commercial classes, the general election in November added considerably to the strength of Government in the House of Commons. "I reckon the new Parliament," Lord Grenville wrote on December 2, "at from 430 to 500 friends, from 120 to 130 contrary, and all the rest doubtful or absent." What chiefly arrests attention in connexion with this general election is the unreserve with which a Prime Minister so politically pure and scrupulous as Lord Grenville undoubtedly was, resorted, in those times of rotten boroughs, restricted suffrage, and official patronage, to systematic bribery in purchasing seats with public money, and to intimidation of public servants in order to bring his supporters into Parliament. Even Windham, the fearless asserter of the right to differ on matters of principle, invoked the vengeance of Government on every petty official who ventured to oppose by speech or action his candidature for the county of Norfolk.

The King in signifying his approval of the reconstructed Ministry, had been particularly gracious to Lord Grenville. An intrigue of Lord Eldon and the Duke of Cumberland to prevent the dissolution of Parliament had either failed or been abandoned; and when the year 1806 drew to a close the hopes of Opposition had fallen to a very low ebb. But although launched on a smiling sea, and wafted by favouring breezes, there was a rock immediately ahead of the Administration, on which, as Lord Grenville knew well, it might probably suffer shipwreck. This was the Irish question.

The Act of Union up to this time had belied all the promises of its authors, and confirmed the evil prophecies of its foes. It had dislocated the old machinery of government without supplying new.<sup>1</sup> Absenteeism, with its disastrous effect on industry, trade and social order, had become yearly more of a settled habit among the great landowners. Anarchy reigned in the established Church. Beneficed clergymen, following the example of landlords, deserted their duties and sought more agreeable quarters in England, in defiance of bishops and canon law.<sup>2</sup> The peasantry, delivered over more completely to

<sup>1</sup> Lord Redesdale to W. Wickham, January 3rd, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop of Armagh to W. Elliot, April 8, p. 90; Archbishop of Armagh to the Duke of Bedford, April 27.

the grinding exactions of middlemen and tithe-proctors, sank deeper in misery ; and social oppression produced an abundant harvest of secret societies and agrarian crime. The Catholics of the middle class, impatient at finding indefinitely postponed the prospect of a removal of their disabilities with which the authors of the Act of Union had purchased their acquiescence in that measure, now resolved, in spite of the dissuasions of the Irish Government and of some of their more aristocratic leaders who were in closer touch with Government, to resume those methods of constitutional agitation which Irish law still allowed. They had remained passive during the current year in an attitude of expectation. Their last petition for relief had been presented while Pitt was chief Minister, by Fox in the House of Commons ; and in the House of Lords by Lord Grenville in a speech of remarkable power, with a cogency and completeness which aroused universal attention. He and the majority of his colleagues were still staunch advocates of their claims. But it was impossible for them as Ministers to introduce an Emancipation Bill in spite of the King's invincible repugnance. In fact, what was known as the Catholic question was one of those which had necessarily been left "open" when the Administration was formed. "Open" it must remain if the Ministry, or any other founded on the same principle of comprehension, was to remain in office.

There was another phase of the Irish question not less embarrassing for the Prime Minister himself. Lord Buckingham, representing apparently the opinions and disposition of other absentee proprietors, insisted that outrages perpetrated in the counties of Sligo and Roscommon by incendiaries known as "Captain Trasher's" band, were of a political character ; smouldering rebellion in fact, fomented by the French. He urged with all the authority of a former Lord Lieutenant primed with confidential information, that the only remedy lay in "systematic and vigorous coercion" administered by a new form of military tribunal which he proposed to establish in Ireland. Lord Grenville naturally inclined to drastic measures in dealing with popular discontent, and was much governed by his brother's advice. But the Irish Government, better informed from official sources, and directly responsible for public order, could find little or no trace of treasonable correspondence ; and as the Irish Law Officers considered the ordinary process of law sufficient to quell local disorder, neither the Duke of Bedford, nor his Chief Secretary, William Elliot, nor Lord Spencer at the Home Office, would consent to the introduction of any system of arbitrary repression. It must also be said that, since the passing of the Act of Union, Lord Grenville, under a sense no doubt of particular responsibility for that measure, had turned his attention more fully to the causes of Irish discontent, and the remedial legislation they required. During the course of 1806 he more than once urged the Duke of Bedford to prepare

some plan for relieving Catholic tenants of the excessive burthen of tithes. The Duke, like Lord Grenville himself, a zealous member of the Church of England, showed himself fully alive to the pressing need of this reform. But he was a very timid politician. He feared that the Orange party, which assumed to be the special guardian of Protestant interests, should raise against him the cry of the "Church in danger" unless he acted in a matter of this kind in concert with the Archbishop of Armagh, and other members of the episcopal body. His fears, and a want of opportunities for consultation, seem to have deferred the official expression of his very cautious suggestions until the following year.

Another Irish project lay very near Lord Grenville's heart; one inspired chiefly by Imperial needs, but also having for its objects the partial removal of an Irish grievance, and the directing into a useful channel of Irish energies now running to waste. Since the beginning of the war against the French Revolution, in 1793, the efforts of the British Government against France had been greatly hampered by inability to raise at home sufficient troops for foreign service. Flourishing industries and world-wide trade gave the working classes of Great Britain more attractive occupation. In Ireland artificial social conditions, resulting from conquest and penal laws, caused a dearth of employment. And, to complete the contrast, abundant material for admirable soldiers was furnished by a teeming population of men only too willing to escape from sordid poverty and enforced idleness by embracing a military life. But here religious intolerance barred the way. By an Act of the Irish Parliament, passed in 1793, Catholics were allowed to hold all commissions in the army up to the rank of general on the staff. At this time the Irish army was a separate force, limited in number to 18,000 men, which could only be moved from the island by the consent of the Irish Parliament. The Act of Union abolished the Irish army and did not give the Irish Act of 1793 validity in other parts of His Majesty's dominions. The consequence was that, when Irish regiments were moved over to England, Catholic officers lost their commissions, and Catholic soldiers were compelled to attend Protestant worship. This intolerant spirit completely checked recruiting in most parts of Ireland, and cost the Government dear. Year after year various expedients, one more costly and ineffective than another, were adopted by the Imperial Parliament to enable Ministers to fulfil their engagements to foreign powers, or despatch expeditions for national objects. These difficulties seem to have suggested to Lord Grenville the idea of raising in Ireland Catholic regiments with Catholic officers for service in Malta, Sicily, Portugal, South America or any other country where their religion prevailed. By this means he thought the effect intended might be given to the Irish Act of 1793, the military needs of Government might be amply supplied, and the elements of agrarian disorder in Ireland considerably

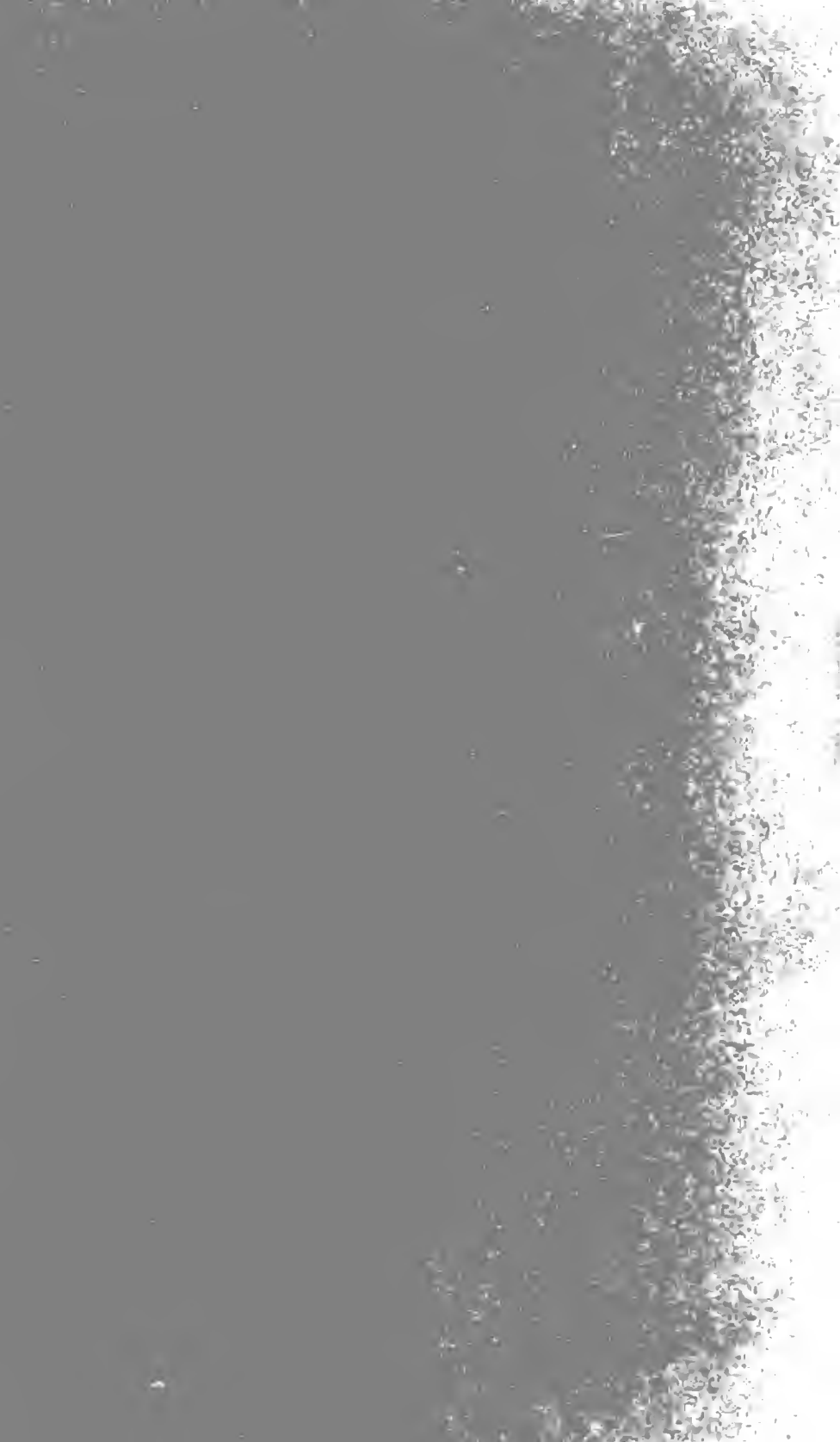
weakened. The project, however, received but little encouragement from the Irish Government. It would create a distinction, Bedford thought, likely to arouse jealousies and suspicions among the Protestants; and invidious to the Catholics themselves, who aimed at equality of civil and political rights with their fellow-citizens of the dominant creed. Could not Grenville, he suggested, induce the military authorities to give Windham's Act a fair trial by allowing freedom of worship to Catholic soldiers? But Lord Grenville, now bent on the conquest of Mexico, clung to his idea with characteristic tenacity. Writing on December 29 to congratulate the Lord Lieutenant on the repression of outrage in Connaught, he again urged the adoption of his scheme of raising Catholic regiments, as a measure not only beneficial to Ireland, but of great importance to the interests of the whole Empire.

WALTER FITZPATRICK.

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*NOTE.*—Some errors in regard to names, overlooked in the revision of the Introduction to Volume VII, are corrected in a list of errata prefixed to this Volume.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS OF  
J. B. FORTESCUE, ESQ.,

PRESERVED AT DROPMORE.

VOL VIII.

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, January 31.—“ In humble obedience to your Majesty’s commands, Lord Grenville has communicated with such persons as appeared to him best able to assist in framing such a plan of an administration as might, under the present difficult and arduous circumstances, be most likely to carry on the government with advantage to your Majesty’s service.

“ It is with their concurrence that he has now the honour humbly to submit to your Majesty that the Cabinet council might, if your Majesty were pleased to approve of it, consist of the following persons holding the respective offices under-mentioned :—

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Lord Chancellor                        | Mr. Erskine.       |
| Lord President                         | Earl Fitzwilliam.  |
| Lord Privy Seal                        | Viscount Sidmouth. |
| Secretary of State, Foreign Department | Mr. Fox.           |
| ”    ”    Home Department              | Earl Spencer.      |
| ”    ”    War Department               | Mr. Windham.       |
| First Lord of the Admiralty            | Mr. Grey.          |
| Lord Lieutenant of Ireland             | Earl of Moira.     |
| Chancellor of the Exchequer            | Lord Henry Petty.  |
| First Lord of the Treasury             | Lord Grenville.    |

“ And to this Cabinet, if your Majesty approved of it, it would also be proposed that Lord Ellenborough, your Majesty’s Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, should be added.

“ No new arrangement is here submitted to your Majesty respecting the important office of Master General of the Ordnance, until it shall be known whether the Earl of Moira shall be willing to undertake the situation of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which proposition Lord Moira’s absence from London has obliged Lord Grenville to submit to your Majesty without his Lordship’s knowledge.

“ It would be farther humbly proposed, that Lord Minto should be President of the Board of Control for India; Lord

“Lord Auckland, President of the Committee of your Majesty’s Privy Council for the affairs of Trade; General Fitzpatrick, Secretary at War; and Mr. Pigott and Mr. Romilly, Attorney and Solicitor General.

“Lord Grenville has thus presumed to lay before your Majesty the humble opinion of the persons with whom he has communicated as to the formation of a Cabinet, and the disposal of the principal offices of business, agreeably to what he understood to be your Majesty’s pleasure. The arrangements for the Boards and other offices of less importance would be formed on a similar principle of comprehending as much as possible those persons of different descriptions who might appear likely to be most useful to the carrying on your Majesty’s service.

“Lord Grenville cannot submit these ideas to your Majesty on the part of the persons above named, or still more, on his own part, without expressing at the same time the deepest sense of the difficulties of the different situations which it is here proposed that they should respectively undertake, together with the humble assurance of their desire to manifest to the utmost of their power by every part of their conduct their zeal for the honour and interests of your Majesty’s government, and their respect, duty, and attachment to your Majesty’s Royal Person.

“The arrangements to be made respecting the defence of the country and the administration of the military service in all its extensive and various branches, must, of necessity, form the first object of attention to any persons whom your Majesty may be pleased under the present circumstances of public affairs to call to your service. And in the present moment the persons above named only venture to express the hope that, should your Majesty be pleased to call them to your confidential councils, they may be honoured with your Majesty’s gracious confidence on the whole of these important matters without appearing to transgress the limits of their duty; and that your Majesty will be favourably disposed to the discussion of such measures respecting it as, on a full examination of the subject, aided by those means of information which official situations can alone furnish to them, shall appear to them advantageous or necessary to be submitted for your Majesty’s consideration.

“It would at all times be the earnest wish of the persons above named to avoid to the utmost of their power submitting to your Majesty proposals for extending the peerage. But, in the first formation of a new Government, they trust that your Majesty would not be disinclined to honour with that dignity a very few persons, not exceeding four or five at the utmost, all of them of such rank and station in life as seem to point them out as unexceptionable objects for your Majesty’s favour in that respect.” *Copy.*



LORD GRENVILLE to HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE  
PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, January 31. London.—“I do not trouble your Royal Highness by intruding myself upon you again this morning, nothing more having passed except the King’s taking for consideration the whole of what I was charged to lay before his Majesty, and acquainting me that his Majesty would send for me when he had taken his determination. His Majesty kept me almost half an hour, and was very gracious in his personal expressions towards me.” *Holograph copy.*

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES to  
LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, January 31. Carlton House.—“If you have a quarter of an hour to spare between one and two o’clock to-morrow, I should be happy to have five minutes conversation with you, as there has something come to my knowledge, which I think will not be entirely disagreeable to you to know, as it is certainly of no small importance.”

C. J. FOX to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 1.—“The Prince of Wales orders me to tell you that he wishes to see you to-morrow at Carlton House. He names no hour, but says if you name that on which you will call, he will be ready to receive you. He wishes you to shew him the paper submitted to his Majesty, and I should be much obliged to you if you would send me a copy of the paragraph respecting the Army. I shall shew it to Lord Sidmouth, and I suppose you will wish soon to have a meeting at which he should assist, but that as you think fit. I think the King cannot patch up an administration; but, even if he can, it is a great satisfaction for us to stand on publick ground and not on that of particular arrangement. I have little doubt of the public being with us, unless we manage our cause very ill. Lord Hawkesbury is to be at the Queen’s House to-morrow morning at eleven.”

LORD GRENVILLE to HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE  
PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, February 1. London.—“I have just done myself the honour to pay my duty at Carlton House, to mention that his Majesty required my attendance this evening at half past eight, and that his Majesty appeared very desirous of receiving further explanation as to the extent of the ideas in contemplation, respecting the administration of the military service. After I had gone as far on that subject as I was authorized by the opinions of those in whose name I spoke, as well as by my own, his Majesty observed that the matter required further consideration,

and, after near an hour's audience, dismissed me. His Majesty's manner throughout the whole, was perfectly calm and collected, and his expressions very gracious, although it was evident that the matter was one in which he took the deepest interest. No particular time was mentioned for his Majesty's further answer on the subject." *Copy by the Marquis of Buckingham.*

EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 1. Milton.—“I thank you for the communication of the plan of the Cabinet. I approve of the attention paid to the King's feelings and prejudices. I need say nothing with respect to the remainder; that must be as satisfactory to me, as I believe it will be found gratifying to the public. One alteration however I wish to suggest, and that is a change of office between Lord Sidmouth and myself; probably the change will be gratifying to him, I am sure it will be most acceptable to me. I begged Charles Fox to propose it, but I am afraid he has overlooked my request, and perhaps he did not feel the extent of my anxiety about it; but if there is no solid objection, pray let it be done; many, many reasons make me wish it.

“Should the King approve the plan, and the change of adm[inistratio]n take effect, I must beg you to solicit the King's permission for me to remain, some days longer in the country. In truth, this week has not passed off well; though Milton has gained ground in point of bodily strength, his head has been very disagreeably affected, so much so, as to make us very uneasy. I believe it has been owing to his own imprudence. He was so imprudent as to read a good deal one evening; he did so at the time without fatigue and with perfect comprehension of the subject, but the next day, when he took up a book, he could not read a paragraph, all was confusion; and this confusion, or the dread of it has hung upon him from that day to this. Happily this morning he seems, and admits himself to be better in that respect; however, for the sake of precaution a blister is put on this morning.

“I do not then ask a few days suspension of my acceptance of office without just cause. I cannot leave him and Lady Fitzwilliam, till I see these symptoms disappear, and no trace of them remain.”

*Postscript.*—“Lord Dundas has cast a longing eye upon the Post Office; if contrary to all probability it has not found an occupier, let me suggest his name.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, February 1. Eden Farm.—“I have been glad to keep out of the reach of the idle communications and speculations of this speculating week. I trust however that,

if I should have the good fortune to find you at eleven o'clock next Monday, I shall then hear that all is settled, and with a graciousness which may gradually ripen into cordiality.

“The character and permanency of the new Government must depend eventually on the wisdom of its measures, and on the providential results of those measures. But there are many subordinate points which will occur from day to day, and which, however inferior in their importance, ought not to be neglected. For instance, and in the supposition that the arrangements will have been sanctioned this day or to-morrow, it is not immaterial that *the whole*, in one correct statement, should be sent at the same time to be inserted in each of the Monday's newspapers. If your official access to so fair a proceeding is not yet opened, it may be managed through Mr. Freeling. An abridged, imperfect, or erroneous account would be attended with evident inconvenience. The complete statement when presented in one point of view cannot fail to give a right and useful impression both at home and abroad: I have thought this suggestion material enough to be forwarded by a servant. It is connected with a much larger consideration respecting the good and evil to be derived from the public prints; of which hereafter.”

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH TO THE SAME.

1806, February 1. Clifford Street.—“I am this moment favoured with your letter—having left town yesterday evening—and return you many thanks for the satisfaction it afforded me. Vansittart feels himself highly indebted to your Lordship for the very flattering sentiments which you have expressed concerning him.”

*Private.* THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1806, February 1. Richmond Park.—“I cannot forbear troubling you in consequence of the extreme dissatisfaction with which the report of the intended law appointments has been received by the profession and the public, as far as I can judge from all that I have observed and heard in the course of this morning. Considering the immense mass of property and the important interests of other descriptions upon which the decisions of the Court of Chancery must operate, it is a harassing reflection that the individual who is thought of to preside in that court—where he can have no assistant—will have all his business to learn. It is however true that there is great difficulty in making a proper choice; an offer has been made to Sir James Mansfield and declined; and Sir William Grant seems to be the only other person whose sufficiency for such a station appears to be generally admitted. Of his parliamentary and professional talents there can be but one opinion, and I am convinced that he might be cordially and firmly attached to your

Government. If such an appointment should not be thought advisable, would it not be right to put the Seals into commission, and reserve Erskine for a vacancy, which must soon occur in the Common Pleas, for the supply of which he is eminently qualified. In that case, he might hold the office of Attorney General in the interval, and prevent the appointment of Pigot, who though a good lawyer, and an honourable man, has not sufficient weight of character for such a situation. Is it not also expedient to reconsider the proposed appointment of Ponsonby in Ireland. Believe me, the report of it has given general uneasiness. It has been suggested by Lord Ellenborough that an opening might be made for Erskine in the Court of Exchequer, before he succeeds to the Common Pleas, by giving the Seals of Ireland to Sir Archibald Macdonald; an appointment which, if not highly desirable, is at least not discreditable, and one which incidentally, might be attended with effect by no means unimportant at this time. This arrangement would also smooth the way for Erskine to the Court of Chancery, if the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas should not soon become vacant. In a very short time, Romilly will be ripe for the highest situation in the profession.

“ I have to beg your pardon for obtruding these opinions; I have done so very reluctantly, and I am sure you will give me credit for my motive. The opinions which I have ventured to express are, I know, entertained by persons of the greatest respectability belonging to the profession of the law, who are very anxious for the credit and success of the whole of the new arrangement; no part of which will attract the observation or influence the sentiments and disposition of the public more than that which relates to the law appointments.”

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 1. Pall Mall.—“ Though I remain of the same opinion which I stated to you yesterday as to the way in which it may be right to settle that part of the army business which relates to the nomination to commissions, yet the whole of that question requires so much consideration, that it will be well, in any conversation which may take place upon it, to leave the subject as much open as possible. The idea of some common control over all the branches of army expenditure, if it ever can be realised, must, I am persuaded, be quite separate, and vested in quite different hands from that of a military council for the conduct of *military operations and arrangements for defence*. We must see, however, what can be done; but I have no notion at present that any effectual control can be given from the Secretary of State's Office to the Barrack or Commissary's Department; and, as for the Secretaryship at War, it has not the smallest want of control, there being at present neither abuse, nor any temptation to

abuse, except that which may arise from relaxation of diligence ; which, certainly, an officer of less consideration than the Secretary at War must be supposed equal to prevent.

“With respect to the Barrack Department, and, I suppose, Commissariat, the matter stands thus. The Commander in Chief (or whatever power should be substituted in his room) orders the service, the Treasury looks to the expenditure. Should the superintendence of the expenditure be transferred to the Secretaryship at State, you will see plainly that a separate description of persons must be employed in it. Those who are the most fit to determine the service are commonly the least so to control and check the charge, and *vice versa*; and, therefore, I do not see what could be gained by transferring that superintendence from the Treasury.

“I state these ideas thus early, not merely because the subject is pressing, but with a view to any conversation which may arise upon it in your next interview.”

#### MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE SAME.

1806, February 2. Park Lane.—“Having received several letters from India by the *Medusa*, I conceive it to be my duty to state to you my sentiments on some points of considerable importance and pressing exigency in the actual condition of affairs.

“It is my decided opinion that Sir George Barlow should be immediately confirmed in the Government, with the full appointment of Governor General; that his Council should be completed, and that Lord Lake should be empowered to resume the chief command of the King’s and Company’s troops throughout India.

“I am satisfied that these arrangements are infinitely more safe in the present moment than any other plan which could be suggested.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1806, February 2. Camelford House.—“I saw the King again last night. He appeared extremely desirous to receive a particular explanation of what might be intended to be done on the subject of the arrangements for the defence of the country, and for the military administration, under the general reference which it had been thought necessary to make to that subject in the paper laid before his Majesty.

“It was obviously necessary to confine my answer to the assurance that nothing was intended except the liberty of laying before his Majesty those suggestions which a sense of duty and a more accurate knowledge of the subject, resulting from official information, might render indispensable; and that, as we did not presume to ask his Majesty’s previous consent to any particular measures on that point, so, on the other hand, we trusted that we should be left at liberty to

consider, without any previous reserve on his Majesty's part, the whole of a subject on which the safety and actual existence of the country might, within a few months, be entirely to depend.

"After much discussion on this ground, but without making any advance beyond what is here stated, his Majesty dismissed me, saying that the subject required further consideration.

"I am obliged to go to Carlton House, the Prince having directed me to attend him. I should otherwise have called upon you to mention these particulars. If any further communication is received from the King, it will be necessary that we should all meet to consider of it; but that will probably not be sooner than to-morrow, at the earliest.

"I have received your letter this morning, and shall be glad to talk with you about it when we see each other."

#### GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 3. Queen's Palace.—"The King has considered that part of the paper delivered to him by Lord Grenville which relates to the defence of the country, and the administration of the military service.

"The King regrets that the paragraph to which he refers together with any explanation he has been able to procure, should be of so general a nature as to render it impossible to pass it by without notice, or to answer it with any precision. His Majesty has no desire to restrain his confidential servants from the most thorough investigation into the various and extensive branches of the military service, and he will be favourably disposed to consider any measures relating to this important subject, which upon a full examination may be laid before him.

"The King therefore desires that Lord Grenville will, with as little delay as possible, after conferring with those persons with whom he acts, convey to him specially on paper, for his consideration, the explanation which his Majesty requires; and the King must be understood as reserving to himself at all times the undoubted right of deciding on the measures which may be proposed to him respecting the military service, or the administration of it, both with reference to the prerogatives of the Crown, and the nature and expediency of the measures themselves."

#### LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, February 3. Spencer House.—"Lord Grenville has obeyed your Majesty's commands by communicating to the persons with whom he acts the paper which your Majesty was graciously pleased to deliver to him this morning.

"He is desired humbly to assure your Majesty that the sentiments which Your Majesty has there the goodness to express fully answer every object of the paragraph to which

your Majesty refers. The persons in question have uniformly felt that in their present situations it would be impossible for them to frame their opinions beforehand on the particular measures best to be submitted respecting the defence of the country, and the administration of the military service in all its extensive and various branches. But from the moment that your Majesty is graciously pleased to declare that your Majesty has no desire to restrain your confidential servants from the thorough investigation of this important subject, and will be favourably disposed to consider any measures relating to it which upon a full examination may be laid before your Majesty, they feel that they can have nothing further to ask upon this point. They trust your Majesty could not for a moment doubt that they know too well the respect they owe to your Majesty and the limits of their duty, not to be fully sensible that upon this, as upon every other branch of administration, it is your Majesty's pleasure that can alone decide on the adoption or rejection of any measures which your Majesty's ministers may at any time submit to your Majesty's consideration." *Holograph copy.*

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 3. [Pall Mall.]—"I have thought myself round on the subject of the army patronage, and, in conjunction with Elliot, am of opinion that that great instrument, with the credit to be derived from a most correct use of it, will be absolutely necessary to carry me through the frightful task which I shall have to perform. I am not sure, too, whether to give an air of unity and system to the whole, something must not be done of the sort which you have had in view. But this will be matter of consideration. The Secretary for the War Department must stand to the Commander of the Forces in the relation in which the Lord Lieutenant formerly did to the Commander in Chief in Ireland, leaving the current details to the Commander in Chief, but interfering whenever he saw fit, and having in his hands the nomination of all commissions. This seems to be [the] nearest analogy.

"A consideration of quite another kind has been newly started, which fills me with no small anxiety, and which is an odd one to have been overlooked even by a person as little attentive, as I hope I generally am, to my own interest. The Secretary of the War Department does not receive, I understand, the same salary as the others. This is a matter of the most serious nature. I can do anything but break in upon the independence of my private situation; and that I must do if the salary of the office will not defray its expenses. We must talk of this at more leisure, for I must lose no time in sending off my letter."

## C. J. FOX TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 4. Arlington Street.—“I write you this line to say that the Prince of Wales wishes you very much to call either *before* or *after* you go to the Queen’s House. I recommended *before* because you cannot be kept. I should be obliged to you also if you would not mention Lord Charles Somerset for the Tower *to-day*, as there is a doubt whether it ought not to be given to Moira. The Prince wishes you, if any difficulty is made about Erskine, to say you had made the offers you have made, and that Lord Ellenborough gave it as his opinion [. . . .] was the fittest man in England.”

## GEORGE III TO THE SAME.

1806, February 4. Queen’s Palace.—“The King finds that the Secretaries of State will be ready to resign the seals of their offices to-morrow, and therefore desires that Lord Grenville will give due notice to Lord Spencer and Mr. Windham to attend here at two o’clock to-morrow to receive them. As Lord Westmorland is desirous of delivering up the seals of his office at the same time, his Majesty thinks it right to point out to Lord Grenville the expediency of his successor’s being also required to attend here at the above hour, and it will be necessary that a Council should be held to-morrow.

“The Chancellor has informed his Majesty that he will have closed the business of his office on Friday night, and he will attend here at two o’clock on that day to resign the seals.”

## LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1806, February 4. Camelford House.—“Lord Grenville will not fail to apprise Lord Sidmouth, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham of your Majesty’s commands that they should attend to-morrow at the Queen’s House at two o’clock to receive the seals of the offices which your Majesty is pleased to confer upon them; and he will also apprise Sir Stephen Cottrell that a Council is to be summoned for that day, when, if your Majesty approves of it, Mr. Fox and Lord Temple may be sworn of your Majesty’s Privy Council.” *Copy.*

## LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 4. Palace Yard.—“I am apprehensive that you may feel too much interrupted by me, and yet it would be painful to keep back any communications that may seem at this moment to deserve your attention. As soon as the (first rate) vessel of the new Government shall be fairly launched, I shall have less to say, and easier means of saying it.

“I enclose three papers. Number 1 seems to have been meant for your perusal; and if it were not, it is proper that you



should know the candid and friendly disposition of the writer, who has excellent qualities in private life, and whose good will and good word are not immaterial in a public view.

"Number 2 was certainly written to be in substance repeated to you, and fully confirms what I said yesterday. The individual alluded to may be pressed on you, but whether you may find him either useful or ornamental at your Board may be matter of doubt.

"Number 3 came to me four days ago. I declined the suggestion; and not merely because I suspected the object to be unattainable. The ability of the young man (even if he had not had the advantage of being taught his syntax by you at Sêve) might soon have been equal to the undertaking. But I am not desirous to see the powers and active period of his mind sunk in the great bog of Indian politics, however important they are. If the public situation can be carried forwards with the fair hope of public safety, some mode of employing him may, ere long, present itself to your favourable recollection: in the mean time all the chiefs of the law assure me that he is employing himself as well as possible in their courts and society.

"Have the goodness either to return this packet to me when we meet, or if that should be too troublesome, destroy it.

"I shall see Mr. Freeling to-morrow, and will examine him as to the point of which we talked yesterday, and which I think almost essential to be put into a right system. If he can be of use in it, you will find him perfectly safe and discreet.

"It cannot be necessary for you to come to the House to-day if you prefer staying away. The papers to be presented are very voluminous and must of course be printed, and any of us can intimate that, as soon as they are printed, you will propose an early day for their consideration. But many other papers will probably be necessary to explain the treaties; and also to elucidate the strange and manifest errors in the application of our force, pending and subsequent to the late most disastrous campaign. Some account is wanting of the remittance actually made, or considered as still due.

"Lord Temple sent to me through my son some very obliging assurances on the occasion of our being destined to the same harness. You are aware (I presume) that he must be sworn in at the Council, when I also should attend, and the Board will then be constituted by a minute of Council."

#### W. WINDHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, February 4. [Pall Mall.]—"When I first heard of the business of Calcraft, I was decidedly of your opinion, considering it as nothing less than an inlet to the House of Commons from Carlton House; but I have good reason since to think that the fact is not so; that it is Fox much more

than the Prince that is anxious for this ; and that not so much for any particular party view, as from the real advantage which he would derive from a man so long practised, and so well versed in the business. Calcraft is, moreover, as I have always understood, a man less engaged in the intrigue of Carlton House, and more adverse to it, than any one connected with that establishment.

“ It is at least worth while to consider these facts, if such they are, and let them weigh in your own mind, even if they should not be seen to do so in your language. ”

#### W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 4. [Pall Mall.]—“ I have been just told that there is some idea of Lord Folkestone’s having a seat at the Admiralty Board. Let me beg you to give me a line if such is the fact, that I may know, if it should not be known at present, whether he is disposed to accept office ; which I am not informed of at present, not having spoke to him upon the subject since I found from what you said that the Treasury, which alone I happened to have in my head at the time I spoke to you, was likely to be filled by persons of another description.

“ I have not told you all the grief and all the self-reproach I feel upon the subject of Lawrence ; whose case, as connected with my conduct in it, destroys whatever little comfort I could find in the undertaking in which we have engaged. It would be some consolation if a Lordship of the Admiralty could be offered to him (for I don’t know that he could accept it) provided Grey should feel no objection, which is very possible that he might, though perfectly well disposed towards Lawrence in general. In that case Lord Folkestone might, I am sure, be put by with perfect safety, even if he should be disposed for such a situation.

“ I hope we shall have a few minutes for conversation before we are called into the King to-morrow. Or perhaps you do not go there ? I should like to know whether, if the King were to allude to the Council stated by the *Morning Chronicle* as being intended to be placed about the Duke of York, I might say that certainly no such measure had been in contemplation. Perhaps it will be better to give no answer about this or anything else ; but it seems to me altogether impossible that such could be the course of proceeding. Though Fox did throw out that idea in the debate on Crauford’s motion, it seems to me, of all others, that which the Duke of York would consider as more humiliating ; and from the choice which could be made of the members, that which would be the least effectual. It is clear, however, that it would be best for the present to say nothing about it.

#### MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1806, February 4. Buckingham House.—“ On my return home last night I found a note from the Prince of Wales

commanding me for 2 o'clock, and at three I saw him. He at once announced his earnest wish that I would assist as far as I was able a very anxious and favourite wish of his, which I discovered, long before he had finished, to be the appointment of Mr. Calcraft to the Secretaryship of the Treasury, which he turned in various points as one most practicable, inasmuch as you would have, at all events, two confidential secretaries, Mr. Vansittart and the third vice Mr. Harrison; and the arrangement was now entirely open, inasmuch as you had excused yourself to him from the necessity of appointing Mr. Elliott and Mr. King, and by Elliott's acceptance of Ireland that appointment was now vacant; and then followed the enumeration of Mr. Calcraft's qualifications and of his Royal Highness's eternal obligations.

"I stated in answer my utter ignorance of your arrangements on this subject, and that nothing short of his commands should induce me to speak to you on a matter in which I feel that I had personally no right, save his orders, to say one word. But that perhaps it might be right for me to set his Royal Highness right in one particular, namely, that Mr. Vansittart was almost a perfect stranger to you, named upon public grounds only to that situation; and that the most material, if not the only feature in that appointment, was the desire of marking by it every facility to the wish which his Royal Highness had so often commanded me to express to you of forwarding Lord Sidmouth's co-operation in this new Government. And therefore the compliance with his Royal Highness's wishes, if it were now practicable, of which I know nothing, would in fact leave you with only one confidential man in the most confidential of all situations, even admitting that Mr. Harrison could be removed, which I did not know was certain; but that, in all events, the third secretary could not sit in Parliament, so that in fact under such an arrangement, you would not have one secretary in the House of Commons.

"I took care to state all this as my idea of the difficulty, professing not to know your thoughts upon it. He then endeavoured to find out what view you might have by asking me who I brought in for St. Mawes; and I answered that it would be Mr. Wyndham, but if he stood for Norfolk I should give you the seat for your secretary; or should, if you did not want it, arrange it in some way for George Nugent. He ended in commanding me to press Calcraft upon you.

"Lord Moira called upon me to desire me to tell you 'what from old habits he could more easily express to me than to you, his earnest and anxious hope that you would look upon him as most determined to consider this as your Government, and to give to you every possible confidence, even to the sacrifice of his own opinions to yours on every point in which it could be possible for you to think differently in Cabinet; knowing that on all essential points your ideas agreed most perfectly.'

“It seemed to me as if he feared that something he had said had made impressions which he wished to remove.

12 o'clock at night. “The chase is followed up hotly, for I have a received a letter from Mr. Calcraft desiring me from his Royal Highness to allow him to see me to-morrow at twelve; to which *pour vos beaux yeux* I agree, rather than give you the trouble of killing your own Hotspur; and I shall not see his Royal Highness till after that interview.

“As you have already expressed yourself so kindly disposed towards Fremantle, is there any objection, in case the third lot should be pressed, to say that it is ascertained to be *clerkship*, and arranged by you on that idea to a person in your confidence; for, on reading your letter again, I think you leave that point of attack too open. Do not mistake me as pressing for F[remantle] by this suggestion, but as fencing for you.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1806, February 4. Camelford House.—“You well know what extreme reluctance I must feel to the opposing any difficulties in the way of an object in which the Prince of Wales condescends to interest himself. But, in truth, I have already given to the subject the fullest and most anxious consideration. The objections which I feel to the appointment of Mr. Calcraft have no reference to the character or situation of that gentleman, who, I doubt not, is worthy of every confidence, and to whom the best recommendation would be the interest which his Royal Highness is so good as to take in his behalf. Nor do they depend on the particular arrangements which I have made, or had it in contemplation to make, for the individuals whom I have looked to for that office. What I feel as absolutely indispensable both to my own comfort, and my own honour, is that in the most confidential of all situations, I should have the assistance of a person in whom, from former habits and acquaintance, I can at once and entirely confide.

“Mr. Vansittart was a perfect stranger to me, and the reasons which led me to think of his appointment have already been truly stated by you to the Prince; but I neither could have agreed to that nomination, nor could I ever have entertained for an instant the idea of undertaking as I did most unwillingly the office I now hold, except under the persuasion that the choice of the secretaries of the Treasury was after that to be left entirely to myself, to be regulated not merely by the comparative merit of the individuals, but by the degree of previous confidence which former knowledge might lead me to repose in them.

“Of Mr. Harrison I know nothing; but I learn that his situation is very considerably inferior to that of the two other secretaries, both in rank and in emolument; is not tenable with Parliament; and is rather the station of a first clerk than of a joint secretary.

"I have gone into this long detail in order that you may be enabled to satisfy his Royal Highness both that you have fully executed the orders with which he was pleased to charge you; and also that nothing but the most cogent reasons, such as I have here stated to you, could induce me to express any reluctance to comply with what I know to be so much desired by his Royal Highness." *Copy.*

C. J. FOX TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February [5]. Arlington Street.—"I was at dinner when your note came, and did not recollect to mention to you a circumstance which I heard since I saw you this morning.

"I have good reason to believe that the office of Constable of the Tower is one on which Lord Moira would set a great value, and therefore, if it should come in your way, I wish you would either mention him for it to his Majesty, or at least decline any arrangement that may throw any difficulties in the way of Lord Moira's having it.

"I have likewise been informed from an authority that is very good, that the King came to town resolved on acquiescence without reserve, and that our seeming to have any inclination to give way more than decency requires would do rather harm than good. I cannot conclude this note without repeating to you how very much grieved I am at your resolution respecting Calcraft. I see more mischiefs arising from this circumstance than I can describe. I shall stay at home for you."

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1806, February 5. Charles Street.—"I have just left Fox who is perfectly and entirely satisfied with what you have written upon the subject of Lord Albemarle. Lord Moira tells Fox that Tierney will probably not take the Ordnance, though he would take the joint Paymaster. Surely the best possible arrangement would be for Lord J. Townshend to go to the Ordnance, Courteney to the Treasury, and Tierney to the Pay Office. By this mode you will avoid all question of Courtenay being a Privy Councillor, and I am persuaded that you will find Courtenay quite as pleasant and practicable at your Board as Lord J. Townshend. I am persuaded this is the best; Fox thinks so too, but merely submits it to your consideration as he himself has no preference. Surely Tierney's being in office is worth this arrangement."

5 o'clock.—"I have talked over the Secretaryship of the Treasury, and thought it over as much as I can, and I remain persuaded that the best thing you can do is to make King immediately your second, and Fremantle your third. This arrangement seems better than any other which occurs, and will stop all present question, while it affords the best facilities for the future perhaps, in letting Fremantle, after some

experience, naturally succeed to King ; a succession, however, which I should recommend to you not to engage for, but to keep entirely in your hands.

“Lord Buckingham desired me to give you the enclosed papers. The letter is one of discontent from the Prince ; the printed paper is on the Catholic question, and is, as Lord Buckingham says, absolutely necessary to be read by you.

“Is it not worth while to think of the government of Isle of Wight for Lord Leicester or Lord Chichester, or some *more steady politician* ? Lord Buckingham says it is 1,400*l. per annum* ; and I confess that, if you are still in great want of offices, I do not see why Lord Bolton should be suffered to hold that. Would it not dulcify the P[rince] ? ”

#### C. J. FOX TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 6. Arlington Street.—H. Addington is to have the Board of Control. Yesterday his brother insisted he should *not* take the labouring oar, open the Budget. To-day he (Lord Sidmouth) insisted he *should* open the Budget. To-night H. Addington, who has just left me, says that whether he is to take the active part or not is entirely indifferent to him, and leaves that matter to us. So, before he calls or writes again, I think myself at liberty to say that he accepts the Board of Control without conditions. Lord John Townshend I wish to be joint Paymaster.

I forgot to ask you to-day whether you would have any objection to my getting rid of Hammond ; he is, I believe, well provided for in case of retirement. The Queen’s civility to me to-day was quite marked, especially as it is the first time she spoke to me since 1788.

*Postscript.*—“Pray speak to any members of the House of Commons you may see, to be down to make a ballot to-morrow, for, if one cannot be made, not only the Writs but the Exchequer Bills must all be delayed.

“I have no objection to Sullivan, and I rather think he was mentioned and assented to. The objection to Johnstone seems to be that according to my notion of the act he must be a Privy Councillor.

“I believe I forgot to mention that Lord William Russell *does* accept the Stick.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

[1806, February 6. Camelford House.]—“Lord Grenville begs leave to acquaint your Majesty that Lord Archibald Hamilton, whom he has submitted to your Majesty for the Treasury, desired yesterday to decline accepting that situation ; and as it was necessary that no time should be lost in making out that Commission, Lord Grenville thought your Majesty would approve of his taking the liberty to direct that Lord Althorpe’s name should be inserted in that Commission,

and Lord William Russell's in the Admiralty Commission in lieu of Lord Althorpe.

"And he begs leave further to mention that, if your Majesty should be graciously pleased to approve of it, Lord Ossulstone would be humbly submitted to your Majesty for the White Stick now held by Lord Stopford." *Holograph copy.*

J. H. ADDINGTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 6. Clifford Street.—"I could not fail to be highly gratified by the manner in which your Lordship received the suggestion made through my brother last night, which was dictated by the satisfaction I could safely anticipate in being a member of a Board at which you presided.

"This morning I have had opportunities, which had not before presented themselves, of making particular enquiries as to the duties which would belong to an *efficient* member of the Board of Control; and am not without reason for hoping that a little industry might enable me to discharge them without dissatisfaction to myself, of which I had before been led to entertain great doubts. I have therefore waited on Mr. Fox this evening; and, to preclude the inconvenience of any further suspense as far as I am concerned, have declared to him my intention of accepting a seat at that Board, leaving it only open to be determined whether Lord Morpeth or myself should take the active part in the House of Commons; which I neither solicit, or decline.

"Under these circumstances, I have thought it right to trouble your Lordship with the result of much consideration on my part, to which, I own, that *prudential* ones have a little contributed; that you may not be kept in suspense as to the mode of filling up the Treasury commission. Before, however, this step is *finally* taken, I should hope that you would have the goodness to mention the subject to Mr. Fox; though I cannot doubt but that he must have understood me distinctly to have accepted of the former appointment."

W. WINDHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, February 6. [Pall Mall.]—"I saw his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and have put in train what is necessary, as well with respect to Lord Lake's commission which rests now entirely with his Royal Highness, as to the allotment of the troops returning from the Continent. The Duke will send a list of the troops intended to disembark here, and of those that are to proceed to Ireland, and an order will then be sent from my Office directing the transports, as they arrive, to regulate themselves accordingly. His Royal Highness's idea is, and I think a very right one, not to send back the same troops to Ireland, but only the same number. Of the Hanoverians too he wishes to make a separation, in the manner in which I believe you understood him; that is, to send the

older part of levy to Ireland, and the more recent one to keep here. The Hanoverian artillery, too, he proposes for Ireland.

“I am sorry for the conversation which you have had about the exchange of the Commanders of the Forces here and in Scotland; not only because, regularly, I ought to have been a party to it, but because I doubt very much whether it will be advantageous. If the Duke of York continues in his present situation, the difference may not be much. But if there should be any change in respect to the Duke of York, the difference would be immense. It was a case that I was talking over lately with General FitzPatrick. Though it might be desirable that, in case of any increasing prospect of attack, Lord M[oira] should be appointed to the command of the forces here, there were many reasons for deferring that step at present, and, certainly, for not deciding upon it without further consideration.

“The enclosed note I have just got from Grey. I have answered it, describing with good humour what I think of the unreasonableness of a person who, with the whole patronage of the navy and three out of the six lords of the Admiralty, is now grasping at a fourth; and stating the utter impossibility of retracting an offer actually made, even if I could have given way before, which I did not pretend to say that I could.

*Postscript.*—“Should it be true, as Grey supposes, that Lord Kensington would wish to decline, his seat cannot be vacated, I conclude, without his acceptance.”

*Enclosure* :—

C. GREY to W. WINDHAM.

“Are you quite sure that it will not be inconvenient to Lord Kensington to vacate his seat? The patent must be filled up to-morrow (as any delay would be productive of great evils) and after it has passed the Great Seal, his writ must be moved for. Pray let me have an answer to this before to-morrow at 10 o'clock, as I must send the names in at that hour.”

LORD GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1806, February 7. [Downing St.]—“You have quite misunderstood me if you suppose I had any conversation with the Duke of York about the exchange of commanders here and in Scotland. His Royal Highness mentioned the command in Scotland as an object of immediate attention, it being manifest that Lord M[oira] as Major-General of the Ordnance and a Cabinet Minister could not return there; and he threw out the idea of Dundas's going there, to which I made no answer, not knowing the opinion of others on the subject, nor how far this arrangement was wished by themselves.

“I think you have given to Grey the only answer that the case admits of. Certainly Lord Kensington cannot vacate his seat but by his own acceptance of the office.” *Copy.*



## THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 7. Charles Street.—“ You do not know or feel the sentiments of our friends upon the unbounded admission of Addington and his followers. I have this moment a note from Morpeth with a question as to its being possible that he should be destined to have *Hiley* for his colleague, and I am obliged to tell him that you have given him Sullivan likewise. I suspect that with these colleagues he very possibly will not accept. To soften this ungracious news to him, I have suggested that perhaps he and Courtenay might change, which would bring Morpeth to your Treasury; but whether he will pursue this notion or resist the offer altogether I cannot yet say. I have written to advise him to send immediately to Lord Spencer, to tell him—what is true—that he is confined to-day by a cold, and cannot go out to be sworn.

“ What can have made Fox and you so regardless of your friends’ feelings and wishes upon the subject of Addington? ”

## EARL SPENCER to THE SAME.

1806, February 8. Whitehall.—“ I have seen Lord Morpeth, who expresses himself much obliged by the proposal made to him of removing to the Treasury; but says that, as he has kissed hands for the other Board, and his appointment has been public, he thinks he had better not change it, and therefore chooses to remain where he is. I have therefore ventured to give directions for the Treasury commission to stand as follows:—Lord Grenville, Lord H. Petty, Lord Althorp, Right Honourable W. Wickham, J. Courtenay, Esq.; and for the Admiralty commission as follows:—Mr. Grey, Sir P. Stephens, Admiral Markham, Sir Charles Pole, Sir Harry Neale, Lord Ossulston, Lord Kensington. Am I right? One line in answer will enable me to sign the alteration in the warrants, which I understand to be necessary.

“ I shall be at home from 5 o’clock for the whole evening.”

## THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1806, February 8. Charles Street.—“ Mr. Whitbread has just called upon me to say that, not being acquainted with you, he desires me to become the channel of his application to you in favour of Lord Monson’s brother to succeed to the Deanery of Lincoln, which is every hour expected to become vacant by the Dean’s death. Monson, he says, is Rector of Bedale in Yorkshire, which was Dr. Perey’s, and is a good thing to give away. Whitbread added that he had spoken to Fox and Grey who had promised to back his application to you with all their interest. I told him that I would very willingly become his messenger to you, and that without any delay; but that, of course, I knew nothing whatever of your engagements or intentions. Lord Monson is an old friend of

Mr. Fox, and the Rector of Bedale is his brother, Thomas Monson. With this communication to you I consider my commission as completed, as all that Whitbread asked of me was that, as he himself is unknown to you, I would be the bearer of his application to you.

“Mr. Fremantle called upon me in great apparent anxiety and agitation at supposing all question of him to be put by. I assured him that Lord Buckingham and you had been as desirous as possible to see such arrangements practicable as might be agreeable to him, and that I hoped it would in the end turn out to be so.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to LORD HENRY PETTY.

1806, February 8. Camelford House.—“I send this letter to your house (that you may find it on your return to town) to mention to you that it will be necessary that we should have a Treasury Board at twelve on Monday, in order to go through the formalities necessary previous to our beginning upon our business. I will also at that time present to you the new acting Auditor of the Exchequer who must be approved by you as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

“I wish also to mention to you in this way, rather than in conversation, some particulars respecting the house which Mr. Pitt occupied in Downing Street. It was granted by George the Second to Sir Robert Walpole to be annexed to his official situation when he held the two offices of First Lord of the Treasury and of Chancellor of the Exchequer. When those offices have been united, it has been usually occupied by the person holding them both; when they have been separated, sometimes the First Lord of the Treasury and sometimes the Chancellor of the Exchequer has lived there. In the last instance of the sort, the Duke of Portland lived there, and if I am not misinformed he says that he did so as thinking that the house belonged to him by virtue of his office, and not in consequence of any agreement or compromise with Lord J. Cavendish.

“The house is a bad one, and it would be no object to me to leave a very good one for it, if it were not for the great convenience of its nearness to the different public offices, with many of which it actually communicates. But this circumstance makes me rather wish to inhabit it. As however there might be some doubt in your mind on the subject I determined to take no step respecting it till I had communicated with you. If you should be impressed with any opinion that the house is more properly annexed to your office than to mine, and should wish to live there, it will be easy for us to find a common friend to ascertain the point for us; and at all events I beg you to believe that it is not one of such a nature as that I should be disposed to lay much stress upon it.” *Copy.*

## THE SAME to C. J. FOX.

1806, February 9. Camelford House.—“ Before I received your note, which has but this instant reached me, I had actually sent to desire to see Long this evening. I cannot therefore well avoid mentioning the idea to him as one which some of us have entertained, and which, if he can be persuaded to it, I myself feel extremely anxious to carry into effect; though of course he will be to understand that a formal or official proposal cannot be made to him without our having previously communicated with the Duke of Bedford. I cannot conceal from you that, even if this arrangement should not succeed, I see the greatest possible difficulties in the way of the other you mention, and think *many* other preferable suggestions may still be found.” *Copy.*

## LORD HENRY PETTY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 9. Bolton Street.—“ I have just found your note upon my return to town, and shall not fail to attend you at the Treasury to-morrow. I had been led, though certainly upon very loose information, to suppose that the house in Downing Street was connected with the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; but, from the circumstances to which you allude, the contrary appears to be the case. I should be happy at all events to accommodate you, but it may perhaps be satisfactory with a view to any future arrangements to ascertain if possible distinctly to which of the two offices the house is attached.”

## MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1806, February 10, Buckingham House.—“ I have had the fullest discussion with Sir W. Young on the subject of his resignation of St. Mawes, to which he has lent himself with every desire to quit his seat without any compensation, save the prospect of a government in the West Indies; but it is absolutely unsafe for him to quit Parliament for a moment, except in such circumstances as should induce his merchant to take up all the engagements which Addington’s prosecution of him two years ago subjected him to, for the purpose of getting rid of the extent issued against him. Under these circumstances I am sure you would not wish me to risk his situation; and consequently I see no means of bringing in John King, unless a West Indian government could be found, and nothing is now vacant. I have written to Windham to state the closing the very Irish negotiation of Captain Blackwood, and to beg him to think of Sir William on a vacancy, in which case, whenever it happens, you shall have St. Mawes.

“ I could not bring my mind yesterday to mis-spend the very few moments that we now have to pass together, by urging you on a matter in which I plainly saw that you had great difficulties, I mean the appointment of Fremantle *versus*

Harrison ; but every moment satisfies me that it will be absolutely impossible for you to avail yourself of the situation in which you are placed, unless you have in the offices immediately connected with you, persons who not only have your confidence, but who are known to enjoy it. I would write more on that subject if your letter—from which I spoke to Calcraft—did not contain volumes on this chapter ; and when the principles of that letter are applied to Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Harrison, strangers to you, *though intimately connected with each other*, and to Mr. King, who is universally reported, *upon his own declarations*, to have taken the situation only for a time, how is it possible that you should derive from such an arrangement the fair assistance you ought to have, in any of the many confidential matters that must pass through the official hands of your secretaries. Sure I am that such an experiment was never made ; and if I am to judge from my father's papers now in my hands, I am confident that his government could not have gone on a week under such an arrangement. Indeed your own letter to me on that chapter is unanswerable ; and the more so, because even since you wrote it, the reasons and necessity of increased precaution are considerably increased, both in public estimation, and in the real state of the case, or of the situation in which you stand.

“ Judge how this difficulty is to be felt as with respect to your ministerial position connected with the House of Commons, where you have not one single friend or connexion in office save Wickham and Lord Temple ; and figure to yourself how it will be possible for the various questions of patronage and objects of that nature to be discussed by your friends and well wishers through Vansittart and Harrison, or through a private secretary equally new to you and your friends. Look only to *that chapter*—not of little importance—in which we mixed up the name of Mr. Dardis, and see how it is possible that those details can be discussed—necessarily without your participation—with those two public secretaries, or a private secretary new to you, or indeed with John King if he is to leave you—*as he says he is*—and to retire. *That chapter* cannot be so discussed safely ; and indeed I should very much doubt whether Dardis ought or can be so employed, so long as he lives avowedly under my roof and patronage, unless he has a channel of direction of a very different description in point of confidence. I could say much more to you on this latter subject, but that I dare not write all I feel, and hate to converse with you on matters that are uneasy, when I am to see so little of you. All, therefore, I will add on *that subject* is, that it presses materially, that the means are slipping fast out of your hands, that Vansittart himself will be in possession of them, and that I do not see how it can be possible to keep that subject in a course that can be exclusively such as it ought to be, so long as the natural and proper channel is thus unfortunately shut.

“ You will think upon reading this long letter that my friendship for Fremantle and my wish to see him in Harrison’s situation makes me press this matter upon you. I will not deny that wish, or my friendship for him ; but I do seriously claim from you credit for sentiments of a different sort, and solely personal to you, that guide my pen in this matter. It has hung very heavy on my mind. I may safely say that I have been so much impressed with the danger of your situation arising out of the insulated position in which you find yourself, that I have not closed my eyes last night. I had intended to have urged Tom to press this consideration upon you, but as I had no opportunity of seeing him after we parted, I have ventured to trust to my own pen to express my uneasiness, and my anxious wish. At all events, think of me always as more alive to your ease, character, and happiness, than to my own.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 10. Charles Street.—“ I am necessarily made a great channel of communications to you, which, as they must be made, perhaps pass with no great inconvenience through me. Lord Dorchester has desired me to apply to you from him in favour of his *near relation and heir* Lord Portarlington, who is a candidate, when a vacancy shall arise, for an elective seat in the House of Lords. This had been promised, as I am told, by Pitt ; but the request now comes to you on the part of Lord Dorchester who takes great interest in his relation’s affairs. Lord Portarlington has a borough, and his brother-in-law, Parnell, is probably by this time member for Queen’s county.

“ Lord Dorchester desires me to add that he would have come to you to ask this, but that he cannot get out of a carriage. His great wish seems to be to have as distinct an answer as possible, by which I understand that he is anxious to know whether you are engaged for the *first*, and that he may expect the *second* ; or whether he may depend upon a *third*, if you should be unable to give him an earlier expectation.

“ For Lord Portarlington’s brother, who is a young man of sixteen, he wishes if possible to place him in a train of business, even without income ; and Lord Macartney, who is likewise related to Lord Portarlington, has suggested to him to ask to be named an *extra clerk of the Treasury*, of which Lord Macartney says there are some, and for which he is anxious to apply although he conceives there is little or no salary. I stated a doubt about an *extra clerk* with honourable before his name, but he quotes Lord Macartney for saying that it is no derogation.

“ Of these requests, particularly the first, I can say more when I see you ; but I presume you will talk it over with Elliot before you give your answer. Does Long accept ? I hope you will say yes.”

## W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 10. Butler's Court.—“I send over with this a letter which, by an easy mistake, has been brought hither instead of to Dropmore, and which I luckily perceived, before I opened it, to be intended not for me, but Mr. Wickham. Will you have the goodness to take charge of it?”

“The account stated in some of the papers of a treaty, offensive and defensive, in which Prussia was concerned, does not seem to be confirmed; so one remains in the same doubtful or rather fearful uncertainty as before, notwithstanding the note of Baron Hardenburg.

“If Prussia *could* be induced to interpose now, when her interposition would be nothing less than rescuing Austria from destruction, it would certainly give her a fine claim to the gratitude of that Court, and might lay the foundation of a future good understanding, if the two Courts and countries are capable of being governed by such motives. The certainty that, if Bonaparte crushes Austria, Prussia lies at his mercy, and at a moment too when he may not be most inclined to spare her, and the hopes, on the other hand, of what so signal a service rendered to Austria at her moment of need may do in attaching that power, ought to produce something; but whether it will or no is a point on which I do not allow myself to be sanguine, though rather inclined to be.

“If Prussia were to act, and my wishes could direct her counsels, and those of the allies, I should certainly enquire at least about the possibility of realizing Lord Hawkesbury's march to Paris, and proclaiming Louis XVIII. Though I am afraid, speaking without a map, that the distance, as well as other obstructions that may lie in the way, are rather adverse; but I must still think that this is the right course in point of principle. In failure, however, I will be content with her cutting off Bonaparte's armies.”

## EARL SPENCER TO THE SAME.

1806, February [10]. Whitehall.—“I return you, by Elliott's desire, the private letter from Lord Redesdale to Wickham, which, though I had it in my pocket when we met at Fox's, as I had not read it, I was afraid of producing; and if I had read it I should not have thought it fit to produce. The contents of it confirm me in the opinion of the expediency of C. Long's being the properest man for Chancellor of the Exchequer, and if you cannot prevail on him to accept it, of any body almost rather than Tierney. I suppose Wickham's health would be an objection to him, and there may perhaps be some other objections besides, of which I am not aware.”

*Enclosure :—*

LORD REDESDALE TO WILLIAM WICKHAM.

1806, January 30. Ely Place, Dublin.—“ I was happy to learn, by a letter written in a very different style from that of some which I have received from you, that your spirits were recovered, and your health improving. I take the first to have been a consequence, and a proof, of the last. I have had a severe fit of the gout, which disabled me from sitting during the greatest part of the last term, and till the first day of this term. I am now tolerably recovered, but not equal to a *load* of business, and unfortunately that of my Court is sufficiently heavy, without much more which falls upon me. There is no department which comes in any degree within my view, whether in my own court, in the several establishments of which I am officially a trustee in the other courts, or in the several departments of government, that I do not find a neglect of duty, a confusion of characters, a want of any proper check or control, a disposition to do nothing, and an obstinate resistance to any attempt at reform, which must, in the end, so clog the wheels of government that the machine will scarcely move, or move with an irregularity utterly inconsistent with good government. Those who contrived the Union seem to have thought only of carrying that measure, without considering how the machine was to work afterwards. Indeed they seem to have fancied that such would be the wonderful effect of the Union, that, after its accomplishment, the machine of government in Ireland would move of itself. They supposed many offices essential to the government would be quite superfluous ; they gave the holders pensions for life equivalent to their offices, and then considered the offices as abolished. The consequence is that, in many parts, the machine cannot work at all ; for the wheels which ought to have caused the motions are gone, and nothing has been substituted. Nothing too has been done to adapt the remaining machinery to the change of circumstances ; everybody has been left to go on as he would, and during the Secretaryships of Sir E. Napier and Mr. Vansittart, this relaxation has produced such a system of idleness and obstinacy, that poor Long left us almost in despair. Should your friends come into power, perhaps you may return here ; but if not, for the sake of the country, let them feel this miserable state of things. Abbot had planned a great deal. You proposed to have taken up the business where he left it, and I believe had planned much, when the unfortunate 23rd of July threw us into confusion ; and we are, as that event left us, with this additional misfortune, that the Government here has become weaker, and the opposition to it more powerful. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Commissioners of Revenue seem to have been striving by what means they should continue to lessen the revenue, whilst enormous taxes were imposed. If you should come here, or if any other person should come here, on a change of Govern-

ment, as Secretary, in my opinion that person ought also to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, or at least with the rank and title of First Lord of the Treasury, unless it should be thought fit to abolish the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and make the Board of Treasury a board of *mere* men of *business*, and not politicians. I am also convinced that there ought to be a second Secretary, an Englishman, who should come to Ireland before the meeting of Parliament, receive all the Chief Secretary's plans and orders for conducting the government during his absence, wait his return, report all circumstances, and then return to England to carry to Ministers the Chief Secretary's plans and views, and to execute his orders in England; and then to return again to Ireland, just before the Chief Secretary leaves it as before. This country will not be well governed until governed by English minds. An Irish Under-Secretary, acting half the year as Chief Secretary, must thwart every plan of a Chief Secretary for that purpose. It is too dark for me to write more."

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 10. Palace Yard.—“The enclosed was clearly meant to meet your eye; do not take the trouble to return it. I will acknowledge it on your part. (No, the proxy arrangements are not yet material, but should soon be adverted to.)

“I understand that the new Government has already generated a new Opposition; and the rising family seems likely to be numerous. One of the first attacks (*en attendant mieux*) is to be on the admission of Lord Ellenburgh into the Cabinet, which is pretended to be unconstitutional, and injurious to the independence of his judicial character. If there be any sense in that objection as applying to an independent officer, it would apply still stronger to the Chancellor. But the whole is founded in ignorance of the meaning of a “Cabinet,” which is only an occasional Committee of the Privy Council, to which Privy Council all Chief Justices have belonged. We are to be told that Judge Jefferies is the only instance of a Cabinet Judge; I believe however (but I am not sure) that Lord Mansfield was during two or three years in the Cabinet with the Duke of Newcastle. It may sometimes be matter of delicacy for a judge to remain at the Council Board in the discussion of intended prosecutions; but Eyre did not feel that delicacy, and acted at the Old Bailey in a contrary sense to his own at the Cockpit.

“The additional papers relative to the Continental wreck are more observable for what they omit than for what they contain. The whole object seems to have been to secure a numerical equality of force; 500,000 men to be opposed to 500,000, without regard to country, locality, discipline, or commanders; and that object was pursued with an apparent want (so far as we are yet informed) of preponderance, system,



and foresight in our Foreign Office and in the War Department. There is not a single despatch or instruction from the British Government. Our whole energy consisted in a readiness to furnish six or eight millions sterling; and in the prompt remittance of a part of that sum. (*Query*, what part? *Query* also, what further part we are still bound to pay?) There is not in the papers any trace of British influence in the arrangement and direction of the proposed force; nor is there any allusion to plans and modes of British co-operation. No explanation is given of the predicament in which we stood with respect to Prussia, nor of the reasons for sending our first detachment to Germany after the Ulm capitulation, and the second detachment after the news had been received of the Austerlitz catastrophe. The date and nature of the instructions which sent Craig's force to Naples do not appear. Now without any disposition to bear heavily on individuals, I conceive it to be a public duty (especially involving the character and security of the new Government) to bring to public exposure the insufficiency of those, to whose precipitancy and want of foresight we may fairly attribute the fatal waste and loss of means, which, if well applied, might have been adequate to the recovery of Europe.

"It might be useful towards forming a first general idea of our *primum mobile*, the finance, if Mr. Vansittart would be so good as to furnish.

1. The respective amounts of last year's revenue and expenditure; under the several heads; stating also the loans.

2. An estimate of outstanding demands, and of the arrears of revenue, and other sums, applicable to their discharge.

3. A statement of the several branches of expenditure in the last year, with their respective amounts; and, in a separate column, an estimate of such increase as may become necessary or of such diminution as may be attainable in the said several branches.

*Enclosure* :—

#### LORD GWYDIR to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, February 6. Sidmouth.—I congratulate you on the Administration being settled: but I cannot express the pleasure I feel at your having again entered on public life in a manner so much to your own satisfaction, and with such a promise of great and lasting advantages to the country.

"Whilst Mr. Pitt lived, a blessing to mankind and an ornament to the civilized world, I was most sincerely attached to him from profound admiration of his public conduct, and from every feeling of private gratitude. His loss will be long and severely felt. The country is fortunate indeed in still having so able a statesman as Lord Grenville, whose arrangements, as they comprise almost all the great abilities of the

nation, will, I trust, be found equal to the tremendous task of supporting the dignity, and ensuring the prosperity of the British empire."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 11. Charles Street.—"I called upon you this morning to tell you that, from the increasing solicitude which I see to keep Lord C[harles] S[pencer] in the Post Office, I think you will have farther solicitation upon that subject. But as Lord Carysfort has a decided preference for the Post Office, which I believe is well founded, I should advise you to announce your decision to-night by a note to Lord Charles Spencer in Mayfair, and order the commissions from the Treasury to be made out, so that they may both kiss hands to-morrow.

"Have you thought, in what Lord S[pencer] tells me are your *new* hopes of Long, to suggest his having some Irish member at the Board in Ireland who is agreeable to him? Elliot thinks, in case of this disappointment, there are still good hopes of York or Steel; the first would mark the Pitt standard more than the last."

"*Postscript.*—I have told Lord Dorchester that you will give him an answer respecting Lord Portarlington as soon as you know enough of the Irish arrangements and engagements to enable you to do so.

"I am solicited by Lord R. Spencer and Mrs. Bouverie to name a son of Bouverie's to you for assistance in the church. If Fox names it to you, be so good as to say that you had made a memorandum of it from my having mentioned it to you. Nothing presses upon it, as I will tell you, beyond that answer for the present."

W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, February 11.—"The state of Sir G. Shee's appointment is that, when he received it originally from Lord Cornwallis, it was 6,000*l.* a year; that, in a vindictive kind of reform which it underwent afterwards from Forster, it was reduced to 1,000*l.* without deductions; but this being thought too low with reference to the responsibility of the place and the security necessary to be given, it was settled in Nepean's time, and with the concurrence afterwards of other Secretaries, that it should be raised to 1,500*l.*; some persons being of opinion that even that was too low.

"According to this statement, compared with that of J. King, the income of the places would be merely upon a level. There would then be the necessity of residing for a short portion of each or most years in Ireland, which to Sir W[illiam] B[ellingham] would not be much, as he has land which he keeps in his own hands in that country; and, on the other hand, the advantage of entering into the profits of the appointment immediately.

“Should there be nothing more therefore than when he appears, I don't see why the exchange should not be made. Why might not the exchange be made with the agreement of a re-exchange when Sir George's appointment as Under-Secretary should be at an end?”

*Confidential.* LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, February 11. Palace Yard.—“I wish to submit to you quite in confidence a small point of some delicacy. Lord Chichester apprizes me that Lord Sheffield means to apply to you to place him in the Privy Council, and afterwards at the Board of Trade. His motives for this request are very flattering to me; and in truth, before he knew of Lord Temple's appointment, he wrote to desire to serve under me. But though he is friendly, honourable, well informed, and sedulous, you know well that those qualities alone are not sufficient to facilitate the business of a Board which is in danger of being overwhelmed by the variety of applications crowding into it. That business can only be kept down and efficiently discharged by quiet consideration and enquiry such as to authorize prompt decisions, without being exposed to eternal discussions about the navigation laws, and long reasonings (and “*réchauffés*”) from pamphlets. I really do not know how this attack can be averted except by a very civil *pause*, before you will propose to multiply further the Privy Council list, which has not yet been done except for Privy Council offices.

“At the House yesterday, the Prince of Wales and Lord Holland expressed to me a strong desire that the latter should move to restore the standing order which was struck out last year on the motion of Lord Mulgrave. It is not desirable in any case to exhibit the spectacle of opposite votes in opposite administrations: but I really doubt whether the order in question, as heretofore worded, ought to be revised. It might be wished to have the means of putting the House into a committee on great questions which, in their ordinary progress, would not have the benefit of a committee. But the wording of such an order is not easy. Lord Holland said that he would do nothing in it yet, and would previously submit the subject to you.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1806, February 12. Charles Street.—“I am anxious to prevent any possible misunderstanding respecting Lord Morpeth's situation at the India Board. A great object with him and with Lord Carlisle was found in his taking that situation at present, because by Lord Minto's absence in the House of Lords, the moving the India Budget, and the lead in the business of the House of Commons seemed open to him, especially as Lord R. Spencer was then the other commissioner.

When H. Addington was named, Morpeth told me that Hiley had very handsomely offered to him to do either more or less of that business, or to follow Lord Morpeth in it, as Lord Morpeth might prefer; to which Lord Morpeth answered by thanking him for his civility, but did not think it right to accept or decline the lead without having first talked with Lord Minto. He saw Lord Minto yesterday for that purpose, and was surprised to find that, on the day before, Hiley had come to Lord Minto, had told Lord Minto he was to have the lead, and asked for the material papers, which he has taken down with him to Harwich. Lord Minto declines deciding upon this point, which he means to refer to you. I should be very sorry if this point was not carried for Lord Morpeth, because it was a great inducement to him first to accept it; and it would be a harsh and ungracious thing to him to follow Hiley, after Hiley himself had offered him the lead. Pray support him on this subject which is not a trifling one, as the desire of distinguishing himself in the India business has been very flattering both to him and to his father.

“Lord Minto tells Morpeth that he is afraid there will be a great division in Government about Paul’s papers in the House.”

Pall Mall, February 12, 8 p.m.—“I should hesitate in urging you to press to the utmost the preference to which my letter alluded, if I did not myself feel persuaded that the leading situation of that Board in the House, should for every reason be in hands such as those of which there is now question, rather than such as seem prepared to claim the lead. When I say this I say what presses most upon me in the urgency of the *pending* question, during which it cannot be desirable that in the House of Commons *you* should have to look to what is now *composing for you in hostile hands*.

“I feel with you the weight of the task which is in question; and the extent of the labour and responsibility is more than I can venture to pledge myself for in other hands; but there is *at present* an active disposition towards it, which, *at present*, I think, at all events must be encouraged and assisted by you to the utmost.”

#### W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 13. [Pall Mall.]—“Since our conversation yesterday at the Queen’s House I have been thinking again of the case of Hippisley, and I really feel more and more upon every new reflection that it is not only a matter which ought to be done, but that it would be done infinitely more easily now than at any future period.

“It stands now upon the simplest of all grounds, namely, as an appointment given to a friend of mine whom I have known for six and twenty years, whom I helped to bring into Parliament, who has attached himself to me during the whole

time that I have been in Parliament, who has great capacities of making himself useful, and has on various occasions *been* very useful; to which might be added, who is not without means of making himself prejudicial, if not to me personally, yet to a Ministry in these times; and who, with a most considerable establishment in point of fortune and connection in the country, is, I will venture to say, eminently qualified to be of service in the situation which he solicits. If he had the good judgment to put himself upon his real pretensions on all occasions, and had not made himself sometimes little by an over-solicitude to make himself great, there could not have been two opinions about him as one of the most fit men for the situation in question that could be found. As it is, no just exception could be taken to the appointment on any score either as to qualification, temper, stake in the country, or in any other respect; and, I think, as far as relates to me, you will not feel that I am at all unreasonable when I press it with the earnestness that I do; but, on the contrary, have been remiss towards those who have claims upon me (and which I assure you have not been renewed since I saw you) in having urged it hitherto so feebly as I have done.

“There is another point on which I think you might, consistent with feelings which naturally, however, are of a sort which you would not like to put any force upon, afford me a little aid. I mean this arrangement between Sir W. Bellingham and Sir George Shee. The additional salary to Sir George Shee is a matter which the Irish Government seems to have decided upon, and to stand pledged to. It was signified in form to Sir G. Shee by Sir Evan Nepean, at the same time that a larger increase was settled to be made to another place, somewhat similarly situated, and held by a Mr. Neville. A clause for the purpose was to have been introduced into a Bill last year, and is understood only to have been omitted (if the Bill itself was in fact brought forward) from the uncertain state in which the Irish business remained from the doubt about Forster’s appointment.

“If this is so, the two places are of equal value, with the difference that Sir W. Bellingham will, in the one case, enter into immediate possession; while, in the other, he must wait for a death, though the death of a man of 80. I leave it to you; but would it be too much, considering how much Sir William Bellingham owes to you for being willing to take upon you the discharge of his legacy at all, not left, by the way, by Mr. Pitt himself, to require of Sir William to make so small a sacrifice, if it is a sacrifice at all, for the sake of so very great a convenience as that of accommodating me with Sir George Shee; who, so far from being intent on negotiating for his own interest, is willing to connect himself with me at greater sacrifices than I can allow him to make.”

## THE EARL OF CHATHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 15. Dover Street.—“Finding that the last sad ceremony is fixed for the 22nd instant, and having been called upon for a list of such relations of the family as may propose attending this melancholy duty, I am anxious to learn whether you intend assisting as such, or whether it would be more satisfactory for you to have any particular station reserved for you on this painful occasion.

“Though very unwilling to break in upon your time, I cannot resist taking this opportunity of assuring you how sensible I am of the kind intentions you have expressed, through Mr. King, on the subject of Sir William Bellingham. He is a very old and dear friend of mine, and very long attached to my poor brother, who had it much at heart to make some permanent provision for him, and which he had promised him to do on the first occasion. This latter circumstance, however, I mention only as my apology for having, at so early a period and one of so much affliction to myself, intruded upon you, and not as in any degree lessening the extent of the personal and sincere obligation I feel for your kindness on this occasion.”

## C. J. FOX to THE SAME.

1806, February 15. Arlington Street.—“Mr. Sheridan, who will deliver this, will speak to you on the subject of his son, and wishes me to state to you how much I feel interested in his behalf. It is most true that I am anxious for his welfare independent of my friendship for his father; that I know him to be an excellent young man, and in a very difficult situation, not so much owing to his own imprudence, as to his not having been advised earlier to enter into a profession.”

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, 16 February. Arlington Street.—“I have not been able to go to Holland House to-day, but have shut myself up and deny myself to every body in order to get a little rest. A very extraordinary circumstance however has occurred which I am very desirous of communicating to you, and to have your advice whether I should act in it on my own responsibility or submit it to the Cabinet. If you can therefore call here for a quarter of an hour at any time that suits you best you will much oblige me.

“I hope you have had no return of your dizziness nor any bad effects from it.”

## W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, February 16. [Pall Mall.]—“I will not regret that the thought of William Herbert had not before occurred, because, at all events, the results must have been the same; the choice that had been made in one instance, and must be made in

another, being determined by circumstances which could not have been set aside. Sir George Shea has actually accepted in Cooke's room, and Crauford must be the person chosen in the arrangement which I shall have to propose to you for the removal of Mr. Penn, however worthy a man, and the appointment of a second Under-Secretary, in conformity to the establishment of the other offices. There were undoubtedly other persons that I had had in view, some recommended by considerations of one sort, and others by those of another; but few could have united more than are to be found in Mr. Herbert, who, to his other recommendations, has that of being brother-in-law to a favourite niece of Mrs. Windham's.

"The state of the business of the Office seems, by universal confession, to require the addition of another Under-Secretary; and, as well on the score of fitness, as on the score of claims not otherwise to be made good, Cranford must be the man. The only objection, or rather drawback, is Mr. Penn. He has been very dexterously placed in a situation too low, it was hoped, for removal, yet really too high for continuance. He has been made to stand in the way of a second Under-Secretary which the state of the office required, and yet to keep the name of a clerk, so as to deprive the person coming to the head of the Office, if this contrivance were yielded to, of his right of nomination. The only question is whether Mr. Penn can be allowed a part of his salary on retiring, or can be provided for in any other manner, particularly by Lord Buckinghamshire by whom he was originally introduced into the Office; or whether he must withdraw like other persons in political changes; for it would be too unfair to throw upon me the charge of appointing a superfluous officer in the person of a second Under-Secretary, when the real supernumerary was the person introduced as above by one of my predecessors.

"I shall write to Lord Carnarvon, from whom I have received a letter, expressing my regret at not being able to comply with his wishes, and the part you had taken in support of them."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1806, February 17. Charles Street.—"Francis has very earnestly requested me to beg of you to fix any time that you please for him to say a few words to you, which he assures you will not occupy you a quarter of an hour, and which he says he is confident will be agreeable to you to hear. I have undertaken this message; you will probably think it necessary to see him, and, if so, be so good as to send to him to fix a time. Sheridan has just come down to the House, and has persuaded Fox to beg Elliot not to move Newport's writ till Fox sees the Prince. This is a new intrigue of Sheridan's to make the Prince's name a bar to Newport, and an introduction to Tierney. Newport has actually sent to Waterford, and is so much announced that you cannot recede without

disgrace. I hope Fox will only see the Prince to tell him that Newport is irrevocably appointed. I have desired Elliot to see the Duke of B[edford] before your dinner."

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 17. [Pall Mall.]—"I should have told you to-day that the Prince of Wales had sent for me and urged much, as a matter in which he had a strong wish, that you should have a conversation with Francis. My commission ends in stating to you this wish or opinion on the part of his Royal Highness.

"But I certainly do think that, if you could have reconciled yourself to the measure of sending Francis to India, it would not only have been the best thing for India, but the most effectual means of getting rid of all difficulties on a subject which is hardly a matter of less apprehension and anxiety to me than it is to you. The supposed or known opposition of Francis's opinions to Lord Wellesley's is not more than was that of Lord Cornwallis's; yet Lord Cornwallis was sent out by those who did not consider themselves as having declared war against Lord Wellesley. Francis, it is plain, would be happy to compromise on the condition of not making his administration in India assume a character more hostile to Lord Wellesley than could possibly be avoided. On the other hand must be considered the consequences of leaving an enemy behind who, to the motives of passion, will add the plea of duty for doing whatever is most adverse as well as most embarrassing.

"If Lord Wellesley's is a good cause, which I am far from meaning to deny, all this may be set at nought; but if it is not, which I will confess to you I fear, the consequences will be most distressing, though I hope not fatal. I merely acquit myself of my commission in stating to you what was the object of the Prince's summons to me."

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, February 18. Camelford House.—"Lord Grenville has the honour to transmit for your Majesty's signature two copies of a message from your Majesty to Parliament, for the purpose of rectifying a mistake in the Act granting an annuity to the Earl of St. Vincent, the particulars of which Lord Grenville will have the honour to explain to your Majesty to-morrow." *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 18. Charles Street.—"If you had disposable time, which I know you have not, I would have said a few words to you about the two enclosed papers, and the subjects connected with them, but particularly the latter.



“ Lord Reay is a county connexion of Lord Stafford, who swears allegiance to him, and who, being heir to above 10,000*l.* *per annum*, is a candidate for the elective peerage of Scotland. I have told Lord Stafford that your answer would probably be, that without making any engagement, Lord Reay's pretensions would be fairly considered by you according to their own weight and Lord Stafford's protection of them, whenever there was a fit occasion. This answer will perfectly satisfy Lord Stafford, if it seems to you right to make it.

“ The other paper is a letter from William Dundas to me, which is a good deal more extensive in its views and considerations, and demands more time and remark than belongs to a note of this sort. It appears to me that the satisfaction which this party expresses in the management of Scotland resting with Lord Spencer and you is well worth encouraging ; at the same time there is an evident tendency in it to stipulate for a more unlimited continuance of the old influence, that is of the Melville influence, than can be convenient to any government from whom such a party professes to entertain distinct opinions, and possibly a different line of conduct, as these persons evidently do. It has occurred to me that this subject might advantageously furnish a ground for a letter from you to Lord Stafford, which might be usefully communicated confidentially to William Dundas. Do you wish to talk upon this, or to write upon it, or neither ?

“ I have seen Elliot and Lord Spencer, and have told them that I suspect they will be pressed upon a successor to Marsden, just as they have been upon Newport ; and I have urged them to be prepared with some candidate of their own, rather than to receive any that is preparing for them in Sheridan's shop.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, February 18. Camelford House.—“ I certainly shall be very glad to converse with Francis, and I will send to him to fix a time for that purpose. But the ideas which are in contemplation for India, and which I will mention to you in confidence when we meet, seem to make it likely that the appointment of Francis to that station will not be urged even by his warmest friends.

“ The matter of the army estimates presses extremely, as that alone delays our finance measures. In this state I would propose that we should vote the army on its present footing, reserving to ourselves the benefit of such reductions of expense as we can make in the course of the year, were it not that the present establishment includes the cavalry on its present footing, which we shall probably think it right to diminish, and the skeleton battalions which (being a source of nothing but expense and patronage) we shall undoubtedly reduce ; and also the internal staff of the country, which is in many cases ridiculous as well as useless ; and that it does

not seem very decorous to propose to Parliament to vote for a year that which we must, at the same time, declare we cannot consent to suffer to continue for another month.

“If you were sufficiently advanced to give me two or three hours for going over these things with you, we might soon bring them to such a point as would enable us to let the estimates go forward; and I would, for this purpose, keep a whole morning open from all other business, whenever you would fix it.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 18. Palace Yard.—“The foreign colonies being in Mr. Foxe’s department, I have thought it right to send copies of the enclosed papers to him, and to inform him that I have adjourned the final adoption of the minute to Friday next at 12 o’clock, that he may attend if he should have any doubt respecting it. After a full enquiry I am satisfied that the proposed line is highly expedient, and I am glad to hear that similar applications to a considerable extent are coming forwards. An exchange of British manufactures for dying woods, cochineal, and dollars, is so peculiarly expedient in our actual circumstances, that I certainly would not have troubled you with one word on the subject, if the late practice within the Office had not implied a different opinion. If you wish for any further particulars have the goodness to speak to Mr. Fawkener who is fully apprized of the business, and will attend the Council at the Queen’s House to-morrow. I take the occasion to observe that much of the business of those Councils will, from time to time, originate from the Board of Trade, and may occasionally require explanations; but in the hope that I may have other means of seeing you when necessary, I am glad not to be summoned to those Councils.

“From what I learnt yesterday respecting the Irish arrangements, I trust that there is a tendency towards a gradual consolidation of the two Treasuries.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, February 18.—“I have no hesitation in expressing my decided opinion in favour of these applications. I believe the ground of objection rested a good deal on the state of our discussions with America. You will have observed the stress which Jefferson lays on the supposed unreasonableness of our claim to deprive other nations of a trade which we carry on ourselves. But this is a sophism. We have a right to prevent that which is injurious to us, and may, if we think right, in cases where we think the advantage to ourselves compensates or overbalances the injury; a principle manifest in the case of a siege, where we exclude all the world from

intercourse with the town besieged, but carry it on ourselves, whenever we think it beneficial to our own interests to do so.

“As a commercial question the thing admits of no doubt, nor can I think that the question of navigation is to be attended to against so many other more important considerations.

“The Treasury arrangements for Ireland are directed towards the principle you mention, but I should like to find (some day next week) a quarter of an hour to talk to you about the means of obtaining it.” *Copy.*

#### R. B. SHERIDAN TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 18.—“I wish to have the honour of waiting on your Lordship to-morrow between two and four, wherever you shall appoint. It is with great satisfaction that I have it in my power to assure you that the business respecting Sir John Newport’s appointment was terminated at Carlton House in a manner that I think must be pleasing to you. You will probably have received an account of it from Mr. Grattan, or Mr. G. Ponsonby; but, in the humble and sincere hope that these differences, so vitally mischievous in their report, may at once and finally be put an end to, I feel that I am serving the general cause in requiring a short, frank, conversation with your Lordship.

“I am ashamed to have forgot when I saw you to have said that your recommendation respecting Mr. Ottey shall be attended to by me with the most respectful consideration.”

#### LORD ERSKINE TO THE SAME.

1806, February 19. Lincoln’s Inn Fields.—“Under the auspices of the directions I received from your Lordship at St. James’, I found no difficulty in opening the box, and I will give the earliest attention to the enclosed papers; but I anticipate that I cannot differ from your Lordship in the matters contained in the letter you did me the honour to send with them, because I always considered the number of the judges one of the principal defects of the Court of Session.”

#### LORD HENRY PETTY TO THE SAME.

1806, February 19. Bolton Street.—“I am induced to trouble you with a few lines, having understood to-day that no final arrangement was made with regard to the houses in Downing Street. Should there be no essential obstacle to it, the great inconvenience of my present situation, and that arising from my having no Office, and not being able to find a tolerable house in the neighbourhood of the Treasury would make it a great object to me to get Sir C. Morgan’s; and, if the rent was thought any object to the public, I should be glad to give whatever might be thought proper. Mr. Bond, I understand, who is to be provided with a house, is disposed

to take Lord Elliot's. If, as I think I understood, you were desirous of taking a room out of Sir C. Morgan's, the house is large enough, I imagine, to leave me sufficient space without it.

"I shall be glad to have some conversation with you when you are at leisure respecting a debt of three millions which I find is due to the Bank this year, and which, I am afraid, we omitted to take into consideration. I should flatter myself that, if an Act of Parliament is passed to secure all the public balances being placed with them, that this circumstance together with the other advantages they enjoy, may induce them to continue the loan at a very low rate of interest; and I probably should take an early opportunity of seeing the Governor for the purpose of settling it."

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD HENRY PETTY.

1806, February 20. Camelford House.—"I am sure I need not say that I shall be truly desirous of consulting your convenience as one of the first objects in making any arrangement respecting the houses in Downing Street, but I am, as yet, quite ignorant of the best mode of doing so, Sir Charles Morgan being still in the house which he has occupied, and his state of health having been assigned the other day as a reason to prevent my seeing it when I wished to do so, for the very purpose of settling these arrangements.

"It was, I believe, already understood that Mr. Bond was to receive an allowance in lieu of a house, and that the houses in Downing Street, as fast as they could be procured, were to be appropriated to the use of the Treasury and Secretary of State's Offices, so as to bring the principal departments of Government contiguous to each other.

"With this view the plan was to allot to the Treasury the upper part of the building we now occupy, and to remove the Home Department to Sir Charles Morgan's and Lord Elliot's houses, from the latter of which (Lord Elliot's) it seems necessary that I should take one room and add it to the house I am to occupy, which has now no dining room; Mr. Pitt having thrown what was the dining room into the study.

"In consequence of what you have mentioned, I will, as soon as Sir Charles Morgan's house can be seen, send to the acting person in the Board of Works and direct him to lay before me a plan for appropriating these different buildings so as best to answer the different objects in question, among which I certainly consider your accommodation to be a very principal one. When this has been done, I will have the pleasure of conversing with you on the subject.

"I imagine there is no doubt of the readiness of the Bank directors to prolong their loan of three millions on advan-

tageous terms to the public, and I meant to propose to you that we should see them together as soon as we can ascertain the extent of the benefit they are likely to derive from the measures in contemplation respecting the balances. Mr. Harrison says he is already prepared with the Bill respecting the Treasurer of the Ordnance. *Copy.*

#### THE SAME to GEORGE III.

1806, February 20. Camelford House.—“ Lord Grenville has the honour to submit for your Majesty’s royal signature, if approved, a warrant for a pension to produce 150*l. per annum* net, to each of the four children of Mr. Hammond on his retreat from the situation of Under Secretary of State, in which he has had the honour to serve your Majesty eleven years, and, as Lord Grenville can testify, with great diligence, zeal and ability.” *Copy.*

#### THE EARL OF CHATHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 21. Dover Street.—“ I have this moment received your very kind letter. I know perfectly well what your sentiments and feelings are on this painful occasion, and I am extremely happy you had done full justice to mine. I can only say that whatever situation in the melancholy ceremonial will, under all circumstances, be most satisfactory to you will be entirely so to me, and I will accordingly notify to the Lord Chamberlain your wish to take your place in the procession, as one of the relations.”

#### C. J. FOX to THE SAME.

1806, February 26. Downing Street.—“ I have written to Lord Foley, but should rather apprehend that he will think it best for his interest to take no part in the contest.

“ The Scotch business, as far as relates to the Advocate and Solicitor, presses much in point of time on account of the circuit. Partly from considering *these* changes as matters of course, and being quite sure that all the persons whom you thought of consulting would think the same, I believe I never mentioned them to you except carelessly and in passing. In Scotland they are universally considered as done. Erskine, you know, was Advocate 23 years ago, and Clerk is unquestionably the first man at the Scotch Bar. I am pretty sure Blair will be satisfied with hopes of future attention. Now I am on the subject of Scotland I must mention the Great Seal, which I wish Lauderdale had had a fortnight since. but which I think it material he should have even now, though, if he goes to India, he will hold it but a short time, The thing has been so much talked of that the inconvenience, if in fact there be any, of removing the Duke of Gordon is incurred, and it would be casier to remove him for Lauderdale

than for another person. If Lauderdale goes to India, I believe the Prince will, and I am sure he *ought* to apply for it for Lord Lothian, to whom also I should be glad to shew any mark of esteem or attention.

“I cannot yet collect my scattered papers concerning baronets. I think with you that Davison should not be among them, and the public conviction affords a reason with which Lord Moira must be satisfied; but I have several applications from very proper people which I will let you have in a day or two.

“Mr. Douglas, of the Hackney Coach Office, who was formerly much protected both by my father and mother, has applied to me to be a Commissioner of the Lottery, a place which has been held with the other. He says a Commissioner of the Lottery is just dead; if you can appoint him to it you will much oblige me.

“Now for matters of more importance. I conclude you have read the paper Grey put into circulation relative to our offer of a cartel. I think it ought to be considered without loss of time, and the French allegations relative to the Hanoverians, and to the French troops from St. Domingo should be either admitted or confuted. If any possible means could be devised to make some exchange, and to get home (under whatever pretext) the English now in France, it would be a most popular, and, in truth, a most humane measure. Besides, the appearance of something more of civility between the two countries would have an excellent effect in every part of Europe. By Lord G. Levison’s last despatches it appears the Russians permit the French Consul to remain at Petersburg, adhering as they say to the treaty on that point, notwithstanding the unjustifiable conduct of the French to their people.”

#### LORD ELLENBOROUGH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 26. Bloomsbury Square.—“I take the liberty of troubling you with a reference to some instances since the Revolution, in which Parliament has thought proper to confer situations of high political trust upon persons filling the office which I unworthily hold at present.

“By statute 6 Anne, chapter 7, section 9, by which a Regency was appointed, in order to provide against the event of the Queen’s dying at a time when the next Protestant successor might be out of the realm, the persons who should on the demise of her Majesty be in possession of the following offices, namely that of Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor or Keeper, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, and *the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen’s Bench for the time being*, were constituted and appointed *Lords Justices of Great Britain* (*vid. also Rapin, vol. 13, B. 30,*

pt. 2, c. 1), and in virtue of the provisions of this Act, Lord C[hief] J[ustice] Parker (afterwards Lord Macclesfield) who had succeeded to the C[hief] Justiceship on the death of Lord C[hief] J[ustice] Holt, acted as one of the Lords Justices in the year 1714, until his Majesty George 1st arrived within the realm.

And by the 24 George II, chapter 24, and the 5 George III, chapter 67, section 9 (the two last Regency Bills) the Lord C[hief] J[ustice] of the King's Bench for the time being, and who at the time of passing the first of these Acts was Sir William Lee, and of the latter, Lord Mansfield, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer or first Commissioner of the Treasury, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, or first Commissioner of the Admiralty, and the two principal Secretaries of State, was appointed of the *Council of Regency* to assist the Regent during the minority of the heir to the Crown.

"I did myself the honour of calling upon your Lordship this morning in order to have learnt your Lordship's opinion as to the course which it may be deemed expedient to pursue in respect to Judge Fox's business. What strikes me at present upon the subject is this, that it is to be regretted that it was ever brought before Parliament at all; and that, though there is much matter for censure in the violent and indiscreet conduct he has pursued, that there is hardly enough of criminality to warrant so harsh a measure as an address of both Houses of Parliament for his removal. And if it is not to go that length at last, might it not as well rest where it is at present.

"I wished likewise to have taken your Lordship's pleasure as to the propriety of hinting to the Archbishop of Canterbury to convene a meeting of the Governors of the Charterhouse. If no election is made by us within two months from the vacancy, the right of nomination lapses to the Crown."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1806, February 27. Charles Street.—"Lord Stair has just called upon me to beg me to state to you that the borough of Stranraw, one of the contributory boroughs of Galloway, belongs to him, and that his family have always recommended for the Treasury patronage in that borough; but that last year, the collector of the port having misbehaved, not only he but also the surveyor and comptroller were removed, and three other men were put in by Lord Galloway's recommendation. Lord Stair describes this as a new act of hostility to him in his own borough, and he wants to remove Lord Galloway's three nominees, and to put in three new men to be recommended as usual by his own family. Lord Stair is fair enough to apprise you that Lord Galloway will have

the next nomination for these boroughs, but still he asks to be enabled to remove Lord Galloway's men now for the first time forced in upon his borough of Stanraw. I have promised to tell his story, and I have told it ; it is for you and Lord Spencer to answer him.

"I begin to be in a fever at seeing your Treasury Secretary, King, not yet in Parliament ; surely it is highly necessary that he should be so, if hostilities are to commence. In this view I wish you very much to consider of the advantage of taking at least the temporary benefit of Buckingham. It could come back to me whenever an occasion presented, and I am, as you know, so bad an attender, that it is no sacrifice for me to make, and a seat for King must be had. If you knew what a bad cold I am going to have, you would easily admit the propriety of accepting my offer. Pray let me add to this note a request to you to ask King whether your Treasury patronage will easily afford the means of any quiet retreat for poor Francois ? Perhaps his being a foreigner is in the way ; but if that is no objection, I should be glad to place him, and to get a younger servant in his stead. Thus end my statements for self and company.

*Postscript.*—"Sir Watkin wishes to be a Privy Councillor ; but if you see difficulties, tell him so, and you will find him very reasonable."

#### C. J. FOX to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, February 27. Arlington Street.—"I return you Mr. Ward's letter. I know nothing of the *legality* of the grant. If it comes in question, I must say I think decidedly on its impropriety. The pretence of leaving a profession for 12 months appears to me to be scandalous. Most of the instances quoted apply to long service, which totally alters the case. As to the mode and *the fee of the office* and *foreign incidents*, I do not yet understand the nature of these funds, and I rather suspect there should be established for the future something more certain and intelligible with regard to them. The Secretary of State's Office has always been considered as more pure with respect to jobs than any other, but it is highly material that it should preserve its character in this respect. If I were to go out a year hence would it be in my power to give Sir Francis Vincent a pension on the ground of his having quitted the Bar. I am as sure that it ought not, as that, if it were, I should not so abuse that power. If Ward's pension is *legal* there is an end of it ; but to his equitable pretensions, and his refusal of the place of Welsh judge, I cannot think we ought to listen.

"You have disposed of the Lottery Commission quite rightly, and if I had known of such an intended disposition I would not have applied ; but on a future vacancy Mr. Douglas may possibly be attended to.



"I continue in my wish that Lauderdale may have the Great Seal if only for a week. I am afraid there are notions of family pride in Scotland that would not make Lord Minto go down smoothly for *that* office. Lord Arehibald Hamilton had spoken to me in case of Lord Frederick's death, but I told him to wait for the event, and then apply to Lord Spencer. It is most material that Lord Spencer should be *the* minister for Scotland, listening of course to the suggestions of Scotchmen of consequence and to ours.

"Of the prisoners more when you have seen the papers. In regard to the Hanoverian business I will, within this day or two, prepare a plan in writing for your approbation first, and for that of the Cabinet afterwards. I do not like much the idea of the Duke of Cambridge. Surely it is more decorous to apply first to Berlin, and afterwards or, if you will, at the same time, to Petersburg to support your application. The notion of war with Prussia appears to me to be quite wild."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1806, February 28. Charles Street.—"Although desired to burn the enclosed, as it is necessarily doubtful when I may see you, I send it you to read because it is interesting enough. In the first place it shows Long's desire to assist very strongly, and it proves, what I had before heard, that Canning is the most vehement source of hostility. Surely no time should be lost in your cultivating Lord Carrington, for Long's information respecting him is the best authority that you can have.

"I have not seen you since you saw William Dundas, so I know not what passed. He could certainly be made useful enough, if he would really act *bona fide* individually; but I own I fear that he naturally must look to keeping up a Scotch party, at the head of which he would naturally find himself. At all events it is useful to show by communication with him, that there is at least no spirit of proscription to that class; and the advantage of this demonstration is felt in the Duke of Buccleugh's language.

"I think your answer to Lord Stair is as it ought to be. A bird has whispered to me that his real and great object is peerage, but that his fancy and pride is *not to ask it*. I know not your facilities or difficulties in this matter, but, if the question should arise in your mind, it is worth your while to know that Lord Stair would be likely to feel and act honourably by those who conferred on him any such *gratuitous obligation*. Do not however mistake me, and believe that I am urging this at his or at anybody's request. I tell you only a whisper that I have heard, and my own comment upon it. Would it not be right to suggest *if possible* next Wednesday for Lord Brome's carrying the insignia; this would not interfere with any *fancies about St. George's*; but Lord Brome

is staying only for this under a particular request made to him, and he will not stay beyond *Wednesday*. If he goes back sulky no man knows when he will come again, and that may defer what we all wish was already done. Pray do not forget to send me back what I enclose to you, as I make a point always of restoring what I am desired to burn."

LORD GRENVILLE to C. J. FOX.

1806, February 28. Camelford House.—"I cannot avoid communicating to you in confidence the inclosed letter which King has this morning put into my hands. I was quite unapprized of any intention on the part of Lord Henry to make these motions. I had one evening here some conversation with him on the financial measures of the year in which he stated a wish of limiting in some degree the power of granting reversions, in answer to which, if I remember right, I said generally that I saw no objection to confining it to one life beyond that of the actual possessor of the office; but I certainly had no conception that the subject was meant to be pursued without further communication with me.

"It is impossible not to see the reference that all this has in fact to a system of attack on the measures of the late Government, a system possibly right to be pursued by those whose opinions lead them to it, but in which I never for a moment have given to any person reason to think that I could concur. What I have seen of Lord Henry inclines me to be persuaded that, if he saw this thing in its true light as a general principle necessarily attaching on a Government composed as ours is, there could not arise the necessity of discussing in this manner its application to particular questions and points of attack.

"If it is more agreeable to you that I should state to him at once the explanations on this head which took place between yourself and me, when we first saw the possibility of our acting together, and those which have recently occurred, I cannot have the smallest difficulty in doing so. I have nothing to conceal on the subject. My idea has always been that persons who have differed however widely as to past transactions may agree in prospective measures for the public service; and may (if they have a mutual confidence in each other's honour) render in that manner essential benefits to the country. But this can only be done by carefully abstaining from retrospect. If that is forced upon us by our adversaries we must then do what in such case may be absolutely necessary, but even then we must do it with forbearance and attention to our mutual feelings. But to seek out this difficulty, and to provoke it by separate motions adopted without previous communication, is in its effect (but I am persuaded not in its design), nothing else than a contravention and breach of the fundamental principle on which our union rests.

"If you think on the other hand, that the object of union and confidence will be better consulted by your conversing on the subject confidentially with Lord Henry, I am perfectly satisfied that (provided the thing be fully explained) it should be explained in any mode that you prefer as most conducive to that harmony which it is my most earnest wish to preserve undisturbed. But I should act dishonourably both by you and by others if I did not once again repeat that no consideration can induce me to continue to belong to a Government of which it should appear that its object is, in the present difficulties of the country, rather to condemn and censure the measures of their predecessors (to many of which I am proud of thinking that I was myself a party) than to apply themselves by conciliation and moderation to rally all descriptions of public men round them in a course of vigorous measures necessary for the public safety.

"It is as disagreeable to me as it can be to you that our time should be wasted just now in such discussions as these; but you will certainly do me the justice to say that the thing is not of my seeking, but is forced upon me." *Copy.*

EARL SPENCER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, [February]. London.—"I have received last night a letter from Lord Hardwicke stating difficulties about the appointment of Chancellor in Ireland. I send you the letter, having already communicated the contents of it to Elliott, who will speak to George Ponsonby about it. I see only one way out of the difficulty, which is to put the Great Seal in Ireland in commission; because it will be extremely inconvenient, to say no worse, for us to let George Ponsonby go off in a hurry before we have settled several important points of arrangement with him.

"This being the case, I know of no other business that presses for the King's coming to town; unless you think that Lord Cornwallis's delivering up his father's George and ribbon is of that description. This however he might do at Windsor if the King chose it; and, as I know he is now waiting in town on purpose, perhaps I might write to the King to that effect.

"I send you a draft I made last night of a letter to the Lord Lieutenant on the subject we discussed in Cabinet. I am so little in the habit of drawing up this kind of paper that I wish much you would have the goodness to look it over and suggest any corrections, alterations, or additions you may think right. It is not unlikely to be a matter which will come into public discussion, and it is therefore of more importance to have it correct."

C. J. FOX TO THE SAME.

1806, March 1. Downing Street.—"I certainly think you had better speak to Lord Henry yourself. I quite agree to

your statement of our understanding about *retrospect*, but I have always distinguished what *was* retrospect in 1804 and is now become so; among other reasons for this, that neither you nor your political friends could be parties to the transactions of a Ministry to which you were in declared hostility. But there is another distinction very material between *attack* and *reform*. I told Lord Henry some weeks ago that in every measure of proper reform and economy he would certainly have my full support, looking however at that moment rather to Cabinet than to Parliament. And I am convinced that if he had not thought that having the facts laid before the House was a matter of course, and pledged neither himself nor any one else, he would not have made his motions without consultation. Perhaps at any rate it would have been as well that he should previously have mentioned the matter to you. To no attack or censure of any measure of Pitt's first administration will I consent, unless forced to it by the Pittites; but that a ministry coming in at such a time as we do should do nothing in the way of reform *prospectively*, or decline inquiring, where necessary, into the acts of Pitt's last ministry, to which we were *jointly* adverse, would surely be as impolitic for ourselves as unfair to the public. Even with regard to the last ministry, our immediate predecessors, I would be far from *seeking* occasions, but to give up any publick good measure in order to avoid them is another thing. The reversions are in my mind a crying and, I may almost say, an intolerable grievance, from the extent to which they are carried; but, except perhaps in one or two cases during the *last* administration, I would not touch anything of the rest for the purpose of censure, but would only limit ourselves and our successors. It is easy to say that practice and precedent might justify the act, but that provision should be made for the future, perhaps in the limited way you mention or perhaps more generally. Believe me, there is no one more anxious to attend not only to your reasonable feelings concerning a ministry of which you made a part, but even to what I deem unreasonable personal delicacies which may affect your mind. I meant our coalition should be carried on with more than general goodwill and fairness, nay with the most perfect cordiality of friendship; if it is not it shall never be my fault."

LORD HENRY PETTY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 3. Bolton Street.—"I enclose the papers I mentioned yesterday. The measure of abolishing the monopoly and extending the number of companies of insurance, by which the public might have the full benefit of competition without risk, appears to me a measure which could be attended with none but beneficial consequences.

## LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, March 4. Palace Yard.—“Your note with the copy of Lord Bristol’s motion did not find its way to my table before I went to the House. You had also enclosed the letter which I now return, not because it seems material to be returned, but as it is possible that you meant to send some other papers.

“The impression of last night’s debate was certainly very favourable to the character and weight of your Government : and though there is a visible disposition among some individuals to be hostile, and a belief in their minds that by being so, they are sure on the first serious difficulty to make their way to some new change, I think that they will be disappointed. It would be material to have a list of those who attended yesterday ; I believe that we shall find that two of the princes, and many of the bedchamber, and others of that description absented themselves.

“The Chancellor has communicated to me a very short declaratory Bill on the Law Question, which he had prepared and shown to Lord Thurlow, and which he is trying to settle with Lord Ellenborough and Lord Eldon ; in the intention that Lord Eldon should move it. At any rate the situation of that business will make our sitting to-day very short ; but perhaps you will think it right to come for half an hour at half past 4.

“I have received to-day various applications from the agents of the West Indian Islands to be heard to-morrow on the *necessity* of a more extended communication with the United States. The urgency and responsibility attending that question and some others will force me, I fear, to request a special attendance at the Committee ; not to-morrow or for the tedious business of examinations, but for the discussion of the applications made, and of the line to be pursued respecting them.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, March 4. Camelford House.—“The letter which you returned to me I had sent to you thinking it had come to me under your cover. I have not kept the attendance list of yesterday, but I mean to get it again from Cowper. I calculate that they might have divided seven or eight, not more. You observed, I daresay, that Lord Chatham, Lord Bathurst, Lord Camden, were all absent. The Duke of York came down and would have voted with us ; the only absent Duke (Princes) was Cambridge. I will try to come down to-day to the bill, but I rather doubt the possibility.

“We must certainly consider in Cabinet the question you mention. My own impressions have always been favourable to all questions of extended intercourse between the West Indian Islands and the United States ; but just now this

mixes itself with the political questions we are unhappily engaged in with the latter.

“If you will let me see you here Friday at 12, we will then talk over whatever business you have for me.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, March 5. Camelford House.—“I took the liberty of presenting myself at Carleton House on my return from the Queen’s House, but was so unfortunate as not to find your Royal Highness. My object was to submit an idea which had occurred to me on the subject on which your Royal Highness had been conversing with me. It is, that some of the objects in view might possibly be attained by the appointment of Mr. Francis to the Government of the Cape, a situation of such rank and estimation as to have been held by Lord Macartney after he had been many years Governor of Fort Saint George, and had refused the offer of going as Governor-General to Bengal. I mentioned this suggestion to Mr. Windham, to whom it was (as I was sure it would be) perfectly acceptable, and there would be no difficulty in its being immediately mentioned to Mr. Francis. Possibly also the ultimate object to which your Royal Highness alluded might be looked to more naturally as the reward of such service than in any other manner; but on this point I should wish to converse with Mr. Fox before I committed myself to any positive engagement.” *Copy.*

C. J. FOX TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 5. Stable Yard.—“Lest other business should prevent an opportunity of speaking to you to-day at Lord Spencer’s, I trouble you with this to say how very anxious I find all Grey’s friends and family to be about the earldom for his father. He himself *says* nothing, but I am sure he feels the same anxiety. They wish, too, it should be done if possible before Lord Grey comes to town. If therefore you can speak to the King about it to-day, I shall be very much obliged to you. If you think mentioning Lord Walpole, for whose object both Fitz-William and myself are anxious, at the same time would create or add to any difficulty, *that* may be postponed.

“With respect to what I said about moving the old India resolution last night, I will do precisely and exactly what you please, but I am of opinion that for quieting (not Paul and a few others but) the Directors and others, it would be very advantageous. However, I repeat, do you judge and I will be governed by your decision. I do not believe any one else has any thought of moving it, nor shall I mention it to any one.

"Pray do not omit speaking about Lord Grey's earldom to-day, and Lord Walpole's, *if* it makes no additional difficulty. "I suppose you do not care about an earldom yourself, but I think such a mark of Royal favour to you would be very useful to us all at this time.

*Postscript.*—"There is a fatality attending my memory about these poor baronets. I have left, it seems, the list at the Office, but will let you have it in time to mention them to-day if you think fit. If not, I hope you will do it by letter time enough to be in Saturday's *gazette*, for the outcry increases upon me every day. They are, with the exception only of Lubbock the banker, all men of family, and all of them I believe, men of fortune."

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, March 6.—"I send you Talleyrand's letters, which came by the flag of truce last night. Pray send them back as soon as you can, as I have no copies yet. I will let you have by and by copies of mine to which they are answers that you may more completely understand them. What hour to-morrow will be most convenient for a Cabinet on them?"

#### LORD GRENVILLE to C. J. FOX.

1806, March 6. Downing Street.—"You will much oblige me if you can find time to read the enclosed. Taylor was my private secretary when I was in the Foreign Office, and is really a very discreet, prudent, and excellent young man, and I can with great confidence recommend him to your protection. I will thank you to return me his letter when you have read it, that I may answer it."

#### C. J. FOX to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 6.—"I return you Taylor's letter. I had written him a letter to approve his leaving Cassel, which he left Berlin too soon to receive. He is now come, and I saw him this morning. I completely approved his leaving Berlin, and in the little conversation I had with him liked him very much, and will do anything you wish to serve him.

"Pray turn your mind to the business of to-morrow's Cabinet. Something must be said, and it may be very material to set out right.

"I send you my letters to Talleyrand, and the French officer's note."

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, March [7]. Arlington Street.—"It is singular that it should have escaped my memory in our conversation this morning (but it really is so) that many of Tiernay's friends have talked of him for the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland. It would certainly be desirable that he should

have something, and I do not know but this might be a proper situation for him. He states fairly that he has no claim whatever on any *part* of the Government, and therefore the placing of him is no more my business than yours, or yours than mine. To some he would be more exceptionable than Long, to others less so. Joining the two Treasuries is, I know, a plan to which he is inclined. Perhaps it would be best that you should only sound Long, and consult the Duke of Bedford and Elliot, before any thing is fixed. Our consultation with them ought not to be long deferred. The more I think of it the more I should be concerned anything were finally fixed before the Duke of Bedford is consulted.

“Whatever is proposed to the Duke of Bedford I am confident he will agree to, but I think he would like his previous consent to be asked.”

C. J. FOX to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 8. St. Anne's Hill.—“Upon reflection, I thought the King might be displeased at my delaying so long sending him an account of the flag of truce, and therefore I sent the papers, together with my letters, to Windsor. I enclose you a copy of the answer, which is as unpleasant as possible. If you think he will be satisfied by our making our reply merely in the *form* of a private communication from me, I have no great objection, provided it be well understood that in *substance* it is the communication of the whole Cabinet. If his Majesty will not consent to this, or rather if he *forbids* this, I see nothing to do but to go out. Pray think seriously of this.

“I enclose you a letter from Lauderdale, to which attention must be paid in proper time.

*Postscript.*—“I leave it to your judgment whether it would not be best to communicate what has passed to Lord Spencer, Lord Moira, or Grey, or any such other member of the Cabinet whom you may see to-morrow, previous to our meeting on Monday morning.”

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to THE SAME.

1806, March 8. Richmond Park.—“I enclose the letter which I mentioned to you yesterday, which I am sure will interest you.

“The discussions on Indian subjects in the House of Commons are becoming very unpleasant. An enquiry into past transactions must be embarrassing to Government; and cannot be useful to the public, if we are agreed, as I rather think we are, with respect to the policy to be acted upon in future. If, however, these proceedings are to go on, they ought to be considered in Cabinet, as it is become material to let it be known whether the questions with which they are connected are to be considered as Government questions; and if they are, what is the line which we mean to pursue.



You will probably think it right to have some conversation with Mr. Fox previous to a Cabinet discussion. I have not mentioned the subject to him."

EARL SPENCER to THE SAME.

1806, March 10. St. James's Place.—"I send you the enclosed papers received late last night from Dublin. When you have read them, you will either be so good as to send them back to me, or (as I should rather think will be most advisable) send them to Mr. Fox to read, that we then may have some private conversation on the subject of them before they go further.

"It certainly does appear, from all the different intimations we have received upon the subject, that some designs are at present entertained at Paris against Bonaparte; and it will be very incumbent on us to act with such circumspection as to be quite clear of any concert with them, which it will however be a little difficult to do."

LORD HOLLAND to THE SAME.

1806, March 10. [Holland House.]—"I venture to write to you on a subject on which I am very anxious, and on which my uncle Mr. Fox assures me that I can without impropriety trouble you. It is in favour of a gentleman, Mr. Allen, who accompanied me abroad, and for whom, if I have any interest or influence with Government, I am not only called upon by friendship but bound in honour to provide. For that purpose I should wish, if possible, to procure for him a place of 400*l.* *per annum* which does not require attendance or confinement, because, should I ever be employed myself, especially abroad, it would be a great privation to me to be without his company and assistance. His abilities, acquirements, and character certainly render him fit for any employment, and my motive in soliciting a *sinecure* for him is purely selfish. Had there been any office of that description in my uncle's immediate department he would have had it, but we have just ascertained the two I had mentioned to be *patent* places, or at least not removable.

"As I wished not to defer my exertions in his behalf, and am nevertheless unable, through ignorance, to specify any particular office in your gift which would suit him, I have not only to apologise for the application itself, but must rely on your good nature to pardon me for leaving to you the trouble of ascertaining what would meet my ideas on the subject."

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD HOLLAND.

1806, March 10. Camelford House.—"They are not words of course that I am using when I assure you that I must on every account feel particularly desirous of finding some

opportunity of providing for Mr. Allen in the manner you mention. I am not as yet well acquainted, scarcely at all indeed, with the means for that purpose which are likely to be within my reach; but from what I have hitherto seen, I am afraid that places of the description you mention, requiring no attendance and permitting residence abroad, are not very frequently within my disposal. All I can do is to assure you with great sincerity that I shall be careful to keep your application in mind, and most truly desirous of finding an opportunity of doing what you wish."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 10. [Charles Street.]—"I called this morning to tell you that Lord Stafford has fought a stout battle for the Lord Lieutenants, and has prevailed: so that you are not to hear of any recommendations for charges of that sort from your Committee, although they will be obliged to suggest Mr. Maule as a fair candidate for a peerage.

"I have told Lord Stair what you said respecting the collector in his borough; he admits the general propriety of your rule, but he is inclined to think that, as the former collector was displaced only eight months ago in hostility to himself, on account of his political support of those who are now ministers, it would be but an act of justice to Lord Stair to give him back what had been just taken from him. He adds that this is so much considered in Scotland as a right and fair thing, that he does not believe any body would complain of it. I have promised that you yourself will either speak or write to him upon this matter, whenever you shall determine upon what is to be done."

LORD GRENVILLE to C. GREY.

1806, March 11. Camelford House.—"I send you herewith a letter from Mr. Thompson with its enclosures. In consequence of my having received it I have judged it best to postpone seeing him till we had an opportunity of conversing together on the subject, on which I wish of course to be regulated entirely by your judgment.

"I enclose also the memorial which I mentioned to you; it is from Captain Dundas of the *Naiad*. I should suppose there would be no difficulty in intimating to him privately the propriety of his withdrawing it, and sending in one in the usual form signed by himself in the name of his officers and crew, in which case no time shall be lost in taking it into consideration. *Copy*.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, March 11. Camelford House.—"I have received the enclosed, and you have probably many more such letters; but I wish to take this opportunity of mentioning to you that

I think it may be very necessary that, before any augmentation of the pay of the army officers is publicly announced, the situation of the officers of the navy should also attentively be considered; that we may be prepared either to announce some similar attention to them if it be right, or to resist the suggestions on that head which will certainly be made at that time." *Copy.*

*Private.* C. GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 11. Admiralty.—“I have received both your lordship’s notes of this day’s date. The pay of the lieutenants will require some consideration. No discontent, I believe, existed before the pay of the surgeons was increased, which was done by Lord Melville, and with so little attention, as it would seem, to any just proportion. that it now exceeds the pay of a captain. It is probable that the complaints which have originated from this source may be still further increased if the pay of the officers of the army should receive any addition; and I certainly will not fail to give the subject an early and attentive consideration.

“I shall be very glad, at any time that may suit your convenience, to converse with your lordship on the subject of the commission for revising the civil affairs of the navy. In the meantime I return the enclosures, having a copy of the statement of the progress they have already made, and of their intended course of proceeding.

“I have desired Mr. Marsden to write to Captain Dundas, but as he is on the Mediterranean station, it will be some time before his answer can be received.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, March 11. Palace Yard.—“We yesterday referred the new article from the Commons to the Committee (a standing Committee) for enquiring into proceedings in cases of impeachment. The Committee will sit to-day at a quarter before 3, and will (I suppose) merely report, that there does not appear on the rolls of Parliament or in the journals of the House any instance of an additional article being received by the Lords, after an answer had been given to any of the preceding articles. That report, with the article itself, must be printed, and probably Thursday or Friday will be appointed for the consideration, at which I hope you will find it practicable to be present. There is a diversity of opinions on the subject among those whom I have happened to see: Mr. Cowper, Mr. Hatsell, the Speaker, Lord Holland, Lord Carnarvon.

“On the one hand the proceeding is novel, and certainly the article would be inadmissible (as an additional article) if issue had been joined on the preceding articles; and objectionable, though issue had not been joined, if the answer to the preceding articles had not been a general plea of not guilty. But on the other hand nothing has been disclosed

by the defendant, and the Commons have it in their power to bring the article in another mode if we negative this mode. I understand also that Lord Melville's agents do not object. Mr. Cowper inclined yesterday to think that we might order the article to be communicated to Lord Melville.

"Sir John Niehoff having given to me yesterday his attendance and assistance on several points at the Committee for trade, I took occasion to refer to him the complaint of the American merchants, for his opinion and observations thereon. We expect an instructive answer, which we will send with the paper itself to Mr. Fox's department; and copies of both papers shall be sent to you.

"A new application was made yesterday for a license to send a very large cargo of British cottons in a neutral ship direct to Martinique. We refused the license, and yet under a full sense that there is both an inconsistency and detriment resulting from the King's instruction respecting the point to which the case relates. This same neutral ship (if German) may go with the cargo first to Embden or Hamburgh, and then proceed to Martinique; or (if American) she may go first to a port of the United States and thence to Martinique. Either of these obvious operations will gratuitously throw the whole commission profit of six or eight per cent. to the neutrals; besides other evident ill effects. This whole subject seems to call for consideration.

*Private.* "I find, and even among many who are sincere well-wishers, an impatience to see something brought forward respecting the military system. It seems to be felt that the financial business may require time."

#### LORD GRENVILLE to C. GREY.

1806, March 13. Camelford House.—"I have received the enclosed from Captain Mudge, with whose services (particularly in the action of last year) you are probably well acquainted.

"Although I cannot certainly urge this with the same earnestness that I did a similar application respecting Captain Barrie, yet I should certainly feel a pleasure in contributing (if it is consistent with your other engagements) to Captain Mudge's being employed." *Copy.*

#### C. GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March [14]. Admiralty.—"Accounts were received by the Board to-day of the state of the *Phœnix*, which we were a good deal surprised to find so bad, as it is only a year since she was docked. Orders are sent to Plymouth for a particular report upon her, and I sincerely hope there may be no necessity for paying her off, as, in the present state of my engagements, I fear it will be some time before I can offer Captain Mudge another ship. His own services, however, as well as your lordship's recommendation will certainly interest me in his favour.

“Captain Barrie has leave of absence for ten days, at the expiration of which the last accounts lead us to expect that the *Brilliant* will be ready to go to sea.”

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1806, March 14. Park Lane.—“In considering the intentions of Mr. Fox, as you stated them to me last night, I am clearly of opinion that the revival of the resolution of Parliament which prohibits schemes of conquest and aggrandisement in India must be deemed to involve a censure of my administration, unless the motion be accompanied by a clear declaration on the part of Mr. Fox, calculated to counteract any such impression.

“It is impossible for me or for any friend of mine to support the resolution without a distinct previous explanation from Mr. Fox, of the intention and object of reviving it at this time. The revival of the resolution would place me, under such circumstances, in the most unjust and unmerited situation, and would, in fact, be the most hostile step which could be adopted against my reputation and honour.

“If Mr. Fox will publicly declare in the House of Commons that it is not his intention to countenance attacks upon my conduct, and that in moving or supporting the revival of the resolution, he disclaims all intention either of censuring, directly or by implication, my administration, or of insinuating that I have violated the resolution; I cannot object to the resolution, although I certainly see no reason for any declaration of that kind at present. It will be perfectly easy for me to demonstrate that the resolution never has been violated, and I am ready to attend Mr. Fox, or to furnish him with the necessary proofs in writing of that fact; but I cannot agree to consider myself as placed in a just or advantageous situation if required to state that fact in supporting the revival of the resolution, unless Mr. Fox shall have properly explained his object.

“My situation would be more honourable, and more conformable to my character and wishes, if I were to abide the result of the longest possible inquiry, and stand at last upon the justice of the country, than if I were to concur in reviving a resolution of which the renewal, unexplained, would amount to as severe a sentence against me as could follow the most unfavourable result of the most rigid trial.

“I am anxious to put you in possession of my sentiments before Mr. Fox gives any notice of any motion to the proposed effect. Perhaps it might at all events be desirable to pause for a few days before any decision is taken upon a question which so deeply affects the character of a person who is conscious of just claims upon the public gratitude; and which also involves other serious considerations of policy and discretion.”

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 14. Palace Yard.—“Viewing the prodigious and increasing extent of our mercantile interests, I have not a doubt that it would be a measure of great public benefit to revise the system of marine insurances as now carried on under the protection of statutes made fourscore years ago. Nor can it be doubted that it would be desirable to remove any restraint on the fair competition of rich and responsible companies in a business which depends so essentially on competition and confidence.

“I had not heard of the enclosed papers before you sent them to me; but I suspect on reading them, that they are either suggested or written by my nephew Sir Frederic Eden, who has with great ability and perseverance established the Globe Insurance Office on a large scale, and is the governor of that establishment with the unanimous concurrence of very opulent proprietors. As that personal connection might affect me perhaps in point of delicacy, if the inquiry were instituted on any special reference of an application from the Globe Insurance, I should certainly prefer, if the enquiry should be made at the Committee of Council, that it should be made on the abstract and impartial question whether it is expedient to recommend to Parliament to give to the King a power to increase the number of marine insurance offices. Much curious enquiry must in that case be made respecting the actual system and its extent, and advantages and disadvantages, as now conducted whether by individuals or by the two companies. Nor have I doubt that the measure might be made both beneficial to the trade, and a considerable source of revenue. I recollect that when the Globe Office was established, the subscribers made some very large offer respecting the redemption of the Land Tax, if they could have in return a more extensive privilege.

“This subject reminds me of a question which I have often thought of submitting to you, whether, beyond the general accommodation, the Bank of England ought not to pay for the continued suspension of money payments, which gives a gain of not less than 700,000*l.* per year? And the Bank of Ireland also in due proportion?”

## LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, March 15. [Downing Street.]—“I trust you and I are not likely to dispute much about a question of patronage, but I am pretty confident you will find on enquiry that all agencies of foreign possessions have been invariably in the gift of the Treasury. I am sure they were so when I held the Seals, because I myself well recollect asking one of them from Mr. Pitt as a favour in behalf of my own private secretary.

“The different practice in the case of Ceylon arose from a desire to contrive that the person named should continue

to hold a seat in Parliament, which, if named by anybody at home, he could not have done. And Dundas, when he had once established this precedent at Ceylon, was probably ready enough to follow it up elsewhere; but I am much mistaken if you will find, on examining your books, a single precedent prior to that. The question is, however, easily settled by such a reference, and I am sure I should be the last person breathing that would wish to push a claim of this sort beyond the strictest bounds of right and precedent." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 15. Palace Yard.—“In the hurry of more important matters you had omitted to mention to Mr. Windham the measure taken for the better supply of the West Indies with Newfoundland fish *by a direct trade in British ships* during the war. He spoke to me about it yesterday with some alarm at one part of the proposition which, coming on him suddenly, had seemed to impose on his Office the responsibility of an unlimited suspension of a part of the Navigation Act. I explained to him (and I believe to his satisfaction) that nothing new is done by the measure, except that it is a modification and improvement of a breach of law invariably permitted as necessary during war; and annually sanctioned by Parliament. The existing proclamations never expire, but are continued and must be continued from six months to six months. The necessity on which they are grounded must prevail during war because we have not British shipping and sailors sufficient to supply our islands with lumber and provisions. The only alteration is that, instead of a renewal from six months to six months, the limitation of time is put to a six months notice of the expiration of the proclamation. The West India agents and proprietors stated that notice as their best security against temporary interruptions of supply and consequent famine; and in return for it they adopt the measure of paying a bounty of 20 *per cent.* on our Newfoundland fish, the operation of which bounty is uncertain in its extent, but must be salutary so far as it goes.

“The Impeachment Committee was well attended yesterday by all the learned Lords, Lord Radnor, Lord Carnarvon and others; in the result it seemed to be the general impression and opinion that the new article ought to be communicated to Lord Melville for his answer; and I have no doubt that this will be the result. Lord Carnarvon’s precedent is not in point; Lord Oxford had not pleaded to the preceding articles when the additional charges were offered. The most material passage in the journals is to be found April 16, 1679 (page 520), where the Lord Chancellor informs Lord Danby that he must answer on a given day to the articles brought, and that he shall have further time to answer to any new articles that shall be brought up against him, and *shall know his whole charge before his trial.*

“ I attended by desire of Sir J. Nicholls yesterday at the Cockpit, to hear the Master of the Rolls deliver a judgment on an American appeal. The tendency of that judgment is to set aside the pretension of the Americans to legalise their cargoes by a fictitious landing and reshipping, and by a pretended payment of duties. The judgment was given with great ability; but will create a *very strong* sensation. That whole subject calls for an immediate and very solemn consideration.

*Confidential.* “ I have been told that Lord M[elville] talks of applying to withdraw his plea in order to plead guilty.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March.—Elliot has been pressed for Sir John Parnell to succeed Marsden by G. Ponsonby; and this morning Elliot received a letter from Sir John Parnell himself soliciting the appointment, and saying that Lady Portarlington had applied in his favour to *the Prince of Wales, who had promised to use all his influence in his favour.* It seems therefore not improbable that the Prince will urge this point to-day; in that case I have advised Elliot to say that he had absolutely depended upon Marsden’s assistance at least for the two first months, if not permanently; and that if Marsden was ultimately removed, it would probably appear necessary to construct that Office anew, so as to divide it into two, as the present business is too much for one.

“ This arrangement may at least furnish Elliot the advantage of parrying in some shape the inconvenience of Parnell’s succeeding absolutely to Marsden by the appointment of the Prince of Wales; and may afford Elliot the means of having (with Parnell if that cannot be resisted) some confidential person attached to himself in that department. I have not mentioned either Herbert or Fremantle to Elliot, because he seemed to think (and I agree with him) that if Parnell is pressed, nobody can be named in contrast with him, except he be of known and admitted pretensions such as Sir George Shee or Hammond. But Sir George will not go, and I know not whether Hammond is of sufficient energy and activity; but of that you can better judge.

“ Lord Stafford desires me to beg, as a particular favour, that when Onslow, now 82, dies, you will admit of Lord Stafford’s recommendation to the office of Receiver of Customs at Liverpool; an office which it is very important to Lord Stafford’s canal interests should be held by hands friendly to him.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, March 16. Charles Street.—“ I have obtained a book of intelligence respecting the present state of the parliamentary interest of Scotland, which is drawn up by a very



sensible and well-informed man who is connected confidentially with Lord Stafford, and whose general statements I believe to be fair and correct, and, as such, likely to be very useful to you. I must beg that you will have it copied immediately by some confidential person, and returned to me as soon as possible. I enclose likewise a letter from Lady Stafford in which she requests, as you see, that at the election for the county of Fife you will not throw the weight of Government influence against Mr. Wemys, who is her nearest relation. He is her first cousin, and her nearest connection in Scotland. I am aware that Fox will naturally wish for Ferguson, who is a great supporter of his; but I suppose that the relationship between Lady Stafford and Mr. Wemys will be a sufficient reason for the influence of the Treasury not being exerted against Wemys. The election is expected to be hard run. I must trouble you to write me such an answer as I may communicate to Lady Stafford.

"We never meet, and that is a great evil, though perhaps your occupations make it a necessary one. You see however by the information which I have got arranged for you in the last fortnight, in the book which I send, that I am not unmindful of helping you where I can."

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, March 16. Palace Yard.—"You were so good as to say that you would let me know your decision relative to the secret application of two or three houses in the city to be licensed to purchase Spanish bills payable in South America. They have repeatedly asked for an answer; and unless there should be some special agreement to the contrary with Messers Baring and Co., the expediency is equal in regard to all respectable houses; and I do not see that the operations can materially clash. Only the licenses so given should bear some proportion to the exported cargoes of British manufactures. Encouragement in that respect is very important, for I hear that some of our manufacturing towns (more especially in Lancashire) are suffering much under a want of orders for export.

"I find that by some strange oversight the continued breach of the Navigation Act (that breach has not been discontinued since 1794) in the proclamations for the supply of the islands in neutral bottoms, has not had the annual Bill of Indemnity since June, 1800. I have ordered a Bill to be prepared and will submit it to you. And it will cover what we have recently done, and which (though most evidently paid for by the bounty on British American fish) proves to be less than some of the former infractions; for we have in the present instance excepted salt beef, pork, and butter.

*Confidential.* "I cannot doubt that it has been fully considered, and therefore it is perhaps more than superfluous to intimate a doubt, whether the expressions of a desire of

peace with England by *adopting*, as a basis, *the stipulations*, is such a bar to navigation as I thought it at first sight. Those stipulations went to the liberation not only of Holland, but of Naples, the Roman territory and others. They are inconsistent with the whole predicament of all the immense subsequent acquisitions, and inapplicable in other obvious respects. Perhaps therefore it might be desirable to ask for an explanation; and there are various modes of putting such an interrogatory."

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

1806, March 17. Camelford House.—“ You will, I am sure, attribute it to nothing but the pressure of the present moment, that I have not before this acknowledged your letter of the 13th instant on the subject of the promotion which may take place on the expected vacancy on the Bench of Bishops in Ireland. The name and character of the Bishop of Elphin are certainly well known to me, and I entertain for him a very sincere respect. His connection with your Lordship, as well as the general estimation in which he himself is held, would certainly make me desirous of contributing to the success of the wishes you express on his behalf on the present occasion, if it were possible for me to do so consistently with the arrangements which had already been nearly settled when the prospect of the vacancy was said to be nearer than it is now supposed to be. I trust however that some other opportunity may arise to enable me to testify the sincere desire I must always feel to comply with your wishes, particularly in favour of the Bishop of Elphin.” *Copy.*

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 17. [Pall Mall.]—“ If the plan which I was at first inclined to for the reduction of the expense of the volunteer corps should be thought so decidedly better than that which I have since suggested, I can certainly retire to my first opinion, or to opinions even less consonant to my own, where the subject is of so doubtful a nature, should the opinions of others be found completely adverse. But I think you are all taking fright too soon, and concluding that the measure last proposed will annihilate the volunteer force, when a great doubt may be entertained whether it would not have the effect of augmenting it. I have been minuting down, as fast as I could, some of the heads of argument on that point, additional to what I had put down on a paper which I had left to be copied when I was interrupted yesterday morning; and will send you a copy before I get to the Office, from which I have been detained to-day beyond my usual time, and may be detained till it is too late to see you this morning. In the meantime, be assured that I agree with you on all the heads

of army reduction which you mention. I think the staff too numerous, both volunteer and other. I think the four Field Officers unnecessary, as also the four Officers to a company. The skeleton battalions cannot long be permitted to remain in their present state; and both cavalry and Guards ought, I think, to be on a lower establishment than those proposed, if not lower than their actual numbers. I shall urge all these points to the Duke of York should I see him to-day, without waiting for the letter which he thought would have been ready on Tuesday last. But, I assure you, you will not only raise a most formidable clamour, but, what is of far more importance, put Government in the wrong, if, for the sake of a saving no greater than will be obtained by some of the most obnoxious of these reductions, you were to carry them into execution at once. Consider by what a different feeling we are governed with respect to the volunteers. 100,000*l.* is nothing to gratify any of their most unreasonable feelings. But 100,000*l.* is all that we should gain, were we to reduce at once 171 Lieutenant-Colonels, 171 Majors, and nearly as many Lieutenants who, upon the prospect of an establishment which they were told was to be permanent, and was founded upon a measure which Government declared to be the mode of recruiting from which they would not depart, had come forward from half-pay and other situations, by the aid of friends and the exertion of all their little means. Surely it will be enough to say, on many of these heads of expense, that you mean your establishment finally to be so and so, but that you are restrained from making it so at once by considerations such as those which I have stated. It must be considered too that, if men are to be got, all these battalions will be required to be re-established, and in this view, I have wanted to talk to you upon a measure which would really be something for us; namely the adopting, with respect to the Irish militia, what I wished to have seen done with respect to the English. I understand, and from very good authority, that the Irish militia would, almost to a man, go into the reserved battalions, if not for general service; and that the admission of a certain portion of the officers would reconcile all parties to the measure. If no such prospect offers of filling these battalions, some reduction must be made, but then not by one sweeping stroke, but with selection, and partially, and gradually.

“Lord Moira’s observation about the crowding into a regiment a number of half-trained and unclothed men, is certainly true. But that is not what is proposed. Men must ultimately be put into battalions, or the numbers in those battalions cannot be maintained; and will not that be sooner done, if you have the greater part of your military population half-trained, than if they have never had a musket in their hands? If this is not so, we had better have nothing to do with Training Act; bearing in mind only that, as all

our volunteers will be locked up in their corps, we shall have no recruits for our army (except so far as numbers of them will *have been* in volunteer corps) but men perfectly raw.

“ Lord Moira’s ideas go too much, I think, upon his favourite idea that we must either beat the enemy in the first battle, or not at all.

“ If we do but little with the volunteers, I think it may become a question which [why?] we should not try Fox’s idea (and my former one) of merely voluntary training; setting up a rival sort of volunteers, who would be trained upon certain terms by the military. If little was gained little likewise would be lost; and might be stated as merely an experiment, previous to stronger measures.

“ I will proceed to send off the paper which I mentioned, and to see, if I can, the Duke of York, stating what is wished, and requesting, as soon as he can let us have it, the paper he proposed.

*Postscript.*—“ It seems likely that a new consul must be appointed at Algiers, in the room of the one now there, who seems to have been doing ill; at the same time that the place, according to the statement from Lord Collingwood, is becoming daily more important.

“ If there should be any one for whom you are pressed for an appointment, and who can be relied on for judgment, I shall have an opportunity perhaps of appointing him. I say, who is *well qualified*, for I have put by two near connections of my own, whom I am very anxious to provide for, and both unexceptionable in character, from doubting of their perfect qualifications for the situation. Is it a situation that Gregory would accept? I have a person in my eye, a retired Lieutenant-Colonel, whom I knew only when I was in the War Office, who, I think, would be an excellent man; but a person might be found as good, and he has no expectation of anything of the sort.”

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 20. [Pall Mall.]—“ Will it be possible for me to see you sometime this evening so as to settle something finally; something about these establishments, as well as to talk over the other measures previous to our having a meeting of Cabinet, which, I think, there should be either to-morrow or Saturday.

“ Upon the Volunteers the question will be between the measure as first proposed, and the alteration which I afterwards recommended, and which I still think is best, and will not be attended with the dangers which you apprehend. But I am ready there to be governed by the general sentiment, wishing only that it may not be hastily formed. Though the first proposal included, as you will recollect, that in future no Volunteer should be received but upon the condition

of his serving free of expense, the danger is that this will not be adhered to, as we see has happened at present, for all Volunteers were originally supposed to be of that description.

“The army question of limited service will require, I am afraid, strong measures to carry it through; and must therefore receive all the aid that you and the Cabinet can give me. I shall perhaps see the Duke of York about it again to-day. I will endeavour, also, to call in upon you, should you be at the Treasury.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, March 21. Palace Yard.—“I hope to learn verbally by the messenger that you are better to-day. I was sorry that you could not be present in the Oriental Feast.

“You have not yet sent the papers which you proposed to communicate in confidence; but I know enough of the subject through Mr. Vansittart to be satisfied that, on the whole, the operations of the year will be less severe than the minds of our countrymen are prepared to expect. There are parts of the details (and especially those parts which relate to the new modelling of the collection, exemptions, and matters of that kind) on which it is difficult to express in writing all that may occur, but I will attempt it on Sunday if I should not have the advantage of seeing you.

“At the Committee of Council we have promised secretly two or three licenses for Spanish bills on Peru and Mexico, to the amount of about 40,000*l.* each, on condition that they shall be severally accompanied by British cargoes to that amount.

“I shall send to you to-day or to-morrow a copy of the Report of the Crown lawyers on the St. Domingo question; they do not meet it fairly in all points; but they open a consideration to you ‘whether we ought to license that trade from Tortola and other islands.’

“The King’s advocate has sent a very full and instructive report on the actual predicament of our discussions with the United States. I shall propose to the Board to refer the memorial of the American merchants, with that report, to Mr. Fox, and to send copies of the whole to your lordships for your information.

“Lord Sheffield is printing a long, violent (and most mistaken) statement against the whole system of licenses, and deviations from the Navigation Act.”

C. J. FOX TO THE SAME.

1806, March 23. Stable Yard.—“I send you a rough draft of the minute. Perhaps the middle clause might be wholly omitted, and after *the said papers*, might come in, *under these impressions*. Pray give me your advice, or whether you would have anything else altered, or added. I know so little

of his Majesty now, and was so unsuccessful in all my attempts to please him formerly, that I want help at every step."

*Private.* EARL SPENCER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806 [March].—"The King will not come to town on Wednesday, but he told me that, if he was wanted, he would come on Thursday; and as I suppose it will be right for G. Ponsonby to be sworn of the Privy Council, and also to be presented on his appointment to be Chancellor of Ireland, which by that time will be sufficiently completed for the purpose, and as there may perhaps be some other business to be done, I had intended asking your opinion to-day at the Cabinet whether I should not write to the King to desire him to come to town on Thursday.

"As you are to see Lord Lauderdale to-morrow, I will just mention what occurs to me on his letter. It may be very right to change the Advocate and Solicitor-General; but, if it be true that Mr. Blair is a man so respectable and so fit for the Bench, why not raise him to the present vacancy on the Bench for the purpose of introducing either Mr. Clerk or Mr. C. Hay (whichever may be most fit) to be Solicitor General. I take it for granted that, considering all circumstances, Harry Erskine must be Lord Advocate; though from the little I have heard of him, I do not know but there may be some objections to it.

"My general view of the line of conduct most advisable to pursue both with regard to Scotland and Ireland (and especially with regard to the law appointments in both countries) is that it should not be too much marked with the eagerness of party politics; and if, even on Lord Lauderdale's own suggestion, it be proper and right for me to write as he advises to the present Solicitor General, I cannot well convince myself that the course I have pointed out above will not be the fittest to pursue."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, March 24. Palace Yard.—"The contents of the proposed budget so far as I can form a judgment from a short and general statement, will be satisfactory to our countrymen and discouraging to the enemy. Perhaps even (with the aid and impression of this new naval advantage) it may bring forwards some proposal approaching nearly to the *uti possidetis*.

"The raising of the Property Tax to 10 per cent. will be felt by many; but it is expected, and will be quietly taken. It marks however so strongly the unsound and partial principle by which small incomes are favoured and exempted, that I am almost sorry you have abandoned your first idea in that respect. And even now I much doubt whether the small incomes might not be subject to an amount equal to the

additional rate, or at least to some proportion. The produce would be considerable even taken at a low rate, and would have many collateral advantages. It would also ensure the estimate of the war taxes at 20 millions (including 2 millions of calculated arrears). Without that help I expect the estimate to be taken too high.

“In raising the interest for the loan, you have it fully in your power to bring to account about 80,000*l.* *per annum*, already gained by the redemption of the Land Tax, and not yet brought to public account. That gain is progressive; and I am now receiving almost as many notices of sales by corporate bodies as at any period since the commencement of the commission.

“I believe that we must propose to you from the Board of Trade a new arrangement of the duties on thread lace. It is urged by the manufacturers and recommended by Mr. Frewin. They propose to add to it a license to be taken out by all vendors of lace. If it should appear likely to produce 20,000*l.* or 25,000*l.* *per annum*, would it be worth adding to the Budget?

“Not having seen the subsidy account, and not recollecting accurately the vote of last session respecting it, I cannot guess whether you underrate the arrears at 1,000,000*l.* In truth it must depend on pretensions still floating at Berlin, Petersburg and other places abroad.

“Should there not be an addition of 90,000*l.* for the interest of the three millions to the Bank? That loan might reasonably have been continued without interest.

“A sum of 414,000*l.* was voted last year to discharge American arrears; as there is not any article to that purpose this year, I presume that the whole claim is cleared.

“It seems possible that the deficiency of ways and means of 1805 may be understated. But this will in some degree depend on the surplus of the Consolidated Fund on the 5th of next month, which ought to be 2 millions for the current quarter, in order to make good what it was taken for.

“Exclusive of the interest on Exchequer Bills which is stated at 1,000,000*l.*, there was in the last year’s budget an allowance of 600,000*l.* for discounts on loans and lotteries, and other services not voted.

“I have not seen any statement of the amount of the unfunded debt.”

#### CABINET MINUTE.

1806, March 24. Downing Street.

#### *Present.*

Lord President,  
Lord Privy Seal,  
Earl Spencer,  
Earl of Moira,  
Lord Grenville,

Lord Ellenborough,  
Lord Henry Petty,  
Mr. Grey,  
Mr. Windham,  
Mr. Fox.

“Your Majesty’s confidential servants having taken into their most serious consideration the papers produced to them by Mr. Fox, most humbly submit to your Majesty that it might appear inconsistent with the uniform declarations made by your Majesty’s Government since the commencement of the present war, to pass unnoticed the opening for negotiation contained in the said papers. The principal object to be attended to seems to be, on the one hand, to guard your Majesty’s Government from the imputation, which the enemy endeavours to cast upon it, of being averse to peace on any terms; and on the other to shew that, in discussing that important subject, your Majesty will never be forgetful of the dignity of your Majesty’s crown, of the honour and interests of your Majesty’s allies, or of the general welfare of Europe.

“Under these impressions they most humbly submit to your Majesty that it may be proper that Mr. Fox should write to M. Talleyrand a letter conformable to the draft which accompanies this minute.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, March 24. Camelford House.—“I am aware of your difficulty at the Privy Council, and I fear that you have no discretion. I wish the Law Lords could bring themselves to think otherwise.

“The Budget will, I think, do pretty well without the Land Tax money, or the [*blank*], and these may perhaps come in as helps another year.

“I have little doubt that we shall ultimately have above a million to pay as arrears of subsidy, but hardly within the present year; nor are the amounts sufficiently liquidated to enable us as yet to charge auditors\* with more. The vote of credit may well cover a part of this further payment.

“The three millions, not being a permanent but a floating charge, will only add so much to the expenses of the years of war, and may, I think, therefore be fairly left to be covered by Exchequer Bills, and to fall each year as a deficiency on the preceding year. We could not lay on permanent taxes till it is funded.

“I have heard nothing of any further American claims, and the commission is closed. The discount on loans operates *pro tanto* in reduction of interest on Exchequer Bills, and may, I presume, be fairly included in that calculation, especially as we provide so largely for the other services. I enclose a statement of the unfunded debt. Pray return it to me. *Copy.*

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 24. Pall Mall.—“I had a long talk in the House to-day with Fox, Lord Henry, and FitzPatrick, and

\* Ourselves ?



the result was that I should state to you our difficulties, leaving to you to consider in what manner they should best be compromised.

“The Budget I take to be a fixed point, and which can, on no account, be deferred beyond Friday; but a great embarrassment then arises; first, that with all the exertion possible, there may be a doubt about the estimates being ready by that day; and next, that the estimate then produced, will have an effect which no one had before adverted to, of publishing prematurely almost the whole of our Volunteer plan. This is not inconvenient merely as an anticipation of my speech, but because it is disadvantageous to proclaim a measure certain to produce a considerable reduction in the Volunteer force, before it is known what the measures are by which this effect will be, in part counteracted, and in part compensated.

“It seemed to be their wish therefore, as it certainly should be mine, that the Budget should be moved without the army estimates; a course of proceeding which, though not usual, is said not to be without precedent, nor to be liable to any serious objection. If this can be done, it will in every view be highly desirable. My motion in the meanwhile, in order that it may be brought on before the recess, will require that not a moment should be lost both in completing our talk with the Duke of York, and in stating what is necessary to the King. If I understand you rightly, it is necessary for this latter purpose that I should make a sort of abstract of what is proposed, to be produced to the King either in the form of a minute of Cabinet, or in some other way. This ought to be ready for the King, I presume, on Wednesday; yet how shall we have been able to get over our conversation with the Duke of York by that time, if you are engaged, as I understood you, all to-morrow?

“I see here the evils which I have caused by not having pressed forward more these conversations with the Duke of York; but the question now is how to get free of them. Three things seem to be necessary before I can venture to give a notice; first, that we should have given to the Duke of York an opportunity for the conversation which he wishes; secondly, that we should have done what is necessary in respect to the King; and thirdly, that Grey should have been able to determine what may be proper with respect to an increase of pay in the navy; for it seems certain (and something which Fox had heard subsequent to our parting to-day in Downing Street, led to the same conclusion) that the silence of the army will not last longer than the day when the motion is brought forward; and that, if nothing is then said of an increase of pay to officers, representations to that effect will be coming in from all quarters.

“If we can manage to settle these points by Friday, a notice given on Friday will be sufficient for Wednesday;

and there is no reason, I suppose, why the day before the recess will not be as good as any other. I think it is really of consequence that we should avoid, if possible, the publishing so large a part of our plan in the estimates."

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 24. Park Lane.—"It has occurred to me upon a more full consideration of the proposed motion of Mr. Huddleston (or Thornton) for the rejected invective of the Court of Directors, that the most desirable mode of proceeding would be to settle the decision of Government upon the subject before the motion is made, by a discussion between yourself and Mr. Fox.

"Great embarrassment and difficulty have already arisen in the House of Commons from the want of concert on the Indian questions; a large majority of the House I believe to be disposed to pursue stedfastly whatever course of policy *you* may think fit to determine upon all these questions; and the time is now come when it is absolutely necessary to fix the course which you mean to pursue.

"It is therefore desirable in the first instance to induce Mr. Huddleston and Company to postpone their motion until you can have leisure to read the invective, and to decide whether you will admit such a paper upon the table of the House of Commons; and, if you do admit it, under what circumstances and in what manner that concession shall be made.

"From what I have heard of the paper (for I have never seen it) I am disposed to think that it is inadmissible upon every principle of justice and policy; and that the most wise course would be either to induce the parties to abandon the motion, or, if that be found impracticable, to reject the motion even upon a division.

"I am satisfied that if sufficient notice were given, and that *you* decided the propriety of rejecting the motion, it would be rejected upon a division, even if Mr. Fox should not make up his mind upon the question in the manner most desirable.

"But if the paper is to be produced, it appears to me indispensable to the ends of ordinary justice, that, previously to the production of it, the Board of Control should call upon me to state in an official form my replies to the several imputations contained in it, and should submit those replies to the House together with the invective; otherwise a prejudice may be created, entirely contrary to the principles of justice.

"The paper, I understand, embraces every part of my government from the hour of my arrival in India; and it may therefore be impossible for me to reply to it, without producing to Parliament every proceeding of that government for nearly eight years. This result must lead to the necessity of a Committee upon the whole subject of India, and the consequence must be an inquiry of two or three years.

“You will judge whether such a consequence be desirable either for the public, or for my personal ease, and whether it will not be more wise to reject the paper altogether.

“The motion stands for to-morrow.”

LORD GRENVILLE to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, March 24. Camelford House.—“You know I wrote to Lord Minto, Saturday, to desire him to send me a copy of the paper in question, and, in the mean time, to have the motion postponed if possible, to afford time to consider the paper before it was moved for. I have not heard from him since, so I suppose the paper is preparing, and that some such communication has been, or will be, made to Mr. Huddleston.

“I have, however, written to him again to ask. Till I see the paper I can, of course, say nothing to it; but I certainly see much difficulty in resisting such a paper after what has been granted. I shall judge better of this when I see it.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to EARL TEMPLE.

1806, March 24. Camelford House.—“I had some talk Saturday evening with Wellesley about the papers you mention. My own impression was that it would be difficult to resist it; and that, in the mode of acceding to it, a sufficient slur would be thrown upon it by moving at the same time for the reasons given by the Board of Control for rejecting it; and observing that it shows only what sense of W[ellesley's] conduct was *not* entertained, and what representation of it was *not* thought well-founded by those under whose orders it was his duty to act, and to whose opinions he was to conform himself.

“But I wrote to Lord Minto to desire that he would lose no time in furnishing me with a copy of the paper, and would apply for such a delay of Huddleston's motion as would afford time to consider the paper.

“Considering what has been given, it will be very difficult indeed I think to find a plausible ground for refusing this.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to C. J. FOX.

1806, March 25. Camelford House.—“Mr. Wickham having at my desire seen the Swedish Minister on the subject of an application to the Treasury from him respecting a supposed arrear of Swedish subsidy, I send you the report of their conference, and I should be much obliged to you if you would direct the question to be looked into by some person in your Office who may afterwards converse with Mr. Wickham upon it.” *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 25. Dublin Castle.—“One of my first objects on my arrival here was to ascertain the relation, in which

the joint Post-Masters-General stand to the Government, in respect to the patronage within their department; and I find that they have gradually been permitted to establish such an independence of the Castle that the appointment to the post office in a country town was recently solicited as a matter of favour from Lord Ely, and was not obtained without some difficulty. It is obvious therefore that there should be a very explicit understanding with the new Post-Masters on this subject to secure the political influence of the Lord Lieutenant from any future encroachment of a similar nature. As any suggestion for curtailing the power of the Post Office will considerably add to the difficulty of treating with Lord Donoughmore, I must earnestly entreat you to have the kindness to see him, and to endeavour to bring the negotiation which has been commenced with him to a conclusion. I should not ask you to undertake this trouble, if I did not feel strongly persuaded that the only chance of making any satisfactory engagement with him will be by *your personal* communication with him. By correspondence, I am convinced, we shall not advance a step with him; and I am in every point of view anxious that Government should have his support, if it can be obtained without a very unreasonable sacrifice. You will oblige me by acquainting me with the result of your interview, and if it should end in his acceptance of the situation of joint Post-Master, I will write the note he desires to secure to him his provision on the incidents of the revenue in the event of his retiring from office.

“Lord Ely died a few days ago, which leaves a vacancy in the order of St. Patrick. I found every thing here quiet, but have been able to do little yet in the way of business, as Marsden has been so ill that I have not had more than an hour’s conversation with him. The Duke of Bedford is expected to-morrow.”

EARL SPENCER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 26. St. James’s Place.—“I hope I need not tell you how highly gratifying to my feelings any such mark of your kindness and attention to me must be as that which is conveyed in your note just received; and I assure you, most sincerely, that you will not do justice to those feelings if you are not persuaded that I derive much more satisfaction from the expression your proposal conveys of your continued regard and friendship, than I could derive from the acquisition of any honours which the King could bestow. Having said this, I must however, I think, decline the distinction proposed for me. On a former occasion I declined the same offer, upon a good deal of consideration upon the subject; and that at a time when, as far as the value of such things go, the thing was of more value, because it was before the union with Ireland; and the same consideration ought, in my opinion, to prevail with me at this time, unless there were any special

reason which could be adduced, which I confess does not occur to me, to alter the case.

*Postscript.*—"Mr. Bagshaw, the High Sheriff of Derbyshire, will present himself to you to-day at the Queen's House to have the honour of knighthood conferred on him, having presented an address on the victory of Trafalgar. I have apprized the King of this."

#### MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE SAME.

1806, March 26.—"I entirely approve your idea, and indeed should approve any effectual plan for negating the motions. No part of the papers in question is admissible on any ground of justice; and I am satisfied that, if you distinctly adopt the course now proposed, you will carry a large majority of the House with you.

"It is a matter of perfect indifference to me whether the members of the Secret Committee or of the Court of Directors approved the measures pursued in Oude. They were regularly communicated in their progress to the proper authority (the Secret Committee) and confirmed by that authority.

"I hope you will be able to settle the arrangement with Fox, and that you will then take measures for a full attendance to-morrow, and at once to end this branch of the attack. Lord Castlereagh and the former Board of Control (although they granted a former paper of a description in some degree similar to those now required) are prepared fully to support you in refusing the papers now required. Their authority may certainly be used against their own precedent.

"I understand that the Board of Control have other copies of the papers; I wish to retain them in order to prepare replies to the libels which they contain. This work must occupy some time, but nothing can be more extravagant or unjust than the imputations."

#### GEORGE III TO THE SAME.

1806, March 27. Windsor Castle.—"The King approves of the honour of baronetage being conferred on Mr. Morris, Mr. Ramsay, and Mr. Lubbock, in addition to those whose names were mentioned to him yesterday by Lord Grenville. His Majesty also approves of Lord Grenville's sending a warrant for an annual pension of five hundred pounds to General Vernon."

#### *Private.* LORD SPENCER TO THE SAME.

1806, March 28.—"The appointment of which Sir John Stuart complains was made in consequence of the resignation of Mr. Ramsay, the late Sheriff Depute, which was delivered to me by Lord Lauderdale who procured that resignation, I believe entirely with a view of making an opening for Mr. Gillies, lately appointed the Prince's Advocate in Scotland.

Mr. Gillies was accordingly appointed, and I was not aware that Sir John Stuart had anything to say upon the subject. Lord Fife had indeed applied to me for a relation of his, a Mr. Duff; but Mr. Gillies' claims appeared to be preferable, as he is the person whom the Lord Justice Clerk, in the letter he wrote to me on the subject of the appointment of the Advocate and Solicitor General, pointed out as the properest to be Solicitor General, though he was adverse to him in politics; and I have reason to believe that, next to Erskine and Clerk, he is the leading advocate on that side of the question.

"Sir John Stuart is not represented in either of the books in our possession as likely to come in again for Kincardineshire, the principal interest in that county being in the hands of Mr. Ramsay (late Burnet) the late Sheriff, and Mr. Adam, who, according to Lord Lauderdale, could bring himself in if he chose.

"The only excuse than can be made to Sir John seems to be that it was an object with Government to avail ourselves of the first opening that offered in favour of Mr. Gillies."

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, March 29. Camelford House.—"I have attentively considered the circumstances of the case respecting the grant made to the Duke of St. Albans, and, if I understand them right, they are such as could not authorize us (however desirous of complying with his wishes) in recommending to the King to grant a farther extension of the pension. The original grant of duties on logwood was for ninety-nine years, *expiring in 1803*. This grant not having been carried into effect, Queen Anne granted to the then Duke in lieu thereof a pension of 1,000*l.* for his life, which has in like manner been granted to his successors respectively for their lives till 1789, when application was made to Parliament on the subject, and on the statement of these facts a Bill was passed authorizing the King to grant a farther prolongation of that pension for sixteen years, *to expire in 1803*.

"If this statement be correct, it is manifest that the question as to the continuance of the pension has been decided by the authority of Parliament, whose sense has been so clearly expressed upon it, that it cannot be proper for the King's servants to advise his Majesty to act in contradiction to it.

"I trust it is unnecessary for me to say that I should have been very happy to have done whatever I could with propriety on this subject, both out of respect to the Duke of St. Albans, and on account of the interest which your Lordship took in the success of his wishes upon it." *Copy.*

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 30. Palace Yard.—"I send a copy of the proposed Indemnity Bill, and have taken the necessary

precautions to avoid any expressions or enactments that may alarm the sensibilities of the Commons.

"Perhaps you have not got the enclosed printed account. Number 2 is not immaterial to show that our British mercantile shipping maintains itself, notwithstanding that 100,000 sailors are employed in the King's ships; and that much of our carrying trade, necessarily, but very beneficially to us, goes in neutral bottoms.

|  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| "The annual real value of British produce and manufactures on the average of 5 years ending January 5, 1793, was .. .. . | 15,444,000 <i>l</i> . |
| For 5 years ending January 5, 1805 .. .. .   | 24,600,000 <i>l</i> . |

#### W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, March 30. [Pall Mall.]—"I have sent to put off our meeting to-morrow, no notice having in the meanwhile been issued, as I found that a meeting had been settled with you by Grey at the same hour on Fulton's business; and as it seemed doubtful whether any points remained to be decided for which a meeting of the Cabinet would be necessary. I shall attend at Grey's and have an opportunity therefore of seeing you. I wish we may not have got into a scrape by resolving at all events to bring on the army business before the recess. If we forbear any mention of officers' pay, applications will pour in upon us without end, or at least so much be said upon the subject, as that the measure will lose all its grace. If we mention it, the navy must come in, and Grey has not yet had time to learn what ought in that respect to be done. I have been afraid to urge these considerations so much as I feel them for fear of appearing to be seeking delay for myself; but I am sure we had better have delayed the measure ever so long, than bring it in incomplete.

"The handsome letter, too, which I have just got from the King, would have made a propriety, I rather think, in having waited till after the recess. It may now possibly [be] too late.

"A difficulty of another kind has just occurred. In looking over the letter proposed to be sent to M. Rivière, I feel great doubt whether it does not express something different from what was our resolution. The letter goes to say that, if they will give up the point of the Hanoverians, we will give up all their prisoners here, receiving all ours in France. But that was surely not our meaning. Our meaning must have been that we would exchange, upon the principles of a cartel, the prisoners now here against English prisoners at this time in France, allowing them to count among the prisoners the English detained at the beginning of the war, but refusing to include the Hanoverians. I have put some words in pencil which, I think, brings it to that sense, and to what I presume, for I have not the means at this moment of getting at the

minute, must have been the true sense. It has further been suggested to me that, Bonaparte's name never having been introduced into Rivière's letter, it may be doubtful whether our letter ought to run in the King's name, and ought not rather to stand, as I had at first put it, in the mere name of the Ministers; following in that the precedent of the letters which I found upon similar subjects in the Office."

*Private.* VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, March 31. Clifford Street.—“Having just seen the military papers from Windham's office, I am quite sure that it is absolutely necessary to have a meeting of Cabinet, or that you should have a full and explicit communication with Windham previous to the discussion on Wednesday. I understood that the reduction of the June allowances to those of August had been agreed upon, as the preferable alternative; but Windham not only leans to the other, but does not seem to be aware that a decision has been taken on this point.

“I am unwell to-day, and wish to remain at home; but if you think my attendance in the House of Lords material, I shall *readily* go there.”

EARL SPENCER to THE SAME.

1806, [March 31]. London.—“I send you a packet I have just received from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which I think ought to be circulated. I have, at the same time, received letters from both Lord Hardwicke and Lord Redesdale on the same subject which I do not propose to circulate, but will show you when we next meet; they are very strongly expressed in the same view of the matter.

“I own I cannot find in anything that is here stated where-withal to alter my opinion that it is impossible for us to renew the Suspension Act; but you will see that we must take the whole upon our shoulders, and it therefore is right, I think, to circulate these papers; and you may perhaps think it advisable to call a Cabinet for Sunday for this and any other matters that may occur.

*Postscript.*—“If you think these papers should be sent in circulation, pray forward them.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, April 1. Camelford House.—“I had (a day or two after you set out) a pretty long conversation with Lord Donoughmore, in which the thing was, I think, brought as nearly to a point as a matter of that sort admits of. The explanation was verbal only, and must rest on that footing; but the understanding was that, although the applications from individuals were to be made directly to him, which



indeed is the case here, yet that in cases where Parliamentary interests were in question, he was to attend to the wishes of Government. Something must of course always depend on the manner in which these things are executed; and I should think you would do well to take some early opportunity of making to him some such accommodation, in order that our claim may not be weakened by disuse.

"He has therefore accepted the Post Office, understanding that he is to have the note about his pension, to be a Privy Councillor here, to have his brother at the Board, and not to see any other person put at the head of both Boards.

"I take it for granted from what passed here that Lord Headfort is the person the Duke of Bedford will wish to have the blue ribbon, and I am not aware that there is any proper person; nothing shall, however, be said about it till we hear from your side the water.

"Colonel Vereker has applied to me for the office of Constable of Limerick with the lands annexed to it, which he states were held by his family, who were removed to make way for the present occupant Mr. Cockayne. I could only tell him that I would write to you to beg you would inform yourself of all the circumstances of the business; and that if the thing appeared reasonable and proper to be done, I would support his application to the Duke of Bedford, but not otherwise."

*Postscript.*—"I have promised Lord Ormond that, as soon as ever the new Treasury Commission is out, his claim shall be put in due course of enquiry that it may, if possible, be brought forward this session. It relates, as I suppose you know, to his butlerage and prizage. Pray write to Newport about it." *Copy.*

*Private.* THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, April 1. Camelford House.—"In addition to my other letter of to-day, I find a memorandum respecting Mr. Odell, about whom, I believe, I spoke to you before you went. He wants an office for his son as promised by Mr. Pitt, and I promised you would converse with him on the subject.

"Lord Abercorn presses much for an answer about Judge Fox.

"I wish you could suggest a fit person for the Irish Commission of Enquiry. Jackson says he cannot return there, and I know not whom else to send. Pole and Hawthorn have been suggested to me. What do you think of them? I incline as between them to the latter of the two; but I had rather find some one who is neither in Parliament nor in politics.

"We shall, I believe, provide for Ormsby by sending him out as judge to Prince of Wales's island where the India Company has an establishment. Lord Ch— will probably choose a friend of ours in his room. He, Lord C—, will, I believe, ask you for some living in due time for his brother." *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, April 1. Camelford House.—“I omitted to send the Duke of Bedford, as I promised before he left town, the lists I had received of objects which Lord Hardwicke desired to recommend to his successor. I now send it, though the Duke has probably received it from Lord Hardwicke himself. I also send you a copy of my answer.

“I have just seen Lord Mountnorris, who makes two requests. 1st, To be *Custos Rotulorum* of Wexford in the room of Lord Ely; and 2nd, to be considered as sharing the patronage of that county with Colclough, supposing the latter to succeed.

“He explained to me that an understanding had been proposed to him by which he was to support Lord Ely at the general election for one member for Wexford, and was in return to have a friend of his brought in at Ross. To all this I could say nothing, being totally ignorant of county of Wexford politics, and having heard nothing from anybody about them.

“I hope you will not forget to send me as soon as you can the lists you promised me of county and borough interests to be considered in Ireland. Have the goodness to talk with the Duke of Bedford about Lord Mountnorris, and let me know what your opinion is upon his requests.” *Copy.*

*Private.* C. GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 1. Admiralty.—“I find a general increase of 10 *per cent.* upon all ranks in the navy above that of able seamen, would not answer. The petty officers, who are the most meritorious men in the fleet, and amongst whom it would be desirable to establish a gradation of classes, would, upon that principle, receive a smaller addition than the able seamen; and the lieutenants would have only 6*d.* per day added to their present pay of five shillings. The captains also, at least those of the lower rates of ships, would find their present pay very inadequately increased. I have therefore thought it better to adopt the plan of a certain addition to the weekly or daily pay of all ranks below that of admiral, beginning with the ordinary and able seamen in the way we agreed upon yesterday. The addition of 10 *per cent.* to the personal pay of the admirals will answer very well. The whole additional expense in this mode will not exceed the yearly sum of 330,000*l.*

“I hear you are going out of town to-morrow or I should have proposed to submit to you this arrangement more in detail. If, however, you see no considerable objection to it according to this general statement, and it is necessary for Windham to announce to-morrow his intention of proposing an increase of the pay of the army, I might, at the same time, give notice of a similar intention with respect to the navy.

But I cannot help wishing you first to consider a little the expedience of giving this notice immediately. I apprehend the distribution can only be made by the King's order in Council, and the only way in which it can come before Parliament will be by a new estimate. Perhaps therefore it would be better to say nothing upon the subject till the order in council is ready to be issued, as any considerable interval of uncertainty and expectation might produce some inconvenience."

W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, April 1. Pall Mall.—“ You will have got before this time, I hope, the heads of the Bill which I showed you yesterday. They should have gone to you last night. The abstract of the volunteer reductions I have directed likewise to be sent you. The expense of the additional pay in the second and third period to the soldiers actually subsisting will not be much. According to an average taken from the returns of twenty-one regiments, the amount of both on the infantry of the present army would be only 38,000*l.* If in the cavalry the men last longer, the period also will be somewhat higher. In cavalry and artillery the first period should not be less, I think, than ten; and I have written to propose that to Lord Moira.

“ As it happens often, what has been long delayed is at last done in a hurry. I fail in bodily powers. I should have liked that we could have considered the question of allowing, among our privileges to soldiers, a right of voting in their county. Lord Ellenborough, you might have observed, was much inclined to it, taking care not to include Scotland. Might I venture to allude [to it] as one of the many things that might possibly be done. The great character, I think, of our measure is that it is capable of endless additions. You infuse of advantages and privileges *quantum sufficit*.

“ I shall be in town about two o'clock, but I must sleep again out of town, as I did last night, to have a chance of getting what I shall have to say into any shape. I wish I had taken to this course before; though a long letter which I have had to write to the Duke of York has not left me the full benefit of my retirement. If you should be at the Treasury, I could step over to you, if necessary.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, April 1. Pall Mall, 8 o'clock, p.m.—“ I am glad you had an opportunity of pointing out the article in question, though I think I should have remembered it. The copy sent to you was from the original draft.

“ The only Bills that I shall have to move for will be, I think: 1. a Bill to enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence of the realm, being a new edition of the levy in mass Act.

“ 2. A Bill for the regulation of Chelsea Hospital, and making further provision for soldiers.

“ 3. A Bill to amend the laws relating to the militia.

“ 4. Leave to repeal the Additional Force Act; and this, by the by, I suppose should come first.

“ I don't know whether I stated to you in my note of this morning, what I did much at length in my letter to the Duke of York, that I continue strongly in favour of an allowance to persons retiring after the second period. Every man so lost to the service is, I am persuaded, a gain of many. It is the contrary rule that ruins us, namely, that no man is seen retiring from the service but with a mutilated frame or broken constitution. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*. I can keep the question open, which it will be desirable to do on most of these points.”

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 1. Pall Mall, 9½ o'clock p.m.—“ I think the only way must be to talk 'about it and about it' without mentioning the words pay and officer together. But how near may one come? May I talk of the proposed increase to widows' pensions and to the compassionate list? Or should I only touch upon these among various boons by which Parliament may possibly think it right to show its regard for the army, but which, as they do not stand single, but would require to be considered in connection with many others, [had] better be postponed for the present. It is not easy to show, indeed, why, at a moment when we are proposing so many other more important changes, we should not be ready for this. But something will be done if we can show, when the applications come, that it is not in consequence of the applications that the increase is made, but that Government evidently had the intention previously. I will talk to Grey and Fox and do the best I can.

“ I should be sorry to stop you from anything which I feel to be of such extreme importance to health, as the getting occasionally out of town. If anything very particular occurs, I will ride up to Camelford House before the time you mention.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1806, April 2. Camelford House.—“ Lord Grenville has the honour to submit to your Majesty warrants for granting to Colonel Dalrymple and Mr. Adam, in trust out of the droits of your Majesty's crown, the sums necessary to complete your Majesty's grant of twenty thousand pounds each to their Royal Highnesses the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Kent, the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Sussex, and the Duke of Cambridge.

“ The trustees are directed to apply these sums in the first instance to the discharge of any debts due by their Royal

Highnesses, with a special instruction respecting the arrangement of the affairs of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, which Lord Grenville will have the honour personally to lay before your Majesty when he has next the honour of attending your Majesty.

“Lord Grenville also begs leave humbly to transmit for your Majesty’s royal signature, if approved, the warrant for a new Commission for the Treasury in Ireland, at the head of which Lord Grenville’s name is placed in conformity to the arrangements which he has already had the honour to submit to your Majesty, with a view to consolidate as much as possible the financial administration of both parts of the United Kingdom.” *Copy.*

C. J. FOX TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 4. Stable Yard.—“I have a letter from his Majesty appointing a Council to-morrow at two o’clock at the Queen’s palace; so I hope you will come, and if you would call here for half an hour on your way, it will be all the better. I forgot to tell you last night that, though Lord Spencer did not come to the Cabinet, I had mentioned the matter to him before, and he agreed in all we did. I think it clearly right, or rather unavoidable, to show some sense of the insult immediately, with a determination to receive favourably any palliation that may be offered, especially if it comes through the medium of Russia. I have not yet your answer.”

*Postscript.*—“You will be glad to hear that notwithstanding my having been unwell before, I am not the worse for last night, and indeed now quite well.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, April 5. Eden Farm.—“I had the misfortune this morning to fall into a new novel by Madame de Genlis. It has great bulk and little merit; but an abundance of poisonings, prisons, subterraneous abodes, virtuous adulteresses; and so I suppose that I shall wade through it. In the meantime Colonel Thornton’s foolish and impudent *Tour into Scotland* lies invitingly open, and I suppose that I shall sink into that bog also.

“I must not, however, omit to inform you that, before I left Palace Yard, I settled with Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Groves, and a Mr. Craig of the Board of Works (*Wyatt non est inventus*), that the preparing of Westminster Hall shall be pushed forwards with all possible despatch. This is somewhat irregular, as the King’s warrant cannot yet be given, but the circumstances require it; and it will rest with your lordships to secure to us his Majesty’s approbation. I am not without hope that the whole will be finished about the 24th instant.

“If this cannot be accomplished, the inconvenience to the judges will be great; the noise of the carpenters and the counsel

cannot go forwards at the same time. Lord Ellenborough means to sit every morning at eight o'clock; and it happens to be the term in which there is the least pressure of business. Mr. Whitbread wrote to me on the 2nd instant to express an earnest anxiety that the Hall would be ready on the 29th; he concludes his note in the following words, 'I entertain a very sanguine expectation that the number of days to be occupied in the impeachment will be *very few indeed*.' I hear it is settled that Mr Whitbread is to open the business, that Mr. Romilly is to sum up, and that Mr. Whitbread is to reply, and that the other managers are not to speak.

"Upon the whole I submit to you whether it will be desirable to postpone the trial beyond the 5th May. It may even, if you should wish it, take place on the 29th instant. I desired Mr. Cowper to forward to you a very useful report on 'Proceedings by Impeachment.'

"I enclose a copy of the Indemnity Bill. Lord Sheffield is penning what he calls 'a demonstration that the whole system is crude, puerile, and inconsiderate'; and Mr. Rose is itching to make it an occasion for debates. I do not know that we can give a more harmless occupation to them.

"Mr. Windham's Bill will be the subject of some long discussions in both Houses; so far at least as I can judge from my son's report of what passed on Thursday. He adds that Lord Hawkesbury and company attended to the last, and with apparent earnestness.

*Confidential.* "I am changing the speculation which I had privately formed that it would not be necessary, prior to another session, to take the benefit of a dissolution. I am at present convinced that it will become highly eligible to proceed to that extremity.

"The Dean of Christ Church is in town; perhaps your lordship has seen him."

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 6. Dublin Castle.—"As it certainly will, upon the whole, materially contribute to the convenience of Government to be upon good terms with the Hutchinsons, I derive much satisfaction from the result of your interview with Lord Donoughmore; and hope we shall not find him very unaccommodating on points of Post Office patronage.

"The office of Constable of Limerick has lands annexed to it, which (or a part of which) I believe the Vercker family once rented; but with the exception of this circumstance, and the property which Mr. Prendergast Smyth (Col. Vercker's uncle) possesses in the vicinity of Limerick, I know of no particular pretensions Colonel Vercker has to the appointment. He, however, is a person, to whom it will be worth the while of Government to pay attention, whenever a proper opportunity may occur of showing him civility. At the same time I must apprise you that he generally voted with the late Government,

that he opposed the Union, and that to the best of my recollection he is rather anti-Catholic ; and I therefore submit to you how far it might be politick to distinguish him by so strong a mark of predilection as to make a removal in order to open an office for him, when there are so many persons with far superior claims on Government, who must for a long period remain without provision. In this view of the subject, I confess I am apprehensive that the compliance with his application might be attended with jealousy and discontent amongst our friends ; and the Duke of Bedford seems to be impressed with the same fear. Mr. Odell called on me in London soon after his conversation with you. His object is a seat at the Revenue Board for his son, or some other office of a similar value ; and I told him that I should not fail to lay his request before the Lord Lieutenant, but that at present no specific engagement could be made to him. At some future time I should hope there may be means of serving him, but I do not like to encourage too sanguine expectations in him, lest the Duke of Bedford should not have the means of fulfilling them.

“ Sir John Newport has written to me about the election for the county of Wexford. Mr. Colelough is, I learn from the Chancellor, to be supported by Mr. Carew, who withdraws his pretensions on this occasion. From all I can collect the Colelough interest is likely to prevail. The interest of Government is very little in that county, for Lord Ely had for a series of years almost the entire managing of it, and had the nomination of most of the offices in it. The most efficacious aid that could be given would be negotiating for Lord Mount Norris’s and Sir Frederick Hood’s interest ; but I suspect they would ask a price for their support which would be quite incompatible with the means of Government. No one is to be more cautiously dealt with than Lord Mount Norris. He will be the more unreasonable too as Lord Valentia is, it is understood, to be one of the candidates. The Chancellor tells me that Sir Frederick Hood is desirous of being made a Privy Councillor, which would be quite inconsistent with the principle laid down upon that subject in the minutes given to the Duke of Bedford. Lord Mount Norris is in London, and I find from Sir John Newport that King was to see him.

“ Lord Headfort has, I believe, been recommended by the Duke of Bedford for the Blue Riband.

“ It is much to be regretted that Mr. Jackson cannot continue his assistance to the Board of Enquiry, as the Commissioners are very shortly to draw up their report upon the department with which he is best acquainted. It is essential that his place should be filled by a person of experience in the transaction of revenue business in England, and, I am afraid, neither of the persons you mention have that qualification. I really am not able to suggest any one. Of the two you mention, Hawthorn seems the most eligible, I am however most

anxious for a man of greater conversance with the subject.

“I have been able to do nothing hitherto in respect to the division of the Boards, as Lord Annesly and most of the commissioners are at the assizes. The Attorney General, who is well informed upon the revenue laws, and who is the only crown lawyer at present in Dublin, is of opinion that the division would by no means induce an immediate necessity for new modelling the revenue laws; and I therefore cannot help earnestly advising Sir John Newport to postpone any new *legislative* arrangement he may have in view till the next session, by which means he will have the opportunity of fully considering the details of it during the recess. My conversation with the Attorney-General convinces me that the subject will require much more deliberation than Sir John can bestow on it *now*.

“As I have heard nothing to the contrary, I presume you persevere in your intention of moving an address to the Crown to institute a royal commission to enquire into the state of the Church of Ireland; in which case I hope Dr. Duigenan may be prevailed upon, if spoken to by somebody of authority, to withdraw his Bill. Some of the clergy are, I understand, favourable to the Bill; but I am persuaded there would be a great diversity of sentiment on it, if it should be suffered to go on.

“I cannot conclude my letter without entreating you to explain Lord Proby’s views on the county of Wicklow at the general election to Lord Fitzwilliam without delay. I am convinced you will find an immediate communication the securest mode of preventing future trouble and embarrassment.”

*Postscript.*—“I have omitted to mention that the Duke of Bedford will give the second living of 300*l.* *per annum* that falls within his patronage to Ormsby’s brother. The first is promised to Sir William Burroughs’ brother-in-law. This is a distant prospect therefore for Ormsby. The Chief Justice and Judge Fox have been upon their circuits ever since my arrival, and I can therefore have no communication with Fox till their return.”

#### C. J. FOX to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 6. Stable Yard.—“I send you a letter of Lauderdale’s with a memorandum of Adam’s. If you approve the course of proceeding proposed, you will, of course, see the necessity of the meeting taking place on Tuesday. If an early hour could suit you it would be best for me, to enable me to get home by the evening; but, if not, I must stay till Wednesday. I send you an account of the news that came last night from India.

“By the way you should write to Lord Minto by the return of the messenger who carries this, to fix the time and place of the meeting proposed.”



## LORD GRENVILLE to C. J. FOX.

1806, April 6. Dropmore. — “I strongly feel all the difficulties of our situation with respect to the East India Company. Whatever may be most likely to promote Lord Lauderdale’s appointment, I trust I need not say, I will most willingly do. But I cannot help fearing what is now proposed is more likely to obstruct than to facilitate that object. I had much conversation respecting it with Sir Francis Baring. His opinion clearly was that we should wait till after the elections, and then through confidential channels ascertain our means of success. Before I saw him I had, agreeably to Mr. Adam’s recommendation, conversed with Grant, Sir H. Inglis, and Bosanquet ; the two first declared themselves decidedly adverse, and the last gave me clearly to understand that he would go with the stream, and expressed his conviction that the thing would not succeed.

“How far we can shake this resolution by personal canvass after the elections I know not ; but it surely cannot be wise that we should unnecessarily mix in these discussions the six Directors who are going out, and least of all the present Chairman, from whose hostility to a part of the government (on Lord Wellesley’s account) I have little doubt that the whole of the present difficulty has originated.

“I feel also much objection to the taking our stand at all on the point of the election of the Chairs. The hostile character of their conduct in this respect had not escaped me, but I consider it only as a part of the system they are pursuing in the House of Commons. If there could be any doubt before what that system is, Huddleston’s motion clearly proves that they consider all the Parliamentary proceedings now going on, as the triumph of the Court of Directors over the Board of Control, and of the system of governing India by the Company and its servants over that of naming political and public characters to that station.

“In the election to the Chairs the law has given us no control. With a body favourably disposed, it may have been useful (though I doubt it) to exercise the sort of influence in this choice that Lord Melville had established. But in a state of daily contest with them I should feel very unwilling to assert a claim which, we know, they will resist, and which the law enables them to resist with success.

“After the elections, I have no doubt that we must vacate Barlow’s appointment, and, either with the avowed intention of taking this step, or immediately after it is done, must formally and officially propose to them Lord Lauderdale’s appointment as the deliberate recommendation of the King’s government. As a part of their objections to his appointment is rested on a pretended unwillingness to recall Sir G. Barlow, the doing that business for them, and shewing at the same time a determination to resist in Parliament, as well as everywhere else, their attempt to resume the political authority

of which the law has divested them, may possibly overcome their opposition ; or time may afford the means of opening channels of more amicable communication which, if practicable without abandoning our object, is certainly desirable.

“ Having thus stated to you my own view of the best course in this difficult and perplexing business, let me add I feel it to be, above all others, a case in which your opinion and Lord Lauderdale’s ought to govern mine. If, therefore, you continue to wish that anything more should be done or said before the elections, let me know it, and I will most certainly be in town by eleven or twelve on Tuesday, either to meet the Directors at the Board of Control, if you still think it best to summon them there, or to talk with you and Lord Lauderdale about any other steps that may occur to you or him. But if it were possible, I should be glad that you could see Baring first ; as there can be no doubt, I think, of his wish to promote our object, and his statements had great weight with me in forming the opinion I have stated to you.

“ Under these circumstances I have, of course, not written to Lord Minto ; but, if you think it necessary, you will be in time to do so even after you have seen Baring.” *Copy.*

*Private.* EARL SPENCER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 6. Wimbledon Park.—“ I send for your private perusal the enclosed letter from Elliot, received by express this morning, and the accompanying papers which, though of no great importance (except perhaps in the case of the private importation of gunpowder) are sufficient to show that country to be (as Lord Hawkesbury’s expression is) in an unsatisfactory state.

“ I send to-night, by express, Dardis’s letter (concealing his name) which you see corresponds very much with what Elliot writes.

“ I have received several official dispatches from the Lord Lieutenant, and among others one recommending the appointment of Bowes Daly and Thomas Sheridan to the office of Muster Master General ; which I shall lay before the King, with a note stating it as a recommendation received from Ireland.

“ The Duke of Bedford wishes much to have the next candidate for the representative peerage fixed upon. When we last talked of the subject, it seemed to be between Lords Charlemont and Leitrim ; which is to be preferred ?

“ I shall be in town for a few hours on Tuesday morning, but I think of sleeping here every night this week.”

C. J. FOX TO THE SAME.

1806, April 7. Arlington Street.—“ A despatch is arrived from Talleyrand upon which it is absolutely necessary to have a Cabinet to-morrow, Tuesday, so I have called one at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past three. The tone and manner are every thing that is civil and pacific, but there is an objection to what he calls

a congress, that is, to the admitting of Russia, though he admits the honour of our respective allies must be attended to. The answer seems obvious, namely, to hold pacific language, to enter into the argument; but to show the impossibility, considering our engagements with Russia, to treat without her participation in some stage of the negotiation.

*Postscript.*—"The papers are so long that I have not had time to get them copied to send you. I found them when I came home from the Mansion House, which was not till 12."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, April 7. Eden Farm.—"Mr. Craig of the Board of Works was here yesterday, and Mr. Groves has sent a full written report to me this morning: I infer from the whole that the preparations will be completed on *Wednesday or Thursday fortnight*; and this point will be ascertained before we meet at the House on Monday next.

"Is there not some inaccuracy in the proclamation? The words are, 'No vessels shall be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Prussia until further orders.' I apprehend that the restriction should be extended to all the ports of the Weser and Elbe, and to some other ports to the south of the Baltic: otherwise we shall be liable to lose many vessels in places under French influence though not Prussian. I mentioned this to-day to Mr. Vansittart, who happened to call here from Blackheath; and I found that he saw it in a similar point of view."

*Private.* "This German interlude in the progress of the continental subjugation is a serious consideration in many points of view. It will in the meantime contribute to conciliate the King's mind towards his new government, and also to lessen any leaning towards the new opposition, if they should take up this question as they have taken up every other.

"The American question is certainly the most important of the moment: I take for granted that it is under the full consideration of the Cabinet. I have long thought that the prejudices or habitual opinions of some leading civilians at the Cockpit tend to inflame that discussion more than in political wisdom is desirable.

"I have received an application to-day for the establishment of a whale fishery on the coast of Africa, under a factory which was first instituted when we were heretofore in possession of the Cape, and afterwards continued by the Dutch. I presume that it will be right to continue it."

*Private.* THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, April 8. Eden Farm.—"I wish to bespeak a few minutes of your attention to a business which sooner or later

will come before you officially, unless your Government should be shorter-lived than I trust it will be, amidst the overpowering sweets and softness of the state-bed of roses. I do not know whether you have happened to advert to the annual report of the 'Proceedings of the Commissioners for regulating, directing, approving, and confirming all sales, and contracts for sale, by corporate bodies for the purpose of redeeming their Land Tax.' Those reports were given with an implied claim to consideration in the eventual close of the Commission.

"When Mr. Pitt in 1799 desired me to preside at that Commission, and to undertake the conduct and duties of it, we were quite uncertain to what degree of trouble and responsibility it might lead. I desired to have the assistance of Lord Glenbervie: he was appointed accordingly, and I have derived essential advantage from his legal knowledge, labours, and perseverance.

"Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington, Lord Alvanley, and Sir William Wynne were also in the Commission (*honoris causa*), but they never attended after the first meeting. It soon appeared that the duties to be discharged would be great and long. The whole correspondence with the corporations, bishops, clergy and others passed through me, and under my cover. Our meetings at the Land-Tax Office were frequent, and in every period of the year. All the conveyances (many being of a most complicated nature) were settled by us. Mr. George Harrison, our counsel, and the Messieurs Young, our secretaries, will bear testimony to our difficulties, several of which were stated to Parliament, and remedied by explanatory acts and enlarged powers. All our proceedings are recorded, and must ultimately be deposited in some place to be appointed for the purpose.

"And now, at the end of somewhat more than six years, we have settled and confirmed above 2,000 sales and conveyances; and, so far as we yet know, with perfect accuracy, and with great benefit to the corporations, and to individuals, and to the public. Many applications have been rejected, but on grounds in which the parties acquiesced.

"The amount of money received for the sales has been about a million sterling.

"The stock purchased for the redemption of land-tax is about 1,600,000*l.*

"*The gain to the public by what we have done is about 180,000*l.* stock.*

And the whole annual expense for secretaries, clerks, and Office has been about 1,580*l.*

"The duty to be done is now become short and easy. All our rules and conditions of sale, and our forms of conveyance are settled and generally known. The sales too are less frequent, and novel cases seldom occur. I fear, notwithstanding, that we cannot yet close the commission without inconvenience to individuals and to the public.

"I incline to think with Lord Glenbervie that our report to Parliament in next month (the usual time for making it) should mention what I have last stated; and should at the same time, or previously, be submitted to the Treasury.

"The Speaker had the kindness some time ago to furnish me with many precedents showing the unvaried practice of the House of Commons in similar cases of Parliamentary commissions when nearly closed. And he has since added other precedents. They seem to lead to an address to the King to make, from the balances acquired by the public, such compensation as may be thought reasonable.

"I am sorry to have given this interruption to you. But the business is not immaterial to me in the contrasted circumstances of a large family and a small fortune. Still it is my first object to seek only what is right in itself, and also decorous in every fair opinion.

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 9. Eden Farm.—"If it should not be convenient to you to be at the House of Lords on Monday next, you will probably approve of my appointing the impeachment committee (in consequence of what you have already stated) to sit on the Tuesday or Wednesday, when you will propose the course of proceeding, and will receive the report of the surveyor-general of the Board of Works, who must be ordered to attend. In sending to him the orders for preparations, I apprised him that his attendance would be required; but I believe that he is still at Font Hill.

"If it be expedient to make concessions to the United States, would it not be desirable to bring the considerations forwards as soon as possible, in the form of an avowed suspension of the general system, and as a measure complying with the novel circumstances of the world, but not abandoning the ancient principles and usages of the laws of war and of nations. The fatal results and mismanagements of the Austro-Russian campaign extend their mischiefs to all our most distant interests, and seem to reduce our speculations to the possibility of an insecure and expensive peace, on the ground of a mutual retention of conquests.

"In the meantime smaller objects must not be neglected. It is surely desirable to encourage and multiply our licenses as much as possible for the export of British produce and manufactures to the Spanish settlements and to *St. Domingo*; the latter has not yet been done.

"You have sent to me the papers proposing a '*bonus*' to the public for a British insurance charter; but you have not intimated any opinion. I have summoned Sir Frederic Eden and others to the committee of Council on Friday s'ennight. I understand the suggestion to be that any insurance company paying 100,000*l.* shall be allowed the competition of marine insurance; and that the Globe Office

is ready to pay that sum. The individual underwriters, and the two exclusive companies will oppose such a measure ; but the mercantile body ought on every right and solid principle to support it."

LORD GRENVILLE TO W. WINDHAM.

1806, April 10. Camelford House.—“ Mr. Stanley, an Irish barrister, is strongly recommended by Lord Ormonde, to whom he is related by marriage. I have promised him that you will hear his story. His case seems really a hard one, but I see no means of relieving him. His object is to be appointed Chief Justice of Upper or Lower Canada on a vacancy.

“ This was offered him (as it appears) by Pitt, but he then refused it. He would prefer being a judge in India, but that I told him I saw no chance of doing for him ; for, first, there is no vacancy ; and secondly, if there was, I much doubt whether he would be the man. But I really believe if the others were vacant, or could be opened for him, you would do a good act by sending him there. You will however hear his story, and that is all I have promised for.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 10. Eden Farm.—“ The planters connected with, and having property in the colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice’ desire to have a conference with me on Monday next at Whitehall, respecting the order of Council of the 15th August last to restrict the importation of negroes into those colonies.

“ The settlements above mentioned, and more especially Trinidad, will, I find, be excluded from the arrangement for the supply of salt fish from Newfoundland and the North American colonies, unless, by an order of Council or some other mode, we can direct and authorise those respective possessions to find a fund for paying the proposed bounties. The Trinidad agent has sent to me a strong memorial on this subject, and I have stated the consideration to Mr. Windham through Sir George Shea. Perhaps, in a political view, it would be desirable to give some constitution to those valuable conquests ; and not to hold them as if we, of course, meant to give them up.

“ Mr. Mellish, on the part of the London merchants trading to Germany, has sent to me a very proper communication, ‘ that on the first news of the detention of vessels a general meeting had been advertised ; that on better reflection the meeting had been postponed.’ And now I have reason to believe that no step will be taken without the previous approbation of Government.

“ Mr. Vansittart dined here yesterday, and we looked fully into the question about warehouses at Liverpool. It does not appear to us to be affected by the 45th George III. ch. 87 ;

but to rest entirely on the 43rd George III, ch. 132; and on that part of the 10th section which enables the King, by order in Council, to do what the Liverpool people ask, 'if it shall appear that docks, wharfs, and warehouses shall have been built and erected within such port, complete, fit, and proper in every respect for the landing and reception of such goods, wares, and merchandise'; after which the order in Council must be published three times in the *Gazette*. The first object therefore is to refer to the Commissioners of the Customs to report 'whether warehouses have been erected as described.' This might have been referred to the Customs in the first instance by the Treasury: but Mr. Vansittart agreed with me that it would save time if I should write to-day to Mr. Frewin: and I have accordingly as from the Council Office, and have desired to have his answer on Monday.

"Mr. Vansittart suggested to me yesterday that it might be practicable to apply the lottery system to accelerate and extend the redemption of the Land Tax. If such an operation could be managed without affecting the other lotteries, it would be very material, and would withdraw much stock out of the market. In the meantime I drew his attention to a more confined point which I wish to submit to you. Would it not be a most beneficent and proper measure in respect to the Church to authorise the Lords Commissioners for approving sales to lay out the money gained to the public by the sale of Church lands, in the redemption first, of small portions of land tax charged on the very small livings which have no possible fund for redemption; and secondly, to make good as to livings of a class somewhat higher, the redemption of land tax in livings which cannot find glebe or titles [tithes?] proper to be sold of a sufficient amount to complete the whole of their redemption.

"I conceive that in the first class we could give a real relief to 1,000 or 1,500 small livings; and that it would encourage the bishops, colleges and others, to proceed with their redemption."

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO THE SAME.

1806, April 11. Dublin Castle.—"Enclosed is a letter which I received yesterday from the primate, and which, by the Lord Lieutenant's desire, I have acknowledged, stating that it should be immediately transmitted to you. Within a few hours after it reached me, the post brought me a note from Sir John Newport, by which I am glad to learn that the regal visitation is resolved on, as it is only through a previous and careful enquiry into the circumstances of the Irish Church that any well-matured and adequate correction of the irregularities that prevail in it can be obtained. You, if I recollect right, expressed an intention of having the commission prepared by the civilians in England, and afterwards sent hither for further consideration. Whenever it may

arrive, the Lord Lieutenant, I believe, proposes submitting it in the first instance to the primate, as it is of importance, so far as may be practicable, to secure his concurrence; and he has certainly manifested more disposition to communicate with the Duke of Bedford than with any former Lord Lieutenant.

“Fox is returned from the circuit, and I had a short conversation with him yesterday, which I am to renew to-morrow. At present I do not know how far he will be disposed to accede to the proposition I was authorized to make him. The Chief Justice, with whom I should most wish him to advise, is not yet come to town.

“My time has been, as you will probably have learnt from Lord Spencer, for several days past entirely occupied by endeavouring, in conjunction with the Chancellor, to compose the discussions which subsist in the Catholic body. It would have been most desirable for the real interests of the Catholics that there should have been but one address to the Lord Lieutenant, comprising the sentiments of all the descriptions of that communion; but, owing to the distractions that prevail among them, this is an object we cannot obtain. The idea of addresses from delegates is, I trust, effectually discountenanced.”

*Enclosed.*

*Private.* The ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH to W. ELLIOT.

1806, April 8. Armagh.—“When I had the honor of conversing with you in Dublin, I mentioned that, sometime previous to the Duke of Bedford’s arrival in Ireland, I had requested the Archbishop of Cashel to inform Lord Grenville that if he had any objection to the residence Bill proposed by Dr. Duigenan, we should endeavour to prevail on that gentleman to abandon it. Lord Grenville has objected to the Bill as premature, and Dr. Duigenan has consented to abandon it; but I know not whether he will abandon it without making and printing a speech.

“I take this opportunity of stating to you, and through you to his excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that the bishops in this country are entirely destitute of power to enforce residence, and therefore ought not to be blamed or deemed responsible for the non-residence of the clergy.

“There is no Irish Act of Parliament which enforces residence; and the canon law by which the Bishops have hitherto enforced it, is now rendered useless by two recent decisions of the Court of Delegates; a court composed of judges and masters in chancery. Both the causes which were thus decided were probably tried for the express purpose of ascertaining whether the bishops had, or had not, the power of enforcing residence. One of these causes was pending in its progress through the different courts near seven years; the other near five years, at an expense of five hundred pounds to the bishop. Here then is an end to the canon



law for any practical purpose. For it is wild to suppose that bishops will henceforward act upon the canon law, which may involve them in a chancery suit of long duration, productive of all the trouble, vexation, and expense incidental to such legal contests. It is, therefore, now generally understood that we have no legal means to enforce residence, and that clergymen may or may not reside as they think proper.

“This notion has already produced its natural effect. Even in my own diocese, in which residence has been as perfect as in any English diocese with which I am acquainted, I begin to feel the evil it occasions, and have received letters from several clergymen, since the decision of these causes, stating that they mean to live in England; some of them on pretence of educating their children, others on pretence of ill-health; nor shall I be much surprised to find, at my next visitation, that many more have abandoned their livings without even the formality of a letter.

“The whole discipline of the Church indeed, is involved in the question of residence. For I know not how we are to enforce any kind of discipline, if the parochial clergy may, without reproach or inconvenience, abandon their houses and live wherever they please. Nor shall we be able to proceed in building churches and houses. In the ten years preceding 1802, I believe that about eight houses and four churches were built annually. In the last two years we have made (or have under consideration) grants for building near sixty houses and twelve churches. But how can we hope that any house will be built in time to come, or that any clergyman will be induced to subscribe the papers which he must subscribe before we can commence building? Where a man knows he must reside, he will put himself to some inconvenience to procure a comfortable residence, and had rather submit to the trouble of superintending the building a house, and the expense of fitting it up and furnishing it when built, than pay a yearly rent for a miserable lodging; but if he knows that residence is optional, he will most assuredly decline such trouble and expense. This matter is rendered more disagreeable to us by the comparison so often made between the Established Church and the various sects in Ireland, as to the point of residence; the effects of our imperfect discipline, and the solid advantage they derive from the system which they have adopted. They not only have the power to enforce residence, but every day exercise that power. If a Roman Catholic Priest, or a Dissenting Minister neglects his duty he is instantly punished or removed; and this even in cases, which would be deemed hard in the House of Commons, where the congregation is extremely small, and the salary extremely scanty. Whereas, if a clergyman of the Established Church, possessed of a large Protestant parish, an excellent house, and an income of two or three thousand pounds, thinks fit to desert his charge, he may do so with impunity.

“ I am no strenuous advocate for the Bill which Dr. Duigenan proposed ; still less am I inclined to approve of any warm, unauthorised, language which he, in a moment of passion, may have used ; but I must assert, what I firmly believe, that the Church of Ireland cannot subsist even a few years, unless some measure be adopted to remedy the evil of which we complain.

“ It is, indeed, most manifest to me that the subversion of the establishment is not only certain, but at no great distance, without means are found to enforce the residence of the clergy, at least in those parishes where there is now a church, a parsonage-house, and a Protestant congregation.

“ Our wants are extremely pressing, and we cannot safely wait the issue of a regal visitation. Such regal visitations have always taken up much time, and to accomplish their object must necessarily take up much time. The various minute points which must be investigated with great care, and the various difficulties which always obstruct inquiries of this kind, must render the progress of the commissioners extremely slow and dilatory. You well know the difficulty of ascertaining truth in this country, and how often men of high rank or great fortune, influenced by interest or prejudice, assert with confidence what unquestionable evidence is afterwards found to contradict. Nothing can safely be taken upon trust ; for even the sanction of an oath here often adds little to the weight of testimony. Nor do I believe it would be prudent to postpone this measure till houses are built in every parish. If the clergy do not reside till that period, the houses which have already been provided in more than half of the benefices in Ireland must fall into decay for want of occupancy, and the different congregations will become Dissenters. Nay, I am fully persuaded that, in far the greater part of those parishes in which there are no houses, no houses can ever be built ; for no land on which to place them can be procured. It seems to be the general opinion that we want only money. Money would certainly have its use : but even money will not remove all difficulties, or enable us to build houses in many of the most important parishes in Ireland. Besides we want character, and character is only to be obtained by an exact discharge of those duties which the public expect us to discharge. Deprive us of the means of discharging them, and you deprive us of character ; for it would be imprudent, and perhaps impossible to make the public acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of our situation. We naturally wish, however, to stand fair in the opinion of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and not to be blamed by him for omitting to do that which the law does not permit us to do. I must, therefore, again request you to inform his Grace the Duke of Bedford, that in my opinion we have no legal power to enforce residence ; and express to him my hope that Government will not hereafter deem us responsible for the residence of

the clergy, the neglect of discipline, and the various other evils which non-residence will surely generate."

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 11. [Pall Mall.]—"I told you of Teirney's refusal, but thought it too late, when last we parted, to say anything about a successor. Hipposley is ready, and latterly, I understand, eager. He is likewise very well qualified for the situation; but I have made no positive offer to him, wishing to know first whether you have any one else that you are desirous to recommend. Let me only urge you that it may not be a friend from the north. There should be some part of the world where an Englishman or Irishman may have fair play. If a military commander only were wanted, and Baird could be put somewhere else, I should like very well to see Simcoe there. Sir Alured Clarke would be a very good man, and one whom I should be glad to oblige; but I don't know that he is desirous of it.

"With respect to Ireland, Lord Hutchinson, I find, has another object which he would like much better, should the occasion arise; an appointment with any combined army that might take the field. The Russians, he conceives, upon some former occasion were desirous that he should have been with them.

"Having talked to him upon this latter subject, and conveyed to him indirectly the difficulty that I felt about Ireland, would there be any objection to my endeavouring to learn from Lord Harrington what he feels about Ireland. Lord Cathcart is however, in my opinion, the best for Ireland.

"There is a question of some importance that has been stated to me, in consequence of what I find has been doing at the Council about opening the trade to some of our West Indian islands. The Russians would be willing to undertake an expedition against Martinico and Guadeloupe. Is there any objection, seeing that we have so little prospect of taking them for ourselves? The troops that would be employed for the purpose might be those at present in the Mediterranean. But these they might be required to replace. Upon the subject of the Mediterranean, I incline strongly to the opinion that something should be immediately done in pursuance of the ideas stated by Trisean; but secrecy is of so much importance that, till the measure should be resolved on, I have forborne to state anything even to the Duke of York. The troops now going out to Craig may furnish the means, and the officer to be chosen might be Spencer or Ludlow. Sir Sydney Smith should be the navy officer; to whom, by the way, in another view I want to give a commission, if it depends upon me, of consul-general to the Barbary States; or else to procure him one from Fox, similar to what he had in the last war. The Barbary States want management and conciliation, and no one so fit for that as Sir Sydney.

Gregory, I find, is not supposed to have these conciliatory qualities. I am still to seek therefore for some very fit man for Algiers.

“The Duke of York has beat us, Fitz Patrick and me, on some subordinate points; in a way too that I feel impatient of. There is a grand point which we shall have to contend, but which must be carried, about the Hanoverian troops. The feeling is to keep them here, under the notion of future continental service, while all the destructive stations are to be supplied by British. A more unmaintainable notion cannot be set up.

“Mr. Stanley’s case is only hard as a professional speculation that has not succeeded. It is *damnum sine injuria*, or, if *injuria*, the *injuria* of another Government. The only question is of the force of his friends.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO W. ELLIOT.

1806, April 12. Dropmore.—“I received this morning your letter of the 6th. Lord Donoughmore’s business shall now immediately be carried into effect as far as depends on us on this side of the water. If Vereker comes to me again I will only refer him to you.

“Odell’s wishes, I take it for granted, you will keep in mind; and from what you say I should hope they may be gratified.

“I wrote to you in my last to explain Lord Mountnorris’s views and requests as to the county of Wexford. Perhaps, if there is not a strong hope of carrying both Coleclough and Carew for the next election, it may be worth encouraging Lord Mountnorris’s proposal, provided he will enter into explanations as to the person to be brought in for Ross. I am told that Sir F. Flood manages Lord Mountnorris, and, if so, he probably is the intended member for Ross. How far could he be depended on?

“As I can find no satisfactory successor for Jackson, I will try if he can be sent over for a few months again. But then that cannot be till after our tax bills are passed.

“I will speak to Newport to postpone any plan for altering the revenue laws till the subject can be considered together and deliberately.

“I saw the Archbishop of Cashel and Duigenan; the latter consented to withdraw his bill, or rather to let it drop silently; but, since they were with me, I have seen the returns printed by order of the House of Commons to an order of last session, for a state of the residence [and other particulars] of the Irish clergy; and that is so full, that I have some doubt what more could be got by a visitation, except in the case of a few defective returns, which might just as well be supplied by a fresh order of the House.

“Pray order that return to be sent to you, and see whether you do not think it affords full materials to ground any proceeding upon. If it is so, we may spare ourselves the

trouble, and the Irish bishops the alarm that a visitation must create; and we may proceed on our own plans as soon as we can mature them.

"I much doubt whether Lord Fitzwilliam's views and Lord Carysfort's in Wicklow can be brought to agree. I heartily wish they could. Lord Carysfort is desirous of supporting Lord Fitzwilliam in one member for that county, and of seeing his son, Lord Proby, chosen by the other interests with Lord Fitzwilliam's concurrence. But I fear Lord F[itiz-William] looks further, and hopes to return one sure, and to influence the return of the other for some person more immediately connected with himself. Perhaps you may know how this is; but I fancy Lord C[arysfort]'s view of the subject is such as I have described.

"What has been done (or rather is now doing) for Ormsby is so very considerable an object, that he can have no pretence to press his brother on you, in preference probably to many other and better claims."

*Postscript.*—"1806, April 13. Since writing the above I have seen Sir J. Newport. He agrees that it may be best to carry into execution the actual division of the Boards by the authority of the Lord Lieutenant and the Board of Treasury, and I am strongly of opinion that this should be done immediately.

"There will then require no large or extensive measure in Parliament, but the business will gradually find its own level by regulations to be established, as occasion shall require, either by the Lord Lieutenant and Treasury, or by the commissioners themselves under the authority and control of Government.

"But if his view of the present law be correct, three new clauses must of necessity be introduced into the Revenue Bills of this year.

"1st, to empower the Crown to name, if necessary, fourteen commissioners of revenue, instead of twelve to which they are now limited.

"2ndly, to grant to any seven, six, or five of them under whose direction the Lord Lieutenant or Treasury shall place any particular branches of the revenue, the same powers as the Commissioners of Excise enjoy and exercise under any Act with respect to the revenues now under their management. And to legalise all acts hitherto done by the Commissioners of the Revenue, or any of them, by virtue of such powers.

"3rdly, to oblige the commissioners as above to hear and decide themselves all cases arising in the Dublin district, in the same manner as is done here with respect to the London district." *Copy.*

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 12. Eden Farm.—"I enclose copies of a letter which I wrote this morning to Mr Fox, and of the enclosure

which accompanied it. Several points may arise in which it would be very material to have your judgment, if you should come : but at the worst, I can reserve them till we meet at the House.

“ I wish to submit a doubt to you (and also to Lord Holland) whether it will be desirable to insert the clause of prospective discretionary powers in the Indemnity Bill. Can it come regularly within the title and principle of the proposed Bill? Can it originate in the House of Lords, as it must purport to give a power to dispense with the specific penalties recited in the Navigation Act. I think that we shall be benefited by the proposition having been made, and shall be thought moderate in resting on the Indemnity Bill, which certainly may be made a bed of roses as to all that shall have been ordered or shall be ordered prior to the passing of that Bill. Above all things the non-extension of the Indemnity Bill will be an extinguisher of a very long speech which Lord Sheffield is preparing against the expected extension.

“ And with respect to roses, my daughters having sent to-day a basket of very beautiful roses to Mrs. Charles Long, I could not resist the writing to Mr. Long that, if Lord Castlereagh should be at Bromley Hill, he must not be apprised of our present, lest he should take it for an epigram from the *Anthologia*.

“ I find that when Haugwitz went to Vienna with the Potsdam treaty in his pocket, before the battle of Austerlitz, and with assurances that his mission was for the common cause of the allies, he agreed with Buonaparte to guarantee to France all the Italian conquests *en possession et à posséder*, to cede Anspach for Hanover *en toute souveraineté*, and to act in future offensively and defensively with France. The correspondence of the British and Russian missions from Berlin during that period must have been curious pieces of diplomacy.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, April 12. Dropmore.—“ If it will suit you to be at your Office Monday, between three and four, I will call upon you in my way to the House of Lords, and we may then talk over the different points in your note which I have received this morning. I was to have seen the Duke of York at two ; but I will put that interview off till Tuesday, that I may learn from you what points are in discussion between him and you, as he will probably talk to me upon them. I quite agree with you that we cannot, and must not, think of nursing up the Germans as *pets*, with a view to an impossible case, that of their being again employed in the conquest of Hanover.

“ When we meet I will mention to you my ideas about the Cape. Surely it would be a pity to displace Lord Harrington from Ireland, if Hutchinson does not desire it. I fear the objection to Lord Cathcart might be that he is too much

dipped, personally, in the new system by which the Lord Lieutenant and British Cabinet were both to be entirely excluded from all concern with the army in Ireland. I think you will agree with me that this matter must gradually (since it has not been thought right to do it at once) be brought back to something more like its former footing; and it appears that there are less official difficulties (as to the forms of commissions) than had been apprehended.

“If Lord Cathcart does not return to Ireland why should not he command in Scotland?”

“I can see no reason why the Russians should not take Martinique or Guadeloupe, *if they can*; but I think we may venture to predict that they are much too unused to such a service not to be sure of failing in it; and, if we engage for any co-operation, the whole failure will by their officers be thrown upon our shoulders. We must, therefore, I think, say distinctly that, as we have abandoned all such projects for ourselves, we can give them no aid in it, on account of the wasteful expense of men which these operations occasion to us, and which, by the bye, certainly will be much greater to them.

“All our views should certainly be now turned to the Mediterranean, and I regret that we are not more forward with our plans in that quarter. It is a great point that the Russians have occupied the Bocca di Cattaro; and I trust they will maintain themselves there.

“Lord Ormonde is a person of some consideration, and has, I think, two members in the House of Commons. Your description of Stanley’s case is just what I feel about it, giving him *no claim* to assistance, but creating a sentiment of compassion.” *Copy.*

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 14. Dublin Castle.—“Mr. Elliot has communicated to me the intention of his Majesty’s ministers that an address to the Crown for the appointment of a commission of regal visitation for this part of the United Kingdom, shall be moved immediately after the recess. I am happy to learn that this resolution has been adopted, because I think it essentially necessary that some immediate step should be taken to quiet the apprehensions of those who appear to think that the interests of the Protestant religion in Ireland are likely to be neglected, and to silence the misrepresentations of those who are industriously propagating such a belief. I requested Mr. Elliot to transmit to your lordship a copy of a letter he has lately received from the primate, from which you will perceive the just fears he entertains of the evils that may arise from the non-residence of the Irish clergy becoming more prevalent than it actually is. In truth this is a mischief of great magnitude; and if not speedily and effectually cured, must inevitably tend to the decay, and probably terminate in the total ruin of the

established church of Ireland. As soon as the draft of the commission is prepared, I trust your lordship will transmit it to me, that I may take the opinions of the primate and the leading members of the church upon it, as well as upon the names to be inserted in the commission, upon which will depend in a very material degree the good or ill success of the measure.

“ I flatter myself that I have established that cordial and confidential intercourse with the primate, which I think cannot fail to be of some use in promoting the welfare of the Protestant church, in maintaining its character, and by a zealous co-operation between the Government and the episcopal bench, reviving the purity of its doctrine and worship, which have hitherto been too fatally sacrificed to personal and political interests.

“ Your lordship will, I hope, permit me to communicate with you confidentially, from time to time, upon a subject so intimately connected with the happiness and prosperity of the people of Ireland, and upon which, I flatter myself, a perfect coincidence of opinion exists between us.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 14. Dublin Castle.—“ I have had a second interview with Mr. Justice Fox, but my negotiation with him, as I was apprehensive it would do, has been quite unsuccessful, and he seems resolved to persevere in the course he before intended to adopt of presenting a petition to the House of Lords, complaining of the mode of proceeding against him. As the time is approaching for his appearance at the Bar of the House of Lords, he is anxious to take his departure for London, and you will perceive by the enclosed letter that he is solicitous to have an audience of you. Upon the whole I rather wish you could make it convenient to see him, as I think there is a possibility that a conversation with you may shake his determination. It is unfortunate that Downes should be still on his circuit, as it would have been very desirable that Fox should have advised with him, though I doubt whether even Downes’s counsel would have produced much impression on him. I have done all I can on the occasion.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, April 15. Camelford House.—“ I wish you would have the goodness to turn your mind to the idea mentioned in one of your late letters respecting the application of the money gained to the public by the sale of Church lands. I should like to see a plan for that purpose stated in detail, that it might be considered. The amount will be necessary to be distinctly known with this view. I think the general idea very good.” *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 15. Dublin Castle.—“ Upon the present vacancy for the county of Wexford, Mr. Colclough is the



candidate whom Government supports; and at the general election, Mr. Carew, a relation of Sir John Newport, proposes offering himself in conjunction with Mr. Colclough. To secure the success of *both*, Lord Mount-Norris's interest may prove very essential, but it really is not expedient to deal with him on the terms he offers. I do not understand how Lord Ely could have promised him a seat for Ross, as Mr. Ponsonby Tottenham's interest is more powerful in that borough than Lord Ely's; and Mr. Tottenham was a few weeks ago, to my positive knowledge, at variance with the Ely family. It has hitherto also been in the Duke of Bedford's contemplation to give Mr. Ponsonby Tottenham the aid of Government at Ross. You shall have a list of the county and borough interests as soon as it can be prepared. It will be impossible, however, to make one at present which must not undergo many alterations before a general election.

“Upon a conversation with Marsden on the subject of the provision which it was intended to grant to Johnson on his retiring from the Bench, I learn some such plan had been in agitation during Lord Hardwick's government, but it was relinquished in consequence of the difficulty presented to the arrangement by the preamble to the *Judges' Annuity Act*, which states the provision to be for ‘such persons as shall have diligently and uprightly conducted themselves in the execution of their offices.’ On mentioning this objection to the Chancellor, I perceive he is disposed to consider it as insuperable. Johnson is, I hear, at a little distance from Dublin, very unwell. At any rate, however, I shall avoid seeing him till I have your judgment on what is to be done under the circumstances I have mentioned. It is unfortunate that, in consequence of what was said at Lord Spencer's, I gave Johnson reason to believe that a pension to the amount of 1,200*l. per annum* would be arranged for him; and I rather think he had the same encouragement from Fox, who saw him about the same time.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, April 16. Camelford House.—“I hope I need *not say* (but that my whole conduct has *proved*) how many motives I feel for seconding to the best of my power any object for which you are as anxious as you seem to be on this subject. But you must allow me to say to you fairly, that I have not yet had to propose to the King any one thing to which my own judgment is so decidedly adverse as it is to this; and that I cannot help asking myself what grounds can be found to justify to myself, and much more to him, a request which is totally unprecedented, and which appears to me so very inconvenient to his service.

“It is proposed to create a new precedent of bringing into the Privy Council a person without any official claim, and in

whose behalf you yourself now state nothing but a considerable fortune, and a general zeal for the King's service.

"This has never yet been done in England. It had been done in Ireland, and with so much inconvenience that, as you well know, one of the special instructions that the Duke of Bedford carries out with him is that he should positively resist every such application. How can we require him to do this in Ireland, alleging a general principle to which we have bound him, if we ourselves, a fortnight after his departure, break through that same principle, not in Ireland where it has often been violated, but in England where it never has ?

"Then consider, next, if the rule is to be violated now for the first time, is the person in question the first, or nearly the first, of the class who ought to be introduced into the Council ? How many Peers are there of the first rank in the country, how many Commoners of much older families, much larger fortunes, all of pretensions in every possible shape superior to his ? And what line is to be taken as to all these ? You cannot, I am sure, wonder (if you will only candidly reflect on the multiplied inconvenience which such a step would bring upon the Government generally, and upon myself individually) that I must desire to converse with you again, and seriously, on the subject, before I do a thing where the gratification to the individual, be his merits what they may, bears no proportion to the trouble and mischief to which we are to subject ourselves. Now as to Lord Auckland ; I do not wish to set up his opinions or wishes in opposition to yours. There is no comparison of the sort, and you cannot suspect me of making it. But I owe to Lord Auckland, as to every other person joined in office with us, the common attentions due to the station which I have proposed it to him to occupy ; and, if you could for a moment place yourself in his situation, I would ask you what you would feel, placed at the head of the Board of Trade, to have had a fresh person brought there without even the civility of a previous intimation, giving him the opportunity of stating personal objections, if any such he had, against the individual to be joined in official habits and daily intercourse with him.

"This, however, is not the main point ; it relates only to the *mode* of doing the thing, and I have no reason to think that Lord Auckland has any such objections. My difficulties are to the substance, and that I must talk over with you again before I can take any step in it." *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, April 16. Camelford House.—"You will have seen what occurred to me respecting the royal visitation, when I came to read the returns to Parliament on the subject of the church of Ireland. Those considerations, joined to the primate's letter, lead me to doubt whether we have done right

in putting an end to Duigenan's bill; and yet, if any thing be fit to be done on the subject, it ought surely to proceed from Government and not from the bishops, still less from Duigenan. Pray let me know what the Duke of Bedford thinks on the whole of this subject.

"Sir J. Newport showed me yesterday the letters respecting Cavendish Bradshaw, and he will have written to you what passed between them afterwards. I am not sure that some augmentation of salary, though certainly not to that amount which is, I understand, now proposed, might not have been reasonable; nor am I aware of the legal objections to the appointment of a deputy, the principal remaining always responsible for him. What is asked about the insupers is certainly right to be done in some shape, and is conformable to the principle about to be brought forward, and acted upon here.

"But then, 1st, the proposed augmentation is clearly too large. 2ndly, the proposing to Parliament to dispense in this instance with the Place Bill, would be highly inconvenient and objectionable. 3rdly, the same objections would apply I think to making any Parliamentary provision, if that be necessary, to authorize the appointment of a deputy; and, 4thly, if there is no legal mode in Ireland already existing by which the insupers can be removed, that is a thing which should be done, not as a particular measure in this case, but as a part of a general provision respecting the mode of passing and auditing the public accounts.

"I have seen Lord Abercorn, and I shall move to-day to put off the attendance of the witnesses in Fox's case till the 19th of May, keeping all other questions open as before.

"Lord Mountnorris sets off to-day, and was to have carried this letter, but I could not get it ready in time. He goes in consequence of a letter from Colonel Barry, stating that unless he was on the spot, and finally determined on this occasion what line to pursue, he might now see the door finally closed against himself and his family in Wexford. This plainly means that he should join one of the two parties on this occasion, upon an understanding of material support in future. You will best be able to arrange all this with him on the spot; and I have told him plainly that, although I am naturally well disposed towards him and his son, from the sort of family connection we have, yet that my being able to support his views on this subject must depend on his finding the means of making an arrangement with you, satisfactory to the interest of Government." *Copy.*

THE SAME to C. J. Fox.

1806, April 16. Camelford House.—"I have been trying to sketch a message on the Prussian business. I send you the draft containing the sort of sentiments that ought, I think, to be expressed on this occasion. Will you have the goodness

to consider it, and bring it to the Queen's House, that I may either read it to the King or state to him the general outlines. If approved, it might be presented to-morrow." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 17. Palace Yard.—“ I do not know from what shop the enclosed manufactures issue ; but I have reason to believe that they are to be protected and puffed in our House by Lord Sheffield, and in the other House by Mr. Rose. This mode of petitioning against a measure which has no existence but in an incidental expression used in debate, is novel and objectionable : but it will be neither a difficult nor an unpleasant task to expose the irrelevancy and weakness of what we shall hear upon the subject. Still, however, I feel doubts (and they have occurred to some of our friends) whether it is parliamentary to add the proposed clause to an indemnifying Bill ; and, at any rate, whether it would not be better both for our argument and for public purposes, to take the unanimous sanction to our doctrines which is offered through the Indemnity Bill, and to introduce a short and separate Bill to regulate the intercourse between the United States and the West India Islands *in time of war*. Lord Hawkesbury and the Duke of Montrose separately apprised me yesterday that they mean to oppose (as being both impolitic and unconstitutional) any prospective legalising of the intercourse as at present practised ; and more especially any discretionary powers to dispense with the laws of navigation.

“ The agent for Barbadoes put the enclosed draft of a Bill into my hands yesterday ; it seems to be nearly a transcript of the Act of 1783.

“ I enclose also a printed copy of the Indemnity Bill, with Lord Ellenborough's proposed corrections, which are not objectionable, though perhaps not necessary.”

W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, April 17. [Pall Mall.]—“ I assure you, you had better consider a little further before you make the increase to the navy at the rate proposed last night, or you will turn what originated solely in views to the army, and was meant to them as a boon, into a subject of just discontent. Nothing can be so mistaken as the course of proceeding which we followed of beginning by allowances to the navy, adopted, I think, in many instances, without sufficient considerations ; and then, when we had nearly exhausted the means of our bounty, leaving the remainder for the army. You forget that the army is more than twice as large as the navy, and, in the case of persons worn out in the service, the navy sets out with a most ample fund of settled estates. I forgot, in talking upon the subject last night, a large head which will require I fear to be included, namely, the militia. The calculations

which I brought were necessarily imperfect; partly because I did not know, except accidentally, what was to be the business of the meeting, and partly from a vexatious difficulty, on which I shall have to talk to you, and which threatens to deprive me, and has therefore in some measure deprived me, of the assistance of Crawford.

“It is found that the information on which I had relied for some time, of three Under-Secretaries having sat at the same time in Parliament, is not well founded; and upon the result of the Acts, only two can sit. What is to be done in this case? A natural course might be Crawford’s giving up his seat, but that he cannot do, as he has been put in by the kindness of the Duchess of Newcastle, and the seat is not one of which they have the complete disposal. It would be very unpleasant to leave it to the issue of a debate which of the three Under-Secretaries should, by law, give way; even of a debate among ourselves. But cannot some arrangement be made. Has Wynne no object which he would like as well as an Under-Secretaryship; or would Walpole be very anxious for the keeping his seat in Parliament, which to him, who does not take part in debates, would be of less consequence; and even to a person who did, would be of little consequence in the situation of Under-Secretary to the Foreign Department. To Crawford it is not so. His aid in Parliament would be far from inconsiderable, and to me in the Office, it is not to be replaced. I can find nowhere so able an assistant, and so judicious an adviser. I shall be much obliged to [you to] think how you can help in this difficulty, which is a most serious one. Though the having Crawford in his present situation is a concern of my own, the providing for him is one in which you will feel to have as large a share as myself.

“To return to the navy and army allowances; you had better have the whole subject before you, before any thing is to [be] decided; for it will be very bad if this measure, professedly began in views to the army, should turn out to be beneficial in a much greater proportion to the navy; as it must unquestionably, if, independent of other considerations, it gives the [same] sum to such very unequal numbers.”

*Postscript.*—“We did not finally settle last night what should be done about hearing the Demerara planters by counsel. I confess I cannot see clearly the force of the argument that would refuse them.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO W. WINDHAM.

1806, April 17. Camelford House.—“I should be very glad if I could suggest any mode of relieving the difficulty about the Under-Secretaries, but none occurs to me of any sort. Charles Williams is member for a county, and all his objects are in the House of Commons, and in the pursuit of business there. With respect to General Walpole, I cannot

of course form any opinion what degree of importance he, or Fox for him, attaches to his being in Parliament. It is quite true that I think Colonel Craufurd's assistance of great moment to you in your Office, and if there were any difficulty as to his continuance there I should much regret it for your sake; and I should also feel very much bound to exert myself in any practicable way to do something else for him. If the question turned merely on the person to be elected in his room, he continuing your under-secretary, but going out of Parliament, I should not despair of being able to manage that point satisfactorily.

"It is surely of infinite moment that you should get the scale of increase for the army made out in all its parts, that we may consider the whole together; and I would then beg you to fix a Cabinet at the earliest hour, morning or evening, that it would be possible for us to meet; for surely no other business, be it what it may, is equally pressing." *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 17. Dublin Castle.—"The patent for the division of the Boards is under the consideration of the crown lawyers; but before the Lord Lieutenant sends the recommendation of the commission to England, it will be necessary for him to know the number of commissioners which it is intended to allot to each Board. Sir John Newport seems to think it will be necessary that there should in all be fourteen. Lord Annesley is returned to town, and in a conversation I had with him yesterday he appeared very practicable. He offered either to remain at the Board of Customs, or to transfer himself to the Excise Board; and the only stipulation he made was the succession to Lord Donoughmore's house, to which he has an unquestionable claim from being the senior commissioner. You, if my memory serves me, expressed a wish that Lord Castlecoote should preside at the Excise Board. The salaries of the commissioners may, as it appears to me, remain at their present establishment, and the two chairmen will have the additional advantage of houses; Lord Annesley succeeding to Lord Donoughmore's house, and Lord Castlecoote to that which is at present inhabited by Lord Annesley. You will oblige me by letting me have your sentiments on the number and distribution of the commissioners, when you shall have settled these points with Sir John Newport; and I shall likewise thank you to inform me whether the other part of the arrangement meets with your approbation."

C. J. FOX TO THE SAME.

1806, April 17.—Upon looking over the papers I am very doubtful whether it will be necessary to produce any except the last, and a copy of Schulemberg's proclamation; but, if you do not think the delay objectionable, I should incline

to wait till Monday that we may consider of it. Everything that tends to blacken the Court of Prussia is desirable, but, on the other hand, the general proceeding speaks for itself.

“If you think the delay objectionable, I will get copies of the two papers ready for both Houses to-day.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, April 18. Camelford House.—“I have mentioned to Mr. Elliot, in a letter I wrote to him a few days since, that the extent of the information contained in the returns made to the House of Commons (and lately printed by order of that House) respecting the present state of the church of Ireland, had created some doubt in my mind whether the measure of a regal visitation of that church might not be superfluous, and I was not sure in what light it might be considered by the bishops there, and by other friends of the establishment; whether as the necessary foundation of measures of increased liberality and protection towards them on the part of Parliament and of Government, in which view alone I am sure your grace as well as myself would wish to entertain it; or whether it might not create an impression of some sort of hostile enquiry calculated to countenance opinions unfavourable to the general discipline and conduct of that part of the united church. Nothing could be more satisfactory to my mind on this subject, than to learn what would be the opinion entertained respecting it by the primate particularly, and by such other distinguished members of the church as your grace may think it expedient to consult. In the meantime I will not fail to communicate on the subject with the King’s advocate here, in order that we may be prepared with our measure if it shall be deemed advisable to pursue it in that shape. But your grace may depend upon it that nothing shall be brought forward here respecting it, till after the fullest communication with your grace, and the opportunity of consulting with the primate upon it.” *Copy.*

C. J. FOX to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 18.—“I have had an answer from Talleyrand this morning, who insists peremptorily on his objection to a joint treaty, so that all must be off, and our course so far easy and plain. But I am not so fond of ease as not to be exceedingly vexed, though not surprised, at the going off of the negotiation.

“If Bonaparte does not by an attempt at invasion, or some other great imprudence, give us an advantage, I cannot but think this country inevitably and irretrievably ruined. That is no reason for our quitting our stations, especially as we took them with something like a certainty of the evils I dread coming on; and yet to be Ministers at a moment when the country is falling, and all Europe sinking, is a dreadful situation, especially if we can make no great and striking efforts for safety.

“I feel this so much that I hope you will reconsider the propriety of your desire that we should abstain from accusing our predecessors. We are not, nor can be safe in *character*, perhaps not even in other respects, if we do not shew that the present state of affairs is in a great measure owing to the absurd and, in the event, ruinous line of conduct pursued by the late administration.

“There is a Cabinet to-day at two at my Office, which I summoned on the information by telegraph that something was coming. I enclose you Talleyrand’s private letter on account of the expressions relative to Russia; I cannot well part with the public one till we meet.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 18. Whitehall.—“I send a draft or sketch for your correction as proposed, and when you return it corrected, it shall be transcribed and forwarded to Lord Holland, and shall be put into proper shape to be presented to the House. I have made some mention to the Speaker respecting the expediency of discouraging all peevish nicety on this business in the House of Commons; and perhaps you will enforce that intimation.”

#### EARL TEMPLE to THE SAME.

1806, April 18. Pall Mall.—“You will recollect I mentioned to you when I first took possession of my office that I found the practice had very generally prevailed of issuing money merely on the authority of letters from the Secretary at War, and without requiring warrants under the King’s sign manual. I found that Mr. Rose had repeatedly remonstrated against a practice so irregular and improper, inasmuch as those letters were no vouchers, and would not be accepted as such by the commissioners for auditing public accounts, by whom the Paymaster’s accounts are passed. But though Mr. Rose had remonstrated, he had done nothing to stop the practice. I immediately directed that, from the 25th of March last, no money should be issued from the Office unless to King’s warrants, except under the following cases when I was aware that a delay in the issue of the money would be attended with serious inconvenience to the public. In those cases I professed my readiness to pay the money on War Office letters only, it being understood, and distinctly engaged for by the Secretary at War, that, at the end of each year, upon an account being transmitted to him of the sums so issued, a covering warrant should be immediately procured for the same. The cases in which I thought it right to take upon myself the risk of advancing money under War Office letters were as follows: *regimental* accounts casually occurring, and the extent of which could not be foreseen, and for which consequently King’s warrants could not be procured; accommodations of money to officers ordered abroad.



“To my letter to the Secretary at War notifying this arrangement, and stating that, with a wish to forward the public service, I was ready to take as much personal responsibility as my duty would allow me; but that, as I was answerable, so I ought to be the judge of the necessity of the cases whenever they occurred, I received an answer stating that many other cases than those I enumerated existed, in which the public service and private convenience would suffer materially from my adherence to the rule that I had laid down; and that the Secretary at War must, in the first instance, be the only judge of the necessity of the case under the pressure of which it was necessary to issue money from the Pay Office without the production of King’s warrants. I returned for answer that I adhered to my resolution; and that though it was certainly true that the Secretary at War must be in the *first instance* the judge of what were the proper cases in which the Pay Office should be called upon to advance money on the production of War Office letters alone, yet that as the Paymaster General was both personally and publicly responsible for the issue of money from his Office, he must be the *ultimate* judge of the necessity which would justify him in incurring that risk. Thus the matter stands. You will observe the Pay Office Act is silent on this head. It only directs that we should produce *proper vouchers* for the sums we issue. The auditors of public accounts declare that the *proper vouchers*, and the only ones they will accept, are warrants under the King’s sign manual; and whilst they so insist on the production of them, I shall insist upon those vouchers being furnished to me. The other irregularity of not dating the receipts was the last thing I rectified before leaving town.”

Endorsed:—*Lord Temple and Mr. Wickham.*

*Minute of Lord Grenville.*

“The Paymaster ought in no case to issue money but upon authority which can be admitted by the auditors.

“If therefore the Secretary at War cannot at all times obtain the King’s signature to the necessary warrants, which is by no means certain, some new regulation must be adopted.

“Might not a general warrant be granted authorising the Paymaster to issue money (under certain restrictions) not exceeding a given sum in any muster, or quarter, upon letters from the Secretary at War, countersigned at the Treasury? to be covered by warrants at the end of the time, stating the particular services.

“By Statute 23 Geo. III, c. 50, sect. 29, the Paymaster is directed to issue money for regimental contingencies at such times and in such proportions as the Secretary at War shall direct.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to C. J. FOX.

1806, April 19. Camelford House.—“I am very sincerely grieved that the answer you have received is such as you had

apprehended. One way is perhaps still open, that of treating by letter, if Russia had sent, or would send full powers to anybody here to go along with you in the negotiation. But I am afraid that the same overbearing disposition and confidence in their own means that have dictated the refusal to treat conjointly, would infallibly defeat all hope of success in the treaty.

“What you say about our situation as Ministers in a time of great difficulty and danger is certainly true. The state is a painful, and in some respects a dangerous one; but we were not blind to it when we accepted our offices, and undertook to do the best we could, certainly without any possibility of answering for the result.

“I own I cannot think that we should improve either the situation of the public or our own by accusations against our predecessors. First, because by pursuing that course we should infallibly disturb the disposition which has been so universally shown, with very few and inconsiderable exceptions, to support and forward our measures; and should add to the other mischiefs that surround the country, the distraction of great intestine divisions. And, secondly, because those divisions must in that case infallibly extend themselves to the Cabinet itself, where we have hitherto experienced the most perfect and cordial harmony; but where it would be impossible to hope for agreement either in the general resolution of attacking our predecessors, or in the particular point of blame to be chosen, or in the extent to which it should be carried; all these being, as you well know, questions on which we should have differed in opposition, and during Pitt’s life, and on which therefore there is no chance that we could agree now.” *Holograph Draft.*

#### LORD HOLLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 20.—“You were so good as to encourage me to mention any employment in your gift which would suit Mr. Allen. *A Commissionership of Lottery* has occurred to me; and though I know of no vacancy, I have taken the liberty of suggesting it in hopes that, if it does not interfere with any other engagement, you might set down my friend’s name for it when one should take place.”

*Postscript.*—“I wish to suggest one or two additions to the *Intercourse Bill*, and will speak to Lord Auckland about them. If you approve them, I will move them in Committee.”

#### C. J. FOX TO THE SAME.

1806, April 20. Stable Yard.—“I will take care that there shall be sent to you in the course of the day the two papers which, according to your judgment, may or may not be laid before Parliament. The first is M. Hardenberg’s letter to Jackson of the 26th; the second, our representation to the Court of Berlin. The object of the first is to show the false

pretences on which Hanover was first occupied, and especially how anxious Prussia was to get our troops away. The second may, I think, be useful in another point of view, which, in my way of considering the present state of Europe, is of some importance, inasmuch as it is the first public paper that marks clearly the distinction between making cessions to France, and accepting from France the property of others. So far in a general view. In the particular case it may be useful to distinguish by as marked a line as possible the conduct of Prussia from that of Spain, and to guard ourselves against the imputation of that odious principle of considering neutrality as enmity. However, I leave this to your better judgment.

“I agree with you that our language ought not to be too inflammatory; but my only reason for moderation is that, until we are surer than we now are of the zealous and active support of Russia, we might be in danger of appearing to threaten more than we can perform. If Russia will really act vigorously, I am, on the most mature reflection, of opinion that too much cannot be said or done against Prussia; and that the taking from her of Poland or of any other part of her dominions would be so far from weakening an instrument which may at some time or other be used against France, that it would, by its example in the first place, and by the introduction of the Russians into Germany in the second, tend more to stop the career of the enemy than almost any other event whatever. Even supposing the attack to be unsuccessful, Prussia would at all events be harassed; and if French troops are sent to support her, her sufferings from being the theatre of war will be very heavy.”

*Postscript.*—“I hope I may say McLean is out.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, April 20. Dublin Castle.—“Your letter of the 12th, with the postscript of the 13th, reached me on Friday.

“So far as I am informed, there is little prospect of carrying two members for the county of Wexford on the part of Government without the aid of Lord Mount-Norris and Sir F. Flood; and I doubt whether even with their most strenuous co-operation, the attempt would prove successful. However, notwithstanding the importance of their support, I still cannot help thinking it will involve us in much embarrassment if we engage with them on the terms they are likely to ask. At the same time the Lord Lieutenant will be entirely guided in the matter by your judgment, and will feel perfect satisfaction with any arrangement you may deem it advisable to conclude on the subject.

“I have no means of ascertaining what may be the intention of the Tottenhams in respect to the borough of Ross at the general election. The elder brother of the present member has an interest in the town, which is not to be shaken, and

will support Alcock, who is his relation, in his views upon the county. The member will nevertheless vote with Government in Parliament (except on the Catholic question) if he has the revenue patronage at Ross, but there happen to be one or two promotions in the revenue which he is pressing to be made immediately, and which, I am afraid, the Lord Lieutenant will not be able to accomplish so speedily as he wishes; and this circumstance may perhaps render him less friendly to us than when I saw him in London.

“I have no positive knowledge of Lord Fitzwilliam’s views in respect to the county of Wicklow, but I believe them to be precisely such as you conjecture. You should lose no time in communicating Lord Carysfort’s intentions to Lord Fitzwilliam, as it is possible that such an explanation, if made immediately, might lead to some satisfactory adjustment of their different interests. Lord Fitzwilliam is quite sure of carrying one member, and must have so powerful an influence in the choice of the second, that a contest would be most troublesome and expensive. I have not mentioned the subject to anybody but the Duke of Bedford, as I am anxious that it should first meet Lord Fitzwilliam’s ears either from yourself or Lord Carysfort.

“You, perhaps, are not apprized that there is now *practically* a division of the Boards, as Lord Annesley, who is at present the only *double* commissioner (Lord Donoughmore being in London) has, for some months past entirely confined himself to the customs. There must be a new commission opened immediately to include Hutchinson, and a draught of a new patent is before the crown lawyers. Some of the commissioners of customs will probably wish to be transferred to the excise, and *vice versa*; and it will be advisable to consult their inclinations in this respect to secure harmony at the different Boards. The new commissioner, Hutchinson, too, must not be placed at the same Board with Lord Annesley.

“I shall not fail to take an early opportunity of looking at the Irish diocesan returns alluded to in your letter.

“In consequence of John King’s intimation of the necessity of a full parliamentary attendance, I have either seen or written to all the members on this side of the water, to whom I can venture to apply. I wish earlier notice had been given to us, as some considerable interval must elapse before several of them can reach London. I hope the few that are in Dublin will be gone by the middle of the week. Some have promised to go sooner.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, April 21. Camelford House.—“I certainly feel that the words which you quote from the Irish statute respecting the provision for judges do create some difficulty, but I should not think that in the case of Judge Johnson it was by any means insuperable. There is no suggestion that Johnson

has in the execution of his office 'done any thing liable to censure, or has conducted himself otherwise than with that diligence and uprightness which the law requires.' These words certainly can be no more than equivalent to a clause of *quamdiu se bene gesserint* in the patent of an office, and yet I conceive no man would say that such a patent could be vacated by showing that the person holding it had been convicted of an offence no way connected with the administration of his office. I should wish you would converse again with the Chancellor on the subject. I have no other interest in the matter but what arises from a sense of the very great hardship, I may say cruelty, of turning a man quite loose upon the world without any provision whatever, in consequence of proceedings which are, in so many stages of them, liable, as I think, to just exception.

"I will write to you on some other points in a day or two, but I thought it best to lose no time in stating to you what occurs to me on this." *Copy.*

#### LORD ELLENBOROUGH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 21. Bloomsbury Square.—"I take the liberty of troubling you with a communication of the enclosed, which your lordship will perceive to be written in unreserved confidence, and intended for no other eye than my own, in order to shew that the Bishop of Elphin was not only not privy to the application with which I troubled your lordship some time ago on his behalf, but that he has no desire whatever to change his situation. Your lordship will likewise, I persuade myself, be pleased to see that the appointment of Mr. Eliot gives such general satisfaction."

#### LORD GRENVILLE to C. J. FOX.

1806, April 22. Camelford House.—"I should never have thought of troubling you to read the absurd and foolish letters that I send you with this, if it was not for the mention made in them of the Prince of Wales.

"I wish you would give me your opinion whether in answering Mr. Reeves (as I shall of course do) that I wonder he should imagine me likely to give him any advice expressed or implied as to his papers, I ought or not to add that I think it right in point of respect and duty to the Prince to say that I never did receive (as in truth I never did) from his Royal Highness, directly or indirectly, any intimation of any wishes of his Royal Highness on the subject of Mr. Reeves.

"I know such a story has been in circulation, because it was mentioned to me a week or ten days ago from another quarter; but I can hardly think that Sheridan could have given credit to it, much less have repeated it." *Copy.*

*Private.*

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, April 22. Camelford House.—“ You are yourselves in Ireland much the best judges as to the number of commissioners that it will be necessary to allot for each Board, and I should wish to know your sentiments on the subject. I was not aware indeed of the necessity of any addition to the present number, nor should I have thought of proposing any such fresh burden on the establishment, if Newport had not stated to me that it was indispensable on two grounds. 1st, because we must secure an attendance sufficient to have the Boards constantly held, as is the case here; and this must, to be sure, form an article in the new instructions to be sent from the Treasury to the new Boards; namely, that Boards shall constantly be held from ——— to ——— in the forenoon of every day for the despatch of [such] business as shall be before them, with such adjournments only as shall be specified for the usual holidays, and such other as shall from time to time be specially authorized by the Treasury. 2ndly, because it seems very material (and so indeed I understand you think it) that the commissioners should themselves hear the appeals in the Dublin district, as is the practice here; and this addition of duty may reasonably enough require an addition of persons to perform it.

“ We have here two chairmen of each Board, who take a monthly rotation with each other, and no Board is held without one of them. A chairman and deputy chairman would answer the same purpose in Ireland; and if Lord Annesley and Lord Castle Coote are disposed to give this degree of attendance to the respective Boards, it would, I think, be very right that they should be the chairmen, but not otherwise. You will best judge who are the best for the deputy chairmen, and will probably think it right to communicate with Newport on that point before it is finally settled.

“ I hope you understand that I by no means wish for an addition to the numbers of the two Boards unless it be judged really necessary. If such an addition is to be made, you will of course let me hear who you think qualified for the situation by real habits and disposition for business, for it would never do to let the appointment so made bear the character of favour or interest.

“ Perhaps this opportunity might be favourable for bringing forward one or more Catholic gentlemen of talent and character, according to the idea discussed at Spencer House.”

*Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 23. Palace Yard.—“ We adopted all your amendments to the American Bill; and two or three further amendments occurred in my examination of the draft with

Mr. Cowper. A clause is also added, on the suggestion of Lord Holland, 'that the neutral vessels so employed must belong to the country from which the goods and commodities are brought.'

"The opponents to the Bill are extremely alert in the expectation of giving some trouble to us; in which however they will meet only with disappointment and mortification. But it will be desirable that several of our friends should give their support. I have spoken to Lord Rosselyn, Lord Buckinghamshire, and others; and we can speak to the Chancellor and Lord Moira, who are both well disposed as to the point in question.

"Lord Sheffield has a long string of about thirty motions, all of which except one or two must be negatived. He shewed them to me. I cannot guess who can have prepared them for him, but they are idle, objectionable, and unparliamentary. I returned them without pointing out some glaring absurdities; and merely said to him that if he *made* such motions, it would be impossible to treat them with much respect. He suspended them yesterday, but will probably resume them to-day.

"Lord Radnor, being desirous to agitate many points respecting the impeachment ceremonial, and to propose many insertions from the old ceremonials, and some novelties, I thought it best to recommit the report, as such discussions *in the House* are what the French call *oiseuses*. A quarter of an hour in the committee room will dispose of them."

#### LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, April 23. Camelford House.—"I think the extra service to be required in the colonies, in cases of emergency, must be extended to twelve months, if not to eighteen.

"I should also think that the whole of your plan might be very safely extended to the *present army*, if the terms of service were to begin to be reckoned from the conclusion of peace; their augmentation of pay will still be to be reckoned according to your first proposal, namely, from the dates of their respective enlistments.

"I am afraid you have not yet had time to turn your mind to the augmentation of the black corps in the West Indies, but it is one of urgent necessity on every ground.

"I am sorry to find that an impression is gradually gaining ground among the Volunteers in the country that you have, in your opening speech, depreciated their services. You must try to counteract this, or you will be doing more practical harm than good by any plan you can carry through. The real operation of your plan is in no degree injurious to them; but all people, and particularly those of this country, require to have their vanity consulted at least as much as their interests; and when this can be done without any sacrifice

of essentials, no public man would, I think, neglect it, at the risk of introducing discontent into a country now universally united in support of its Government." *Copy.*

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 23. [Pall Mall.]—"You are perhaps as little prepared as I was for a circumstance which Lord Howick told me in the House yesterday, namely, that after all our talk about the comparative numbers in the navy and army, the number to which the 300,000*l.* applies is considerably less than 120,000; as it does not include the marines, for whom a separate provision must be made. I say less than 120,000, conceiving, upon memory, that 120,000 is the number voted of seamen and marines. There surely must be some excess of allowance to the navy that can make the proportion of the sums such as it is, upon such proportionate numbers. I don't know enough of the circumstances of the marine service to know how far they have a claim to augmentation in consequence to an augmentation to the army. They have prize-money, and an allowance, I presume, of ship's provisions. On the other hand, the marines have by their conduct entitled themselves to great indulgence; and, of all persons, cannot be overlooked when anything is done for the sailors.

"If, in consequence of this new head of expenses, the allowance to the army becomes comparatively less, and the risk be thereby increased of the reflexion arising on the comparison, '*see here the effects of mutiny,*' my only hope is that I shall be able to propose to you such savings on the other branches of the army as may give us greater latitude with respect to those that we have had in view.

"I want to attack the whole principle of this system of supernumerary field officers, urged, as it is, on the score of providing for leaves of absence, persons serving on the staff, and such like, by proposing that the supernumeraries should be placed at the other end, that is to say, by having supernumerary subalterns; and that, in the case of any officer being removed to a staff situation, the next in succession should supply his place, being paid at the rate of the officer removed, during the time he so serves. In this way, instead of providing a whole establishment of field officers with a view to vacancies that may happen, you will have to pay upon the number only of the actual vacancies; and even that payment will be only the successive differences of the pay of the officers so advanced for the time, making less probably than the whole pay of the superior. So, at least, I imagine it will be, upon the view of the moment. But, at all events, a great saving must be made, even if you were to suppose the staff to remain at its present amount.

"Many other advantages with respect to the discipline of the army will, I think, grow out of this. As things stand



at present, there are regiments having four field officers upon their establishment, without a single one present. On the other principle, by only keeping up a sufficient supply of the lower ranks, the regiment will be always full.

"I daresay that reasons will not be wanting to urge against this, but I do not believe any that will be entitled to consideration.

"On the subject of establishments in foreign services, I have what I am assured is the establishment of a regiment in the Prussian service; according to which the proportion is of one officer to forty men, being nearly the same as Craufurd had before stated it to be; and being somewhat more than takes place in the establishment of the guards, as contended for (and for the present carried) by his Royal Highness. This head of reduction can only be a gradual one; the immediate reductions will be in the staff, the waggon-train, the number of effective horses in the cavalry. A further gradual reduction must be in the numbers both of the cavalry and the guards, by stopping the recruiting in each; a measure which is necessary to give a fair trial to the system we are now adopting.

I am rather unwell to-day, and have thought it better, in consequence, to desire Fox to put off my motion till Monday; as, even if I should have been able to bring it on to-morrow, I should have come still less prepared than I should otherwise have hoped to be. The naming Thursday instead of Monday last was at their own desire.

"Upon looking at the establishment of the Cape, I find that both the Deputy-Governor and Secretary are such as might be a temptation to Walpole, if he did not object to going abroad.

*Postscript.*—"I am expecting a plan of the staff as proposed by the Duke of York."

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, April 24. Downing Street.—"Long before you receive this the Lord Lieutenant will have seen Lord Mountnorris, and will have decided what arrangement may be best to be made with him, in which I have no other wish but to do what may best contribute to the general strength of the Government both now and in a future Parliament. If Alcock is withdrawn by the Wexford contest from his views on Waterford, will it be impossible to induce Lord Waterford to support Sir J. Newport. Would it not be useful to communicate with Pennefather respecting Wickham's re-election in case of dissolution. This might prevent the possibility of any other engagement being taken. These things are by no means mentioned with any view to immediate dissolution, which I continue to think a step to be avoided if possible; but there may be some advantage in having some of these arrangements made beforehand.

“I am far from thinking Lord Carysfort determined to start Lord Proby for Wicklow, and I think therefore that a communication to Lord Fitzwilliam now would be premature. I need hardly say how much anxiety I shall feel to prevent a contest between two persons with whom I am so much connected.

“Unless it be absolutely necessary, you should surely not issue a new commission of revenue, but two commissions, one of customs and the other of excise. Indeed I do not see how a fresh commission of revenue in its present shape, including Lord Annesley’s name and including Lord Donoughmore’s, could issue without a direct breach of faith with the latter, who expressly stipulated against this being done.

“The attendance in the House of Commons is wished with a view to the military plan. There is much disposition to make difficulties as to the limitation of service, and that disposition is, I am sorry to say, countenanced by the Duke of York in some ways not very usual. I have however no doubt that we shall do very well.” *Copy.*

#### C. J. FOX TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 24. Stable Yard.—“I send you back the strange papers you sent me. There can be nothing, I think, for you to say but that you know nothing of the matter, and that no application has been made to you from the Prince either directly or indirectly. Let me have the words of the King’s answer time enough to alter them properly for *to-morrow.*”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, April 24. Palace Yard.—“I ought to apprise you that a most urgent application is making from Greenwich, Poole, and all the ports concerned in the Newfoundland trade, for a bounty on dried fish, and pickled salmon, to enable them to bear the expense of bringing the fish to be store-housed in the British and Irish ports, in order to its re-exportation in neutral vessels to the Mediterranean. They rest their application on the strange situation of Europe which excludes British ships from all the accustomed market; and they solemnly assert (with what truth is best known to themselves) that unless they are assisted under this pressure they cannot maintain the trade, but must withdraw from it. We were attended yesterday by some of the members for Poole and other sea-ports. I suspended the consideration after hearing them, that I might call for accounts of what was done and expended by the bounty of 1801. In the meantime, and before we summon the parties again, it may be right that the subject should come under your view. They admit that depots at Gibraltar and Malta may become very material, but not in time to obviate the actual distress.

“I enclose Mr. Younge’s answer respecting the amount gained by the sale of Church lands, and disposable at the Bank. That method may certainly be turned to a very interesting and useful purpose ; and the disposal of the money will be more than compensated by the tendency which it will have to complete throughout the kingdom the redemption of the Land Tax both by the ecclesiastical and lay corporations : for with respect to the latter, there are small almshouses which are without means to redeem their own land tax.

*Private.*—“I hope that Mr. Windham is submitting his Bill or Bills fully to your consideration : for I hear out of doors various remarks on that subject, under which it [is] impossible not to feel some uneasiness.

*Private.*—“The Prince of Wales has directed me to wait on him to-day. I have reason to believe that he is desirous to speak to me respecting a discussion which is taken [*sic*] part in a private family with which I happen to be well acquainted ; in which discussion he has made himself in some degree a party.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, April 24. Camelford House.—“I enclose a memorial and letter from my friend Mr. Grenfell, a most intelligent and respectable man. I have myself no doubts of the propriety of the measure he recommends ; but it may be right that the Admiralty should have the opportunity of stating any which they may entertain ; and that, if there really does exist any danger, it may be fairly considered at the Committee of Trade. No one is better able to inform you on the subject than Grenfell is.

“I have, as you know, a mortal antipathy to all bounties. Still, however, every proposal of the sort must be tried on its own merits : and when you have fairly investigated this question of fish, I shall be glad to see your statement of it ; to which, however, I shall certainly bring a general impression very unfavourable to the policy of paying your subjects out of the public purse to enable them to trade at a loss.” *Copy.*

#### W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 24.—“I send you a letter which I have just got from Whitbread. I have said, in return, that the only objection is the fear of its being supposed that there is any wish on the part of the Government, or on my part, to put the motion off ; that I would write to those who might be better judges of that than I was, and be governed by their opinion. I write to you, therefore, and write to Fox, who, though present when Whitbread wrote, may not have had resolution to state to Whitbread what was his genuine opinion. If you will settle with Fox what is best, the decision may be acted upon without further communication with

me. The only circumstance, as affecting myself, is the non-attendance in one case of Whitbread, who, if he would take a part, might be of considerable use.

"I shall be in town this evening, and expect to meet the Attorney and Solicitor General on the subject of the Bills.

"The object is to put things upon that footing that, while every engagement made to the soldier shall have the faith of Parliament pledged to the performance of it, there shall be a power always in Parliament and the Crown to vary the terms of engagement in successive years, as they may see fit. This, I think, must be capable of being done by a permanent Chelsea Act, and an annual Mutiny Act; making the provisions of the Chelsea Act to be that Parliament would make good such engagements as the King should, from time to time, enter into with the consent of Parliament, as expressed by the Mutiny Act.

"I have received Hope's papers, and cannot find anything in them that should at all shake one's opinions. His plan for giving the soldier a right to Chelsea, when the allowance is only the same as at present, I cannot think at all a good one. The soldier would not feel that he gained anything, and would really gain what might be very vexatious. He, if I recollect, is going upon the supposition that, if the term of enlistment is eight years, an eighth of the army may claim their discharge every year. Whereas, if the Duke of York's fact be true, that a 12th of the army dies every year (I fear it is more) the number upon seven years having a right to claim their discharge would be only a 20th, or 5 *per cent*; and, if half only of those were willing to stay, the number discharged would only [be] 2½ *per cent*. There need be no surprise that, in the present state of things, numbers of those who were formerly the greatest advocates for enlistment for term have now changed their opinions; but this is one of the cases in which the *δευτερά τιδες* may not be the wisest, except in respect to wordly wisdom.

"I wonder you should think that I can do any good by declarations about the Volunteers. I should only disgrace myself, without satisfying them. It is in vain, in general, to attempt to satisfy those who are disposed to be unreasonable; but it is utterly hopeless to get the better by explanation, of such powers as are now employed to misrepresent. Not one word have I said about the Volunteers that could have a character of sneering at or vilifying them. Lord Castlereagh on the first night did not pretend to bring any such charge. All this they now say is an afterthought, founded on the facility which is given to misrepresentation, as the memory of the fact becomes more and more faint. All that I have to guard against is the not being betrayed, by any provocation, into expressions which might justly be taken hold of.

“I am sorry that you have no prospect of giving me any assistance in the ease of Colonel Craufurd. The natural way would be to find some situation for Walpole, which, though less lucrative, might be more permanent than the Under-Secretaryship. The Secretaryship or Deputy-Governorship of the Cape I would be willing to give him, but I am afraid that, besides other objections, he would hardly consider it as more durable.

“Hippisley’s appointment, I can easily believe, would not be popular; but there would be nothing but impression against it. He would fulfil the duties of the situation better than most persons; and I must consider what I can do for him.

“Lord Howiek, I see, moves for the additional pay to the navy to-day. I should have thought that this would have been better deferred till we had voted the army estimates. I fear you will find that the expectations raised in consequence in the army will hardly be satisfied with the augmentation which we have proposed.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to EARL SPENCER.

1806, April 24. Camelford House.—“I return you the Lord Lieutenant’s letter, enclosing that of Lord Drogheda. It only appears from the latter that he has been unlucky in his political speculations; but to compensate not only all the holders of abolished offices, but also all who might have held them if they had not held something else, would go beyond all ideas that I have ever heard any man maintain on that subject.” *Copy.*

#### THE SAME to W. WINDHAM.

1806, April 24. Camelford House.—“There can be no doubt that the marines must be considered at the same time with the army and navy. I really have no belief that anybody will judge our measures by so inapplicable a scale as that of mere comparison of gross result from the proposed increase to the two services; and I am fully persuaded that the allowances settled for the army, when we last discussed the subject, are sufficient for the objects in view.

“You well know how earnestly I wish to persuade you to make effectual reductions in the present military establishment, which, all the world knows and says, is extravagantly and injuriously profuse; and nothing will give more satisfaction to me than to co-operate with you in a determined, and therefore a successful, war upon second battalions and supernumerary field officers. Your observations on the radical defects of the system adopted in respect of the last of these two objects are unanswerable, both as to economy and discipline.

“ Pray let me see your Bills as soon as they are reduced into any shape, for I grow very anxious and uneasy on the subject from all I hear is going forward upon it.

“ I wish I could help you about Craufurd, but I see no means.

“ Perhaps you would think it right to offer the Cape to Lord Rosslyn. Shall I speak to him about it, to know if it would be agreeable to him. Lord Charles Somerset is a person for whom it would be extremely convenient to find some provision on many accounts, but I do not know whether you would think him of sufficient calibre for the Cape. The report of Hippisley’s appointment certainly has created some dissatisfaction and censure.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, April 25. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville begs leave humbly to submit to your Majesty that, in the new arrangements for the better collection of your Majesty’s revenue in Ireland, it is proposed that the present Board of Revenue there should be divided into a Board of Customs and another of Excise; and that, as Lord Donoughmore is now at the head of both departments, his lordship is to quit that situation and to be recommended to your Majesty for the office of joint Post-Master-General. But as Mr. Beresford, who preceded him in the Revenue Board, was, in virtue of that situation, called to your Majesty’s Privy Council here, and appointed a member of the Committee of Trade, Lord Donoughmore is anxious, if your Majesty does not object to it, to receive the same distinction previous to his quitting the Revenue Board. Lord Grenville has taken the liberty of bringing this matter before your Majesty in this way, because he is doubtful whether the trial may not make him too late to pay his duty to your Majesty on Wednesday next; and would therefore humbly solicit your Majesty’s permission to be absent from the Council on that day, unless your Majesty should have any commands for him.

“ Lord Grenville begs leave, for the same reason, to take this mode of humbly recommending to your Majesty the grant of a pension to Dr. Burney to the amount of 200*l.* *per annum* clear; and of 100*l.* *per annum* clear, to each of the two Miss Dilkes’, whose case, he believes, is not unknown to your Majesty.” *Copy.*

*Private.* THE SAME to W. ELLIOT.

1806, April 25. Downing Street.—“ An idea was mentioned to me by Lord Henry Petty to-day, which I think so useful, that I now write these few lines to mention it to you lest it should escape my memory. He told me that the present plan of education at Maynooth was purely and exclusively theological, and suggested whether an allowance of a small salary for a chemical, and another for a medical

professor, might not be of the very utmost advantage in instructing the Irish priests in the elements of a sort of knowledge which would make them highly useful to their parishioners. I really think this might be of greater practical good than many things of infinitely greater extent and parade, and as such, I cannot help wishing that you would pursue the idea. I myself should add a little mathematical, or at least arithmetical instruction; without which all education even of the very lowest classes of the community is, I think, imperfect; but if that be trying too much, let us do what good we can; and this is a favourable moment for finding the Catholics disposed to receive with good humour what in other times they might reject as an impious and heretical interference with the manufacture of Catholic priests." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 25. Palace Yard.—“I have no doubt that the sum at present gained by the sales made by corporate bodies, may, with the instalments still due and the accumulating interests, be called 100,000*l.*; and that the further sales to be made will clear all the expences attendant on the commission. Supposing that 2,000 of the small livings and charities to be chargeable annually with land tax at the rate of 3*l.* 10*s.* and under that sum; it will be found that the whole, taking the average at 2*l.* 10*s.*, may be clear'd for 100,000*l.*; and it may be shewn that it never can be clear'd from any fund belonging to the livings; and the benefit conferred would be of some little importance to the merchants.

“I will communicate to Lord Howick a copy of Mr. Greenfell's paper, and will afterwards talk to him about it: and unless he should apprise me of decided objections on the part of the Admiralty, we can afterwards make a formal reference from the Committee. I have some recollection that, with the concurrence of the Admiralty, we lately gave a licence to send copper sheeting to Lisbon.

“After you quitted the House yesterday, Lord Radnor detained us till seven o'clock in a debate somewhat of the peevish kind, for the purpose of forcing into the report (apparently to mortify Mr. Cowper who had objected to it at the Committee, perhaps with more earnestness than so small a matter deserved) the order that ‘the Lords shall keep their places in the Hall during the trial.’ We objected in vain that the order exists in the Book of Orders already; that though in trials for murder or treason it may have been brought forwards for greater solemnity, it *never* has in any instance been inserted in the instances of trials for high crimes and misdemeanours. A reference to the 22nd volume of our journals, number 530, will shew this; as also a reference to Mr. Hastings' trial. We urged also that it was an inconvenient order if strictly exercised, and that it might safely

be left to the general sense of decorum. He forced us to a division, fifteen to nine, and said that he would renew the question again to-day."

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, April 25. Downing Street.—“ I see no *great* objection to Whitbread's proposal, and I really think you would lose more by his absence than you would gain by the difference of two days. Great industry is certainly used to alarm people about the plan of limited service, and more impression has evidently been made on the Volunteers than I expected, considering how very little your plan has taken from them. This we must of course try to counteract as well as we can, not certainly by your stating any opinions that you do not hold, but by as conciliatory a form as possible of stating those you do hold. Perhaps ten shillings more might be given in the clothing; and you certainly never meant to say that, at the end of the three years, no further allowance should in any case be made to them on this head, but that no engagement ought now to be taken by Government on a point which ought undoubtedly to be left (as at present) to be decided upon by the Government at the time. Yet this is, as I learn, the point of all others that has given most offence.

“ It is certainly true that 20s. will not clothe the Volunteer.

“ I heartily wish I could have helped you in Craufurd's business, both for your sake and his; but I know of no situation, such as you describe, vacant, or likely to become so.

“ Lord Ormond has, I believe, two members in the House of Commons, besides his own vote in the House of Lords, and a considerable name in the country. I saw his brother to-day. Their pretensions for Stanley are now reduced to a puisne judge in Lower Canada, or the attorney-general of Upper Canada, both which he told me were vacant.

“ If you have no other engagement, this would certainly be a cheap way of obliging Lord Ormond.” *Copy.*

GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, April 27. Windsor Castle.—“ The King approves of the arrangements proposed by Lord Grenville for the better collection of the revenue in Ireland, and of what is submitted in his letter in regard to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Beresford. His Majesty also acquiesces in Lord Grenville's proposal for granting a pension of two hundred pounds to Dr. Burney, and of one hundred pounds *per annum* clear to each of the two Miss Dilkes. From the circumstances of the trial, which may necessarily engage the attention of many of His Ministers, it is not the King's intention to go to London on Wednesday next, unless there should be any business that should render his presence absolutely necessary.”



## LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, April 29. Palace Yard.—“The Chancellor and Lord Ellenborough were so anxious to pass the Evidence Bill (which I really believe to be a correct declaration of the law) that I thought it right to stay at the House above two hours, to assist them against Lord Eldon and Lord Hawksbury and Lord Stanhope, who endeavoured to reject the Bill :—at last we gave the third reading without a division.

“Lord Stanhope moved for an account of corn and rice imported and exported in the last two years. Such an account as a matter of information was quite unobjectionable, and, in truth, is already contained in the general accounts of imports and exports already presented and printed. But he took the occasion to launch out into a most wild declamation respecting the imminent danger of a famine from the harshness of the season and the shutting up of the Baltic. Lord Moira and I thought it right to express our astonishment at assertions so apparently illgrounded, and so mischievous in their tendency; and we ventured to say that, subject to the dispensations of Providence, we saw no reason whatever for sounding the alarm; and in the mean time (which is true) that large cargoes are arriving with every fair wind from the Baltic. He seemed to be beaten down, made no reply, and I am willing to hope that we counteracted any bad impression.

“The Committee of Council for Trade yesterday made a report to the Treasury, in general terms, respecting the expediency of carrying into immediate effect the project of warehouses and depôts at Gibraltar and Malta, for the produce of our fisheries, British manufactures, and European wines and oils. I have a strong persuasion that such a measure, if well executed, would gradually produce most important consequences both in peace and in war. We also made a report to you on the urgent expediency of opening a system for the location and cultivating of lands in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.”

*Confidential.* “It appeared to me to-day that the transaction respecting the purchase, holding, and transfer of East India stock, if made out by evidence, would bear very unpleasantly.

## MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1806, April 29. Park Lane.—“I do not mean to attend the trial; in addition to other objections, I am very apprehensive that I could not bear the cold of the Hall. I do not know whether it be necessary to send any excuse; if it should be, will you have the goodness to direct me how it is to be done?”

“I conclude that my health will be a sufficient reason to the Chancellor. I am very anxious to see you, but I would not trouble you during your *deménagement*. Pray let me know when you can see me.”

## LORD GRENVILLE TO MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, April 29. Downing Street.—“What between trial and dinners, the only times I have for seeing anybody are from  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 to 11 at night, and from the same hour to  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 in the morning.

“This evening I am fully engaged; but to-morrow evening, if you will call, I will try to keep myself open.” *Copy.*

## THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1806, April .]—“I have seen George Nugent who is extremely distressed and hurt by the notification that his Royal Highness had great satisfaction in informing him, and so on. He had wished for every reason to have retained his old 85th, and is now supposed to have received a mark of attention which, in fact, is none; and which, as explained by you, is a mark of gross inattention to you. I fear you can do nothing to mark your sense of this conduct *at present*, but the moment *must* come in which this matter must be grappled with. I have fresh and most decisive proof that his Royal Highness announces the most distinct and most eager hostility. The regiment given—*at the Cape*—to Alexander Hope, was a direct bargain to induce him, who was always a warm advocate for limited service, to stay away from the division in which he would have supported you. Surely this new Cape regiment should be stopped on *principles of economy*.

“I find that you are most properly moving in the House of Commons for some relaxation to large families in the property tax. Pray consider the same as with respect to children in your new beer tax. Newman writes me word that he has nineteen children, of whom seventeen are at home, ten are above ten years old; he keeps no man servant save a gardener, but has five nurses and maids. I state this, that you may consider how to assist families of such a description, the number of which in England cannot be large, but whose complaints will naturally be loud.”

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1806, April.]—“I have just found your note and could have wished to have seen you, to have detailed to you much of what I cannot put upon paper. As to *himself*, nothing could be more explicit as to his intention of voting, and as to his opinion, which is decidedly *with you*; a very unqualified assurance that the King has no thoughts of a change in his Government, and that no one of his family or servants have ever been able to draw from him the smallest symptom of hostility to Windham’s plan; that *I may depend* on the firmness of the King’s conduct; and that a very late conversation enables him to give me in confidence, the most direct assurance that the King is satisfied at present, and wishes

to be left quiet. That the Duke of York and of Cumberland are both very indiscreet, and very urgent with the King, who has complained *to him* of being *worried* by them. That the Duke of Cumberland is to speak as well as vote against you; and that the Duke of York will probably attend and vote against you, though it is possible he will stay away. He recommends, if the Duke of York has not explained himself, that *you* should urge him to stay away; and if you should fail in obtaining a positive engagement, *he is positive* that an explanation *from you* to the King, would obtain a positive order to the Duke of York to that purpose. He does not know of any one King's friend who is to vote against you; but seemed to think Lord Dartmouth—whom he termed a shallow politician—might stay away unless you sent to him; which he recommended if it should be necessary, which he would ascertain this evening and would send me a line of information. He is satisfied that the Duke of Cambridge will support, but I cannot find that he has any positive assurance or reason, beyond his Royal Highness's observation that all the Hanoverian troops had for a century been invariably enlisted to limited service. On the whole, there is an absolute promise certainly of his attendance on Wednesday, and Thursday, and much good ground for thinking your Government much stronger in the King's mind than you might imagine.

“General Bude has been indefatigable in trying to keep the Duke of York from the acts and declarations of hostility to which he is inclined, and to which he is urged. Lord Uxbridge is described as very rancorous and mischievous.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, May 1. Palace Yard.—“I shall be obliged to write again to you in the course of this day; 1st, as to the draft of the American Bill; 2nd, on the secret papers from Amsterdam, which, however, require from their importance more observation than I shall be able perhaps to write to-day; 3rd, on the general results of the several orders of Council respecting the embargo, on which Sir John Nicholl has not yet given his note to me; and in the meantime the Commissioners of the Customs are raising new questions.

“I inclose the Speaker's answer, ceding in the politest terms one of his two windows to the Auditor of the Exchequer. I have also said everything necessary to be said on the subject to Mr. Burrell, and I have visited the two boxes, with the Speaker. They severally hold about twenty four persons, which I mention for Lady Grenville's information; and if I can do anything further, I shall be glad to receive her commands. You will, I believe, see the Speaker to-day at Camelford House.

“Mr. Cowper, having prepared and completed all the orders as to the impeachment, I moved them yesterday at

the Committee, with some alterations (from the precedents) as occasioned by the Irish Union; and I postponed the report till Monday.

“I annex four of the resolutions as being either novelties or variations, that they may have your corrections if you wish to correct them. *Clause A.*—The words underlined were added by us to the resolution taken from Lord Macclesfield’s case. He was tried in the House and not in the Hall. Without those words Lord Melville would be obliged either to sit in the House, or to stand at the stool whilst the procession is entering, or be exposed to walk down the House in very humiliating circumstances. As it now stands, he will merely enter one step from the box, when he will be with his friends, and sit down with his back to the Bar. It is a bad operation at best.

“The other orders, I hope, are conformable to your wishes.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806.—May 1. Dublin Castle.—“I am in your debt for several letters. That of the 25th of the last month reached me yesterday, and I shall take care to keep in view your suggestions relative to the college at Maynooth.

“Though Lord Mount-Norris’s interest in the county of Wexford will be very material towards our success both at this and at the general election, we have not yet ventured to conclude a treaty with him. He continues to ask the office of *custos rotulorum*, and a seat for Sir Frederick Flood, to be renewed at the general election. If we should accede to his terms, we must, I am afraid, look to your side of the water for the seat. He was to see the Chancellor yesterday respecting the office of *custos rotulorum*, but I have not heard the result of their interview. If we could depend on his adhering to his engagement, I should be disposed to purchase his support on the conditions he proposes; as, without it, Government will have no chance of carrying both members at the general election; and even with his co-operation the attempt will be very likely to fail.

“The Board of Revenue having recommended the superannuation of the present surveyor of Ross, the Lord Lieutenant has permitted Mr. Tottenham’s nephew, who is now a land-waiter there, to succeed to the office, and a friend of Mr. Tottenham’s is also to be made land-waiter. In consequence of this arrangement I have an assurance that Mr. Ponsonby Tottenham is to give his support to Government in Parliament upon all measures except the Catholick question; and I have apprized King of this circumstance that he may apply to him for his attendance.

“Mr. Knox (Lord Northland’s eldest son) has declared himself a candidate for the county of Tyrone at the general election. The present members are Sir John Stewart (who is brought in by Lord Abercorn) and Mr. James Stewart, who

is a stedfast friend to the present Government. Mr. Knox is opposed to Sir John Stewart, and asks the assistance of Government, but no answer can be given to his application on this side of the water till we know the relation in which you stand to Lord Abercorn. Knox, like all candidates, professes to have the best-founded hopes of success, but I hear that his father gives his interest against him. Mr. James Stewart is now in London, and will be able to furnish the best information on this subject; and it will be desirable that there should be a communication with him upon it, as a contest between Lord Abercorn and Knox might prove injurious to his interest. Fox has a great friendship for Stewart, and will therefore be the properest person to employ to speak to him.

“I will do what I can with regard to Wickham’s seat.

“Lord Waterford, who is now in the north of England, passed through Dublin in his way thither. He called both on the Duke of Bedford and me, and professed a friendly disposition to Government. His principle object is to gain the aid of Government in his views on the county of Waterford, the city of Waterford, the town of Dungarvan, and the county of Londonderry, in all of which places (except Waterford where he interferes with Sir John Newport) he will find competitors in the Ponsonby family. I told him that I could not venture to give him any answer on these points until I should be able to ascertain the extent of the views of the Ponsonbys. I afterwards had a conversation with the Chancellor, who appeared very reasonable in his views, but said he could not speak definitely on the subject without reference to his brother. I heartily wish we could bring these two great interests to an understanding at the general election, but I am afraid Lord Waterford will not abate much of his pretensions. John Claudius Beresford is going to London, and I suppose will vote with Opposition, unless we are able to hold out more defined hopes of an accommodation with Lord Waterford. I do not apprehend, however, that any of the Beresfords will, at present, take a very warm part against us.

“I am very glad to find that you sanction the opinion I have all along entertained in respect to the difficulty, which is suggested in the case of the intended provision for Johnson. He has certainly done nothing which impeaches ‘his diligence and uprightness in the execution of his office,’ and is by his state of health already entitled to the benefits of the Act. The Chancellor, I think, is somewhat shaken in his opinion on the matter, and does not annex quite so much importance to the objection as he did. I shall, however, not feel myself at liberty to proceed in the negotiation with Johnson, till you authorize me to do so. If he should be deprived of his office without a competent provision, he will have to complain of a severity of treatment bordering on injustice.

“I sent some questions a few days ago to Sir John Newport relative to the constitution of the two intended boards of revenue, upon which he is to communicate with you.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 2. Dublin Castle.—“I have just had a long conversation with John Claudius Beresford, to whom Lord Waterford had referred me on all points relating to the interest of his family. He was very cordial, and stated that since Mr. Pitt’s death, the wishes of Lord Waterford and his friends, with regard to politic connection, were directed towards you. In respect to Lord Waterford’s local parliamentary views, I collect from Beresford that he might *possibly* be induced to restrict them to an *alternate* representation for Dungarvan, to one member for the county of Waterford, and one for the county of Derry. In the city of Waterford I find the Beresford interest is pledged to Mr. Bolton, on whose recommendation Mr. Alcock’s pretensions were principally founded; and if Mr. Alcock should be returned for the county of Wexford at the general election, and Mr. Bolton should *decline* offering himself for Waterford (which Mr. Beresford does not conceive to be improbable) there would be a prospect of Sir John Newport’s retaining his seat without trouble. Such an arrangement, if Lord Waterford would consent to it, might, I should hope, not be thought by the Ponsonbys incompatible with their interests by the plans I have named. Indeed, on *sounding* the Chancellor on the subject, I do not apprehend he would be averse to it. At the same time his views must in a great measure be governed by Lord Ponsonby’s. Beresford goes to London to-morrow, and I imagine will not take any active part in Parliament. He will stay there about three or four weeks, and I cannot help thinking you might do much good by seeing him. As Lord Ponsonby is likewise there, you may perhaps be able to ascertain his pretensions at the general election. Lord Waterford, I understand, strongly wishes his brother Lord John (the Bishop of Cork) to be transferred to Raphoe, but I do not think he would press it inconveniently.

*Postscript.*—“You will learn from Sir John Newport, to whom I have written all the particulars, that the loan is made at the price of 139*l.*, 3½ *per cents.*”

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to THE SAME.

1806, May 2. Dublin Castle.—“I had the honour to receive your lordship’s letter of the 18th *ultimo*, marked private, and thought it my duty to send a copy of it to the primate, that I might have the advantage of his grace’s opinion more fully expressed on the proposed measure of a regal visitation of the church of Ireland, before I communicated further with your lordship on a subject of so much delicacy, and of so

much importance to the interests of this part of the United Kingdom. Your Lordship will perceive that the Primate is of opinion that the greater part of the bishops and clergy of Ireland will regard a regal visitation with suspicion and alarm ; and from all the information I am able to obtain from other respectable quarters, I have no doubt that the fact is so. In this case it would not merely be imprudent to attempt it, but the expected benefits we look to, as the result of such an enquiry, might be converted into the most serious mischiefs.

“The returns made to the House of Commons are loose, incomplete, and unsatisfactory ; and if your Lordship has leisure to examine them in detail, you will find they are not such as we ought to adopt as the basis of a salutary and effectual reform of the church. Without such a reform there can be no real safety for Ireland, but how is it to be accomplished ? There are undoubtedly many difficulties in the way, but I trust they are not insuperable. The enquiry grounded on Sir John Newport’s motion of last session, was considered as a measure of hostility to the establishment. The greater part of the bishops considered it as an unnecessary exposure of the imperfections and defects of the church, without a due allowance being granted for the local disadvantages under which she labours ; and they, in consequence, set their faces against the Parliamentary inquisition (as they termed the measure) and withheld their assistance from those who were directed to carry the enquiry into effect. The information we desire to obtain must be sought with the entire concurrence and co-operation of the bench and higher orders of the clergy, or I fear our efforts will be of no avail.

“The mode suggested by the Primate is worth considering. I believe there can be no reason to doubt the zeal and sincerity of his grace and the archbishop of Cashel in affording us every assistance ; and I trust we may also rely on the two remaining archbishops, although the one is somewhat too impracticable, and the other too indolent, to hope for much essential service from either.

“A full consideration of the unions which have taken place ; the state of the several parishes as to churches, glebe, houses and lands ; the extent of the assistance to be given by Parliament towards building churches ; the best means of encouraging and enforcing residence ; the mode of collecting tithes ; all these, and many others form serious subjects of reflection ; and I anxiously hope that they may engage the earnest attention of your lordship and his Majesty’s confidential servants ; that some plan may be digested and prepared to be laid before his Majesty in the course of the ensuing summer, which may tend not merely to prop the tottering fabric of the established church of this part of his united kingdom, but to secure its strength and durability on a solid and lasting basis ; and thus enable his Majesty with

the most entire and perfect safety to grant the full measure of concession to his faithful subjects of every religious persuasion."

*Enclosing* :—

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, April 27. Armagh.—“I had the honour of receiving your grace's letter, enclosing a letter from Lord Grenville. I cannot hesitate a moment to assure your grace that I believe most of the Irish bishops and clergy will regard a regal visitation with great suspicion and alarm, and consider it as a measure calculated to countenance opinions unfavourable to the general discipline and conduct of the church. In the present state of this country it will be extremely difficult to name commissioners who shall equally possess the confidence of government and the clergy; and, without the sincere and hearty concurrence of the bishops, they would find it almost impossible to accomplish the object of their commission. A regal visitation may produce consequences of a very evil tendency, which his Majesty's ministers could neither prevent nor control; and is therefore a measure not to be adopted without apparent and urgent necessity. It was indeed proposed some months ago, but proposed for reasons which no longer exist.

“At the same time I must fairly acknowledge I concur with your grace in thinking that the returns made to the House of Commons are incomplete and unsatisfactory. The queries were addressed to men incompetent to answer them; and therefore, except in the few instances in which the bishops themselves drew up the returns, their answers must be incorrect. The residence of the clergy, the number of parsonage houses, the quantity of glebe are matters which cannot be ascertained in the Register's Office.

“But with regard to all these matters, as well as to every point relating to the church, I conceive your grace may, without resorting to a regal visitation, obtain the amplest and most satisfactory information. The archbishops have certainly the means to procure a most exact statement of the real situation of the church in every particular. The archbishops in this country exercise a more extensive jurisdiction than is exercised by the archbishops in England. An English archbishop has little connection with his suffragan bishops, and no connection with the clergy under those bishops. But in Ireland an archbishop not only visits his own diocese every year; but each diocese in his province once in three years; during which visitation the function and power of



his suffragans are entirely suspended. He examines personally and publicly every individual clergyman, and puts what questions he thinks proper to the bishops, who are obliged to answer them in the presence of all the clergy.

“Hence the archbishops certainly have the means to ascertain every matter relating to the church; and I entertain little doubt of their being willing to employ those means, and communicate to your grace for the information of his Majesty, whom they must consider as head of the church, the result of their enquiries.

“As to myself, and the Archbishop of Cashel, whose provinces include a third of Ireland both as to quantity of land and number of benefices, I can assure your grace we are extremely anxious that government should become acquainted with the real state of ecclesiastical affairs; and are therefore ready, with the assistance of our suffragan bishops, to give your grace every information respecting the church, its defects, its discipline, and its wants, and every assistance towards devising the means of remedy.

“I know not what are the points concerning which government particularly wishes for information; but if I understood Mr. Elliot right, the unions of livings was one chief object of their attention. There certainly wants no regal visitation to enable your grace to become acquainted with every circumstance respecting these unions. For the Act of Parliament which authorises the Lord Lieutenant and Council to form these unions, gives them ample power to dissolve them whenever it shall appear that they are useless or improper. The greater part of these unions has been formed by the direction of government, with perhaps more attention to the emoluments of the clergyman to whom they were given than to the advantage of the established church. But with whatever intention they were originally formed, they have produced many serious evils for which I fear no remedy can be provided. The consequence of uniting eight or ten livings is that the churches and parsonage houses fall to ruin; and, excepting in that part of the union where a church remains, the protestant inhabitants emigrate, or renounce their religion. If the union of these parishes was now dissolved, what could be done with such of them as are without churches, houses, glebes or Protestant inhabitants? The erecting of churches or houses in them would be of no service, unless a Protestant congregation could be collected. The imprudence of consenting to these unions is very glaring, and the mischiefs they have occasioned very manifest;

but I much fear that the remedy will not easily be found." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 4. Palace Yard.—“ I enclose a letter from the King’s Advocate, and two other letters on the same subject. These papers involve a most important and pressing consideration, and therefore I am anxious to learn *to-day* your general sentiments respecting them; and if you incline to correct and adopt the suggestions so well stated by Sir John Nicholls (which suggestions appear to me to be an improved and efficient extension of the measures which we were proposing to pursue) I will either see Lord Howick, or will communicate to him the letter from the King’s Advocate. Sir Francis Vincent may then learn the result from me, and the whole may be arranged by a Minute of the Privy Council to be communicated to you for the approbation of the king’s government. It is the more pressing to decide, as many urgent applications are at present before me, and must be governed by this decision.”

*Confidential.* “ I have doubts as to the expediency of pushing the iron tax; and next as to the expediency of establishing the system of limited service by Act of Parliament, until its effect shall have been previously tried, by raising a few separate battallions; and lastly (which is a matter fit only for most private conversation), as to the expediency of meeting this same Parliament in another session.”

LORD HOLLAND to THE SAME.

1806, May 4.—“ I concur with you entirely in thinking that it is material to bring on the Bill you mention as soon as possible, and will secure, if I can, the attendance of the only three or four peers whom I know to be friends to such a measure. Darnley told me yesterday he should go into the country that day, and I did not press him to stay, because I thought that he was not a friend to it; but if I knew how far it was approved of at Carlton House, I could have a better guess whom it is prudent to canvass.”

*Postscript.*—“ Perhaps I shall have the pleasure of meeting you to-day at Lord Spencer’s, in which case we can talk over the matter, as I am not at present aware from *whence* it is that you apprehend much opposition to it.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, May 5. Downing Street.—“ I have renounced the trial, finding it impossible to go on without neglecting every other duty. As I am not aware of anything in the House to-day, I shall not come down; but I should be much obliged to you if you would in my name, fix the second reading of the

Foreign Slave Trade Bill for Wednesday next, and summon the House. The Duke of Clarence will probably press for a later day, but you must not give way; and if he objects to making the order to-day for the second reading on Wednesday, you must only confine yourself to a notice that I will on that day move the second reading." *Copy.*

*Private.* THE SAME to W. ELLIOT.

1806, May 5. Downing Street.—“Although I fully feel how desirable an arrangement would be, which would enable you to secure with Lord Mountnorris’s aid the two members for Wexford on a general election, yet there appears as yet so little prospects of seats at the disposal of the Government here, that you would not be safe in entering into any such engagements with Sir F. Flood, otherwise than provisionally, *i.e.* that if he is brought in here he will also do so and so in Wexford.

“We have had no explanation with Lord Abercorn; but as it seems finally determined to discharge the order for proceeding with Fox’s business, I fear that will drive him into direct hostility. It still remains with me to see the Lord Chancellor on the subject of that proceeding, but if he agrees in the opinion entertained by all the rest of the King’s servants in the House of Lords, I shall in a few days give notice of such a motion. When I see Mr. Fox I will speak to him about Stewart.

“I will certainly endeavour to see Claudius Beresford, unless, which I should rather fear, he commits himself at once to the Opposition which is so actively forming against us.

“I conversed with Lord Ellenborough since I wrote to you, and I find him quite of my opinion as to Johnson’s case. It is, however, of course a measure which I should of all others least like to take in opposition to the opinion of your Chancellor. Pray therefore speak to him again about it; if he is satisfied I shall feel no other difficulty.

“Newport will answer your revenue question, which we discussed together yesterday. We rejoice much at getting our Irish loan on such good terms.” *Copy.*

*Separate.* THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, May 5. Downing Street.—“Newport showed me a letter from G. Ponsonby in which he speaks of the late arrangement respecting 2nd and 3rd Serjeant in Ireland, and takes credit for his firmness in resisting some applications to do what he thought wrong on that subject, and desires Newport to assure me that in his recommendation for legal arrangements he always will conduct himself by the principles to which we all pledged ourselves to each other here. I think it may be useful if you were to mention to him how much I was gratified by the communication, and to assure him of

my fixed determination to adhere under all circumstances to that system, and to let nothing induce me to swerve from it. This subject becomes the more important because the arrangement in view for Johnson will of course open a vacancy on the Bench, and I shall look with extreme anxiety to the recommendation which we receive on that occasion, which I must consider, and which will certainly be considered by the world as the test of the sincerity of our professions on that subject. I well know that both the Lord Lieutenant and you feel on this head exactly as I do. Our credit is completely at stake on this point, and I am sure whenever it does come into discussion, you will tell me *all* that belongs to the different names that can be brought into question." *Copy.*

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 6. [Pall Mall.]—"I found the Duke of York yesterday, and heard his objections to our proposed reductions; and, though some of them were of no force, and all of them were taken *ad referendum*, yet there were some that rested on grounds of which, at the War Office at least, they ought to have been aware, and which are of a sort to require consideration.

"The objection is, that corps, though deficient in numbers of rank and file, always keep themselves complete in officers and non-commissioned officers; and that, of consequence, if you reduce their establishment, you put a number of officers on half-pay, which is a hardship; and discharge a number of serjeants and corporals, which is a loss to the service. There is the further effect that, by diminishing their means of recruiting, you contribute to keep them incomplete.

"To the first of these objections, I know not well what answer to make except that the corps are *not* always complete in officers and non-commissioned officers, and that, notwithstanding the reduction of their establishment, an order may be issued from the War Office directing them not to discharge any of those they have. A larger scope however must be given, possibly more than we have allowed, in order that, if recruiting should prove successful, the estimate may not fall short. The disadvantage to recruiting is one that must be submitted to, as it is in the case of the second battalions, which, if the other principle were followed, namely, that of augmenting recruiters in proportion to the want of recruits, should be raised to the same establishment as the first. The plea urged on behalf of the colonels was made out but lamely, and furnished, certainly, a strong argument, though much resisted in that view, for a change that must be hereafter considered in the system of army clothing.

"I don't know any compromise of this but that of taking the rates of establishment a little higher, without abandoning the principle of different rates, so as to be sure of covering the

future expense; and issuing an order, such as I before mentioned, from the War Office, empowering the regiments to keep all the non-commissioned officers which they at present have. There may be objections which one is not aware of even to this. I shall proceed to the War Office presently to endeavour to learn them, and will let you know the result of my enquiries."

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, May 6. Downing Street.—"The Primate's letter, a copy of which I had the honour of receiving from your grace this morning, seems so much to confirm the apprehensions which I had entertained as to the effect of a regal visitation undertaken under the present circumstances, that I cannot but feel anxious rather to try the effect of some other mode of enquiry before such a measure should be resorted to. If other attempts fail this may always be kept in our hands as a last resort, and it may perhaps be adopted with less inconvenience when the objects which we propose by it are more distinctly understood. My present impression would be, therefore, that our best proceeding would be in the following course: that your grace should write to the four archbishops transmitting to them a paper of instructions containing the points on which it is desired that they should, as early as may be convenient in the course of the present summer, prepare and transmit to your grace to be laid before the King's servants here, such information as may best enable them to arrange such measures as it may be expedient to propose to Parliament next session for the advantage, security, and encouragement of the established church in Ireland.

"The points mentioned in your grace's letter now before me are certainly those on which such instructions should principally turn. To them it might possibly be useful to add some consideration of the state of education, as far as relates to the charter and other Protestant schools. And the application being made to persons so well qualified both by station and character to advise the King's government on these subjects, it might possibly be useful expressly to desire what, at all events, would have been implied in such instructions. I mean that the archbishops should not merely state to your grace the facts which they may collect on the result of their enquiries, but should also give us the benefit of their opinions as to the safest, easiest, and most effectual mode of removing all such inconveniences as now operate to the prejudice of the establishment.

"This course would be so consonant to the general tenor and spirit of the instructions under which your grace acts in Ireland, and to the system which was settled here by personal communication between you and the King's servants before you left this country, that I should not imagine any

fresh official direction would be wanted to authorise its being immediately adopted. If, however, your grace should think that it would receive any additional sanction from an official correspondence upon it, I know enough of the sentiments entertained by Lord Spencer (in common indeed with the rest of the King's servants) to be very sure that, as soon as we shall learn that these suggestions are approved by your grace, with any improvements that you may make upon them, not a moment will be lost in receiving the King's pleasure for instructing you officially upon them." *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 7. Admiralty.—“I am always unwilling to trouble you with applications, but I cannot avoid sending the enclosed letter, to which I only request such an answer as may be without inconvenience to yourself. The writer is the son of Sir Grey Cooper, and if other engagements do not stand in the way, I should be very glad to have it in my power to serve him.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, May 7. Dublin Castle.—“Your letters of the 5th instant (by express) have this moment reached me, and I shall not fail to attend to their contents.

“Lord Mount-Norris is returned to England, having previously declared his intention of supporting Mr. Colclough, and professing to rely upon the future liberality of Government. This circumstance will, I imagine, secure Mr. Colclough's success on the present occasion.

“The office of *custos rotularum* is therefore still vacant, and I must fairly acknowledge to you that I derive much satisfaction that it was not necessary to confer it on Lord Mount-Norris, as he is not held in that estimation in the country which would have rendered it reputable for the Government to have put him at the head of the magistrates of the county, where the commission of the peace requires much revision.”

*Postscript.*—“In a list, which has been sent to me by Sir Francis Vincent, I perceive John Claudius Beresford is put down as having voted in the minority. As he is still in Dublin, I presume Lord George Beresford is the person who was in the division.”

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806, May 8. Downing Street.—“The appointment of his grooms of the bed-chamber is a matter which the King has at all times reserved so much to himself that it is very doubtful whether he may afford me any opportunity of expressing to him any wish of mine respecting this or any future vacancy.

If he does, I should have great pleasure in promoting your wishes on the subject, and in that case certainly would not fail to mention Mr. Cooper's name to him. But I do not think that I could with propriety, or indeed with much chance of success, be the first to open such a conversation with him." *Copy.*

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1806, May 9. Downing Street.—“The enclosed letter from Fulton refers to some new proposal of his, the particulars of which he has not sent to me. On reconsideration I do not think that the thing can well be settled by any one individual acting under the orders of Government, as such person must in fact have constant recourse to us for his instruction in all he does or says, and we shall only increase instead of lessening our trouble in this troublesome business.

“What I would propose would be to refer the whole to two or three arbitrators to be named between us and Fulton, who should have full power to decide—1st, what sum should be paid to Fulton now to get rid of him and his projects altogether; or, 2ndly, if they think he has a further claim to be heard on his submarine project, then that they should name two artillery and two sea officers to whom the whole should be disclosed, and on whose report the arbitrators should decide; 3rdly, what additional compensation should be paid to Fulton for the discovery, either in consequence of the stipulation made with him by the last Government, or as a just reward for the value of the discovery; or, 4thly, that if Mr. Fulton insists on some actual compensation previous to making the discovery, the arbitrators should have power to settle what is just and reasonable so to be paid.

“I have thought for our arbitrators of W. Dundas, Sargeant, or Bond; but if any better names occur to you, I can of course have no preference as to the choice of names, supposing you think the thing itself right.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 9. Palace Yard.—“The King's Advocate passed three or four hours with me yesterday evening, and in the result we send the enclosed papers for your correction.

“I would propose that, on receiving the concurrence of Mr. Fox, *number one* should issue *immediately*. It is very urgent in respect to the cargoes, and eventual export of our manufactures and colonial produce.

“*Number two* is also a pressing consideration. *Number three* is a great and most important measure; after much discussion and examination, I have no doubt that it is right, though still open to many corrections and improvements both in expression and in substance; and if it be right the sooner it shall be carried into effect the better.

“Shall I wait on you in the course of the morning either in Downing Street or at the Treasury? The Court will not sit after one o'clock, unless something unforeseen should happen.

“If we can settle the drafts this morning, perhaps the shortest way would be to have a Cabinet, either this evening or to-morrow immediately after the trial, in the Council Chamber, when the King's Advocate and I would attend.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, May 9. Downing Street.—“Your having got the House adjourned is a great relief to me, for I was really almost knocked up, and have every day the painful conviction that I am twenty years older than I was twenty years ago.

“We have had a Cabinet this morning, and in it much discussion upon your papers. The two first we have no difficulty about, and are clear that the sooner they are executed the better it will be. As to the last, I am sorry to say that the more I consider it the less I am pleased with it. I was very much in love with the idea at first, but I fear more and more that it must be abandoned.

“Some resolution however should be definitely settled on the subject, and we have therefore agreed to have a Cabinet here on Monday at one, at which we should wish to have your assistance and the King's Advocate's. Perhaps you will have the goodness to apprise him of it. I return the two first papers, but as I conclude you have a copy of the third, I keep it for further examination of it.

“Can you figure to yourself any ground on which America would be induced to consent to our establishing our consuls in her ports as a tribunal before whom her merchants must prove the facts of neutral property and neutral growth, in order to legalize their subsequent voyages.

“And yet, short of this, what other proof could satisfactorily establish those facts? Or would even that mode of proof satisfactorily establish it?” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 10. Downing Street.—“Under all the circumstances of our return from Westminster Hall at a quarter before three, I settled with the House (after much reluctance on the part of Lord Hawkesbury, Duke of Clarence, and Lord Westmorland) to go through the committee on the Slave Trade Bill to-day, and to report; after which I moved the third reading for Tuesday next, when you [are] to have a debate, after inserting amendments if you have any; all which I hope you will approve.

“And we have adjourned, which is a great circumstance to me at least.”



## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, May 13. Palace Yard.—“I have received a letter from the firm of Van Notten, desiring instructions respecting the 16,000*l.* per year, which, by the act of the 43rd of the King, was in the names of certain trustees, ‘*in trust for the House of Orange during the King’s will and pleasure.*’ Is it meant that it should be continued to the successor in the whole? Or will the King incline to give any part to the daughter (the hereditary Princess of Brunswick)? Or under the words ‘*House of Orange*’ can any part be given to ‘*la princesse mère*’? Perhaps you will think proper to mention the subject to his Majesty.

“May it not be a material aid at this moment towards the *omnium gatherum* of taxes, to bring into play the unappropriated gain by the redemption of the land tax? The stock redeemed by that operation to the first of this month was 22,500,000*l.*, including about 25,000*l.* not yet paid in. The interest thereon is 675,000*l.*, of which the public has a gain of one-tenth, 67,500*l.*, to which may be added all the accumulation of nine years. On the whole I conceive that it may be valued at about 80,000*l.* per annum, of which you might in this year very moderately appropriate 74,000*l.* per annum, leaving the remainder to the project for redeeming the land tax on about 1,500 small livings; which would be a most creditable and beneficial measure, and which is more especially desirable, as the redemption cannot otherwise be accomplished. I really think that this paragraph may deserve your attention.

“I look not without uneasiness to the military measures; and more especially so, as I cannot help thinking that a little practicability in those who advance them might obviate all embarrassment.

“The superintendent of the mail coaches is engaged in his tour through different parts of the island, and has sent to me a very satisfactory statement of his remarks on the harvests in prospective. I have forwarded it to Sir Joseph Banks.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, May 13. Downing Street.—“I enclose copies of a letter from Vereker and of my answer. You will see he has taken his part decidedly with the Government, and I confess I think it desirable that his wishes should be complied with, at least as to the grant of the office. The question of the lands may be a separate one, and you certainly ought to know what it really is that is asked. If the value be not great except as it may affect borough interest at Limerick, the Lord Lieutenant will probably agree with me in thinking that the whole grant may not improperly be acceded to.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 14. Palace Yard.—“Though the opposition to the Slave Bill is much broken by the manner in which we have

quietly forwarded it to the third reading, I submit to you the propriety of circular notes for an attendance on Friday.

"I have received from Mr. Windham the communication of despatches of the 6th March from Sir Eyre Coote at Jamaica, expressing strongly and decidedly the necessity of continuing the importations on vessels from the United States; and without waiting for instructions, and in despite of Lord Camden's letter, he had actually continued the proclamation to the 31st December.

"In the mean time the Speaker is raising a doubt in his own mind whether our West India Bill must not originate in the House of Commons.

"I wrote very seriously and explicitly to Mr. Chalmers on his indiscretion in making his clerkship and agency incompatible with each other. I received a long and penitential letter, full of attachment to the present government; and since, a request to resign his colony agency. He has in truth done no harm; but certainly was very culpable; but he is seventy."

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 15. [Pall Mall.]—"I must return to the charge upon the subject of my friend Hippisley, especially after what you said of consulting the wishes of Lord Auckland. I really cannot consent that the wishes of Lord Auckland or anyone are to have anything to do in this, even if it had not been a point settled; and, as to the King, after the many gulps that he has taken, the peerages, the earldoms, the baronetcies, the jobs without number that he has swallowed, it will be very odd if he should be choked at last by appointing a person who is a baron<sup>et</sup>, a member of Parliament, a man of nine or ten thousand a year honourably acquired, and of marked qualifications for the situation in question, to a seat in the Committee of Council.

"It must be great want of skill in the hand that administers the dose, and which I put therefore entirely out of the question.

"They have been questioning me, as you will see, to-day upon the subject of thanks for the Cape, to which I answered, as we had agreed; taking care to mark that it was from no want of impression as to the merit of the troops, who had done, and in the best manner, every thing that was to be done, and to whom it was not to be imputed that they had not more to do."

#### *Private.* VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH TO THE SAME.

1806, May 15. Clifford Street.—"I have great pleasure in expressing to you my strong persuasion that, if the period of military service should be extended to ten years during war, the measure will be carried by a great and satisfied

majority. *All* that I have heard since the last meeting of Cabinet has fully convinced me that the objection to the right of withdrawing at the expiration of seven years, in time of war, is nearly universal; though I am far from thinking that the numbers on a division would furnish any thing like a correct criterion of its prevalence. On the contrary, the measure might be carried; but certainly not with zeal and good humour. I hope we shall meet soon to discuss this subject again; the sooner a decision is taken the better, as the knowledge of it will fix the wavering, but reconcile many who are now dissatisfied."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, May 17. Palace Yard.—“I will not trouble you with some very voluminous remonstrances from principal merchants in London, against including the town of Bremen in the letters of marque and reprisals; nor will I send to you the copies of a recent dispatch from Mr. Walpole, and of a letter from the Senate of Bremen, which Mr. Fox sent yesterday to the Council office. The substance of those papers is ‘that Bremen claims to be considered in the same predicament as Hamburgh; that it is important to the people of Bremen to have permission for the Greenland whalers to proceed on their voyages; and that our commerce is deeply interested in keeping open the communication with Bremen.’ I have answered to Mr. Hankey, Mr. Hayman, Sir Charles Price and several others who have applied to me on this subject, that so long as Bremen shall remain in the avowed possession of Prussian troops, I greatly doubt whether the King’s Ministers will be of opinion that Bremen can be considered otherwise than as a place in the immediate control of Prussia. Still, however, they are extremely urgent in their representations. I feel it necessary therefore to submit the subject through your Lordship to the Cabinet; and it occurs to me, whilst I am writing, that a middle course might be taken; that Bremen may for the present be taken out of the Order of Council for reprisals, but still remain subject to the embargo, until further advices shall be received. I incline to think that this would be the best mode. I have written to Mr. Fawkener and to Sir Francis Vincent to take care that the *Gazette* shall not be issued until the decision of Cabinet shall be given.

“Will you have the goodness to call the particular attention of Mr. Fox and Lord Henry Petty to the American Bill? If the Speaker shall think it necessary for our Bill to be laid aside, and to originate in the House of Commons (which I hope may not be the case), the standing order of the Commons will require that, as a commercial Bill, it must originate in a Committee of the whole House. It will on that committee be attempted by Mr. Rose and others to call witnesses to contravert the alledged necessity on which the Bill is grounded,

an attempt inconsistent with the notoriety of the fact, and with all the Acts of the last thirteen years. *It is very desirable that such a proposal should be decidedly resisted.*

“I have written this morning to Sir John Nicholl on some points which Lord Howick had mentioned to me respecting the blockade, and also as to the expediency of excepting the Baltic in the letters of marque.”

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 17. Camelford House.—“I send you a paper of observations which will furnish you with a general view of the questions respecting my government; as it is merely for private use, and has only been sent to some of my friends, I wish you would keep it in one of your boxes, and not suffer it to be exposed upon your table.

“It is very desirable that Government should employ some effort to prevent the Court of Proprietors from coming to a sudden vote of censure upon me on Wednesday; my only wish is that they omit all mention of me for the present; I have no objection to any compliments which they may choose to pay to their Directors, provided they be not paid at my expense. Unless you give immediate directions to King, and speak to Lord Minto on this point, great mischief may arise; pray give your orders to-morrow; Wednesday next is the day.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, May 18. Palace Yard.—“I am this moment returned from an excursion in a crowded sociable to Eden Farm. I never saw my shrubberies, fields, trees, and garden in greater beauty.

“But my temper was tried by an incursion on the part of the ship-owners, who are (in my opinion most unreasonably) importunate to have the blockade maintained vigorously against Danes, Hamburgers, Bremeners and Kniphauseners, in order to secure to British shipping the benefit of carrying cargoes to Tonningen [Tonning]. I declined entering much into the discussion, but I could not help intimating a doubt, whether the request made is not in substance a proposal to sacrifice the interests of many manufacturers and exporters to a narrow and precarious speculation in favour of a few ship-owners. I referred the consideration to the Committee of Trade which meets to-morrow. If you think that my general view of the subject is erroneous, I shall be glad to have a line. I should add that the memorialists are not inconsiderable in any respect, and make up in earnestness what is wanting in fairness.

“I shall be at the Office for Trade to-morrow from half past eleven and probably for four hours; which I mention in case you should wish to see me. The King’s Advocate will meet me there at one.

“Lord Holland has sent to me an application from a merchant who wishes to have a licence to trade direct from this country to St. Domingo. I have desired him to specify, whether in neutral or in British vessels. I presume that if the explanation shall open any new export for our manufactures, it ought to be encouraged.

“I wrote this morning to the Speaker to propose a special meeting of the trustees of the Hunterian Museum (I believe that you are one of them, *ex officio*) for the purpose of considering what can be done to make that valuable collection more useful. The Speaker, Lord Spencer, Sir Joseph Bankes, Lord St. Helens, Mr. Horne and Dr. Baillie concurred with the last year’s trustees in some arrangements on this subject; but means are wanting, though the Corporation of Surgeons is liberal; and to-night Lord St. Helens informs me that the curators are appointed to wait on your lordship and Lord Henry Petty. If they should make out a case to deserve consideration, perhaps it would be best to make some reference to the trustees of the collection, or to hold a meeting.

“Another piece of business, as you want work! I wish, in some practicable hour, that you could receive Mr. Wyatt, the Speaker, and me as special commissioners for the Westminster and Palace Yard improvements.

“Still further! there are at the Treasury our unanswered reports on the subject of ‘locating lands in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick’; ‘the bounty on Newfoundland fish’; ‘the establishing of warehouses at Gibraltar and Malta’; ‘the Marine Insurance proposal’; ‘the expense of the building for the new Mint’; ‘the silver coinage’; and other things. If I could meet you any day for one quiet hour with Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Wickham, I think that it might save much time, and be productive of some very important measures.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, May 18. Downing Street.—“We settled yesterday that Bremen should for the present be excepted from the order of reprisals. The order must therefore be altered to that effect before it is published.

“We have also fixed Tuesday instead of Monday for the second reading of the Parish Repeal Bill; this will give me one day more to keep my foot quiet, which will, I trust, be sufficient.” *Copy.*

#### THE SAME TO C. J. FOX.

1806, May 19. Downing Street.—“I enclose a letter from Lord Lauderdale. I trust it is impossible he could imagine that, in desiring Lord Minto to converse with him on the business in question, I had any other idea than of our governing ourselves entirely by his wishes in a matter in which he is so much concerned.

“Whether his name is negatived on being formally proposed, or is withdrawn after having been so much brought into question, the defeat of the government is equally manifest.

“I have not the smallest hesitation as to vacating Sir G. Barlow’s appointment. If this is done I can hardly conceive that the Directors can find any fit person who would undertake the situation in known opposition to the wishes of government; but such names might certainly be put forward as it would be difficult for us to object to.

“If the Directors would be content with their present triumph, and would agree to send Lauderdale out in October, *that* might be worth accepting as a compromise rather than that we should be wholly defeated. But this is not at all likely, as I understand; and indeed what I mentioned to you from the beginning of the spirit which has been raised up among the Directors by the countenance which has been shewn them in their attack on Lord Wellesley is, I think, daily becoming more manifest. Their intention is to resume for themselves, and win for the Court of Proprietors that share of the political government of India, which it was the opinion of all parties in 1784 to take from them.

“Pray let me know what you think can be done, and whether the business ought to be allowed to come on to-morrow or not. I shall be at home till two, and am then going to drive out for an hour or two, not being yet stout enough on my legs to be able to walk.” *Copy.*

#### LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, May 19. Downing Street.—“I am as little disposed in this case as in any other to give in to Lord Hawkesbury’s doctrine that commerce is to be sacrificed to navigation, the principal to the accessory.

“I can see no objection to granting to any of our merchants licenses to trade to St. Domingo. Indeed I a little doubted whether this could not be best done by an Order in Council declaring the trade free to those parts of that island which are not in the possession of the King’s enemies.

“There is a consideration which Wickham would explain to you, whenever he sees you, and which makes me think that we must have an Act of Parliament to legalize all voyages made under such licenses. I had desired him to converse with the King’s Advocate upon it. If he should be at the Treasury to-day, when Sir J[ohn] N[icholls] is with you, you had best send to him.

“I have settled with Lord Henry Petty to see a deputation from the College of Surgeons to-morrow. They will leave a petition with us. I am not aware that any meeting of trustees will be wanted here, but if it is, we could hold it here any morning this week.

“The Palace Yard improvements I am much interested in, and wish you would fix with the Speaker any morning that you and he could call here, provided it is before twelve.

“You oblige me much by sending me notices of all unanswered business at the Treasury, as I have determined to make that Office as remarkable for punctuality as it has hitherto been for the contrary.” *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 20. Dublin Castle.—“John Claudius Beresford is going very soon to London, and will call on you. As you will be able to ascertain from Lord Ponsonby his view of the local interest of his family, you will have the means of deciding the relation in which Government is to stand with respect to Lord Waterford. The Beresfords begin to be impatient for an answer, as all their connections, with the exception of Lord George, have hitherto withdrawn themselves from Parliament, and they will not like to remain much longer in a state of neutrality.

“Mr. Knox, the candidate for the county of Tyrone, has taken his departure for England. As a life has lately fallen in, upon which much of Lord Abercorn’s influence, both in Donegal and Tyrone, depended, it is thought Mr. Knox has a fair prospect of success. His object is to obtain through the interference of Government the support of Lord Belmore, Lord Caledon, and Lord Mountjoy, and Mr. Stewart’s second votes. Lord Belmore is in London, and would I am convinced, if you were to ask him, give his interest to Mr. Knox; and Lord Caledon might be secured through Alexander, the chairman of the Committee of Supply. Stewart’s second votes also might possibly be procured by the intervention of Fox. If Lord Abercorn is decidedly hostile to the present Administration, I imagine you will deem it advantageous to countenance Knox’s pretensions; in which case it will be highly desirable that you should have an early communication with him. He is, I believe, related to Lord Spencer.

“The salary and the rent of the lands annexed to the office of Constable of the Castle of Limerick amount together to about 800*l. per annum*. The lands are inseparable from the office. As Cockayne, the present constable, has not taken any active share in politics, the Duke of Bedford felt scrupulous about depriving him of his office, lest the *precedent* of his removal should induce very *embarrassing claims* for other dismissals.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, May 20. Palace Yard.—“The Chancellor and I were driven yesterday to a discussion of more than an hour with Lord Stanhope; who insists on the printing of the Bank books, from which some extracts were given at the trial. We objected

the length, inutility, irrelevancy, delay, and also the inconvenience of publishing such accounts beyond what is necessary in the opinion either of the managers or defendant. At last we divided, *seven to one*; and then he gave notice that he would bring the same subject forward to-day in the form of a complaint against the printers for not having obeyed my original motion to print the '*evidence parole and in writing.*' All which I mention as I am not likely to be at the House till towards seven o'clock. I am obliged this morning to attend a Land Tax Board, and also to be at the Council Office on the quarantine laws, after which I want a couple of hours for some domestic matters.

"I must trouble you when convenient to let me know the King's pleasure on the 16,000*l. per annum* to the Prince of Orange.

"We have struck Bremen out of the order of Council for reprisals; the next difficulty is how to erase it from the instrument under the Great Seal. Sir John Nicholl is very much indisposed, and cannot give his assistance. Still, however, at some risk of small mistakes, I made a large clearance yesterday."

#### W. WILBERFORCE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 20. Palace Yard.—"Your last friendly note touched a string which had already begun to vibrate in my heart, since the decision of the lords on the Foreign Slave Bill, and I have been ruminating on the subject myself, and as opportunity offered, have been talking it over with a very few intelligent friends of sentiments congenial to my own. Mr. William Smith I find has been talking the matter over with Mr. Fox, who, as Mr. Smith told me, said he would consult with your lordship on the expediency of trying the main question in this session. Mr. Stephen, who is accustomed to think and state his opinions on paper more than in any other way, has sent me a manuscript which states very clearly some of the leading considerations, though I own in my judgment not all of them, especially not all those which might be urged in favour of the attempt. It contains nothing which will not have occurred to your lordship's own mind, if you have reflected on all the subject, but as the perusal of it will take only a few moments, I will enclose it, that your lordship may run it over if you please. I own that, considering all the unknown possibilities of things, I cannot help assigning great weight to the consideration of the present time being, in some respects of leading importance, less unfavourable (for I dare not use a stronger term) than possibly (I sincerely hope it is only possibly and not probably) next year will be. An idea however has forcibly struck my own mind which I wish your lordship to consider very seriously; it is, that if the measure is to be brought forward at all, it had better be, not by me, but by Mr. Fox. The circumstance of your



patronizing the measure in the House of Lords and Mr. Fox in the House of Commons will have, I trust, great weight in neutralizing some, who might otherwise be active enemies, and in converting into decided friends, some who might otherwise be neutral. I have for many years heard it stated, an objection which this arrangement would remove; and I am sure I need not say to your lordship, that if the measure itself should receive, as I think it would, material benefit from my relinquishing the conduct of it, I should be far more than compensated for the personal sacrifice. I have just thrown out this idea to Mr. Fox in the House of Commons and he said he would turn it in his mind. Let me only use the freedom to suggest that if the measure be to come forward at all this session, no time is to be lost.

“I will also mention another conception which has occurred to me, as possibly not a bad resource, if on actually trying the measure, we find more objections and difficulties than we now anticipate to arise. This is, that we might in that event, accede to the wishes of some of the lords, and remit the subject to a committee of enquiry above stairs, which might commence at least, and prosecute to a certain degree its labours, though it should not be able to bring them to a conclusion. Indeed, if farther examination be to be allowed, which I own I deprecate (and I admired your laying in betimes your objection to the unreasonableness of it the other night) it never can be finished in the same session in which it begins, and therefore it may not be amiss to make a beginning, that when the next session commences we may be so far on our journey; but, as I have already said, I see many objections to remedying the enquiry.

“I ought to apologize for such a desultory letter, but I know that both from your zeal for the cause, and your friendly feelings towards myself, you will construe it kindly. May the great disposer of all events direct you to a right conclusion, and in this and many other instances render your administration a blessing not only to your own country, but to the whole world.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO W. ELLIOT.

1806, May 21. Downing Street.—“Lord Longueville has voted against us by proxy in the House of Lords and Colonel Longfield in the House of Commons. Would there be any serious inconvenience to Government in considering him as an enemy and acting towards him accordingly?

“Sir L. Parsons is absent though in office. Is there any reason for this that ought reasonably to be admitted. Are there any other absentees of a similar description that you know of? Why was Lord O’Neile’s proxy against us.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, May 21. Downing Street.—“Mr. Bisset who is a prebendary of Armagh was a fellow collegian of mine, and I lived much with him. I believe him to be a person of character such as would do credit to the favour of Government, and as such, I have recommended him to five or six successive Lords Lieutenant, but regency and union have always stood in the way. He has preferment besides his prebend, and would not therefore be entirely a burden on Government in any thing they could do for him; and if, on enquiry, he appears as deserving as I believe him, it would really give me much pleasure to have been of use to him. I wrote a few lines on this subject to-day to the Duke of Bedford, and I have desired Bisset to call upon you when he returns to Ireland, and to state to you his situation and views, being very sure that, as far as he can be assisted, you will be glad to do it for my sake.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 21. Palace Yard.—“You will have learned that, including proxies, we divided ninety-seven to forty. It was meant on the part of our opponents to be a trial of strength; every exertion had been used, and Messrs. Canning, Long, Huskisson attended to see the result. The royal dukes divided with us, except the dukes of York and Cumberland who went away. Lords Arden and St. Helens were absent, and with proxies in their pockets. Only two bishops present, Clonfert and Bristol; twenty-eight absent!!!

“I recollect the following in the minority; Dukes of Buccleugh, Beaufort and Montrose; Lords Abercorne, Aboync, Bathurst, Bridgewater, Breadalbane, Camden, Chatham, Caledon (with Lord O’Neile’s proxy), Douglas, Glasgow, Eliot, Eldon, Hawkesbury, Hertford, Limerick, Lowther, Montagu, Hardwicke, Montrose, Powys, Rutland, Rolle, Mulgrave, St. Asaph, Westmoreland. The Committee will not be opposed to-day, but these are earnest preparations to make a better appearance on the army measure.

“Could you appoint the Speaker and me to-morrow, any time between ten and twelve for a few minutes; after which I would leave him with you?

“What answer shall I give to the Princess of Orange?

“If I do not hear to the contrary to-day before twelve, I will suppose that the Lubeck vessels are to be released. There are nine under embargo.

“It is certainly deserving of consideration whether an order should not be issued as to St. Domingo, of the kind mentioned in your lordship’s note. In the mean time we will give the licenses.”

## HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE SAME.

1806, May 21. Carlton House.—“I am this morning favoured with your obliging note, and if the *business* presses extremely, I will be with your lordship between nine and ten o'clock to-morrow morning; but, should it admit of any small delay, I will be with you in Downing Street in the evening towards ten o'clock; but I must *insist* upon your not stirring out, as it may materially retard your recovery, which is most essential to the public.”

## LORD GRENVILLE TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, May 21. Downing Street.—“I am this moment honoured with your Royal Highness's most gracious and condescending letter, and beg leave to assure your Royal Highness how deeply sensible I am of your great goodness in allowing me to have the honour of seeing your Royal Highness here. The business which I wished to be allowed to mention is by no means of so pressing a nature as to be intruded on your Royal Highness at any time not perfectly convenient. And I would therefore be at your Royal Highness's order either at the hour to-morrow evening which is mentioned in the letter I have just had the honour to receive, or at any time on Friday that your Royal Highness may prefer.” *Copy.*

## GEORGE III TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 21. Windsor Castle.—“The King entirely approves of the pension of sixteen thousand pounds *per annum* being continued to the present Prince of Orange, as he considers that the losses which that family has sustained fully entitle it to the support of this country. His Majesty regrets that Lord Grenville still suffers from his accident. It had been his intention to have put into Lord Grenville's hands the enclosed correspondence, but not to have spoken to him upon it until he should have had time to consider the subject fully. It is now sent for his perusal, in order that he may be prepared for what His Majesty may have to say to him when next he sees him.”

## W. WINDHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, May 21. [Pall Mall.]—“Though the Volunteer estimate has been drawn up according to the original plan, there would be no difficulty, I apprehend, on that account, the sum being nearly the same, of making the change, if it were thought desirable, suggested by Lord Winchelsea. But I cannot conceive that any change is now necessary, or that that would be an eligible one. The argument that we do not wish to disband the Volunteer corps, and that the sum

before allowed, 20s. will not supply their clothing, would go to this; that, under the principle of not wishing to disband them, we must augment their allowances to whatever amount was necessary for keeping them together. This augmentation we should make under Lord Winchelsea's suggestion; for it is in fact to augment their allowance, to give them the same sum with a diminution of their duty. Part of Lord Winchelsea's plan is to allow for a day's exercise 1s. 6d., instead of 1s., upon the sole condition of the days of exercise being successive, which in towns would be a mere boon of 6d. a day.

"But the great objection to the measure is the principle of it; I mean that of paying the rich for doing, in their own way what the poor are obliged to do in the way prescribed by the law. Allowances to Volunteers at all are sufficiently liable to this objection, and were opened therefore by me in a way to betray a consciousness of its force. One was obliged to make a sort of shuffling plea that it was granted in consideration of their former services. But the proposed alteration goes to that point, and to nothing else. They are to have an increased allowance for clothing, while their days of exercise are to be reduced not only below what they were, taking in the days of inspection, but below those of the trained men. It will not be the fact, either, that the corps will generally disband for want of an additional allowance for clothing. They will clothe themselves in a cheaper manner; they will continue for some time to wear their old clothing; many of them have remains of their former subscriptions. The fact, I believe, will be that, between these considerations and the effect of the Training Act, the number of the Volunteers will remain quite as great as it can be wished to be.

"Part of what is said above will apply to another question, not necessary to be now discussed, of the regulations to be made for Volunteers corps with a view to their exemptions. If the condition of exemption is mere service, you will fill the corps with not the most eligible class of people. If part is to be expense, it is Parliament that must regulate what it should be.

"The mode of carrying into execution the Training Act as between the Lords Lieutenant and the Inspector General, where a choice might exist, I do not like to contend about. Take care only that, by throwing too much into the hands of Lords Lieutenant instead of an Office that works for pay, must submit to directions, and is at the distance of a few streets, you do not risk to a great degree the success of the whole measure.

"I am amazingly afraid that the alteration made in the principal measure, in the extent to which it is carried, will not be for its good. I am sure it will not be for the credit of the proposers. I will never undertake to maintain that three

years is only an extension of the principle contained in six months. A little more would prove that we might continue, without a departure from our principle, to enlist men as we do.

“I cannot say that I like the prospect of to-day, when this and other of our changes must in part be disclosed.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 22. Palace Yard.—“Consistently with the licenses which we have granted and are granting to other mercantile houses, we can in some respects do more than Sir Francis Baring desires. In other parts of his requisition, he should not urge us beyond our usual restrictions.

“We yesterday gave to Mr. Buller a licence to a considerable amount to send in a neutral vessel from Cadiz to Spanish America a cargo of British manufactures, with an assortment of foreign goods not to exceed  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole (he pressed hard for  $\frac{1}{4}$ ); *such cargo not being enemy's property*. The restriction last stated is necessary for the protection of the cargo. The articles in Sir Francis Baring's specification might all be brought within the proportion required, except perhaps quicksilver, in which he might (I think) be accommodated. He might also be allowed by the licenses to bring back not merely the amount of the proceeds of the outward bound cargo in cochineal, but also any quantity of silver to the extent of double the value of the outward bound cargo, such silver not being enemy's property; and the license may be in force for eighteen months. It would be necessary that a secret memorial should be sent to the Council (through your lordship or to me) as the particulars of these transactions must be duly registered. And the memorial should exhibit the estimated value of the British manufactures proposed to be sent. The King's Advocate is to meet me at the Office for Trade to-morrow about twelve o'clock, and would settle the details. A specification of the cargo must also be endorsed on the licenses.

“The Committee of Council addressed yesterday a short minute to the Treasury, recommending a bill to be brought in this session into Parliament (by Lord H. Petty or Sir John Newport) to give a free intercourse and interchange respecting every species of grain between Great Britain and Ireland; such bill to be printed and circulated in order to its being resumed and carried into effect in the next session; and consequently to make a further and important step towards the completion of the Union. These are *imperial* works.

“I suppose that Lord Howick has fully apprised you of a plan which we are concocting relative to Greenwich Hospital, and the Chest of Chatham.

“The Duke of Montrose means to make a (peevis) attack to-day on the Franking Act. I think that I can meet it, without troubling your lordship to come to the House.

“The Speaker and I are to attend you to-day at half before twelve.”

LORD ERSKINE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 22.—“As my friend Mr. Phineas Bond owes all his fortunes to your lordship, and as I know that he feels as he ought to do upon that subject, I take the liberty to ask your protection for him upon the only occasion which may present itself for his return to Europe, which he has long been most anxious to accomplish; I mean the establishment mentioned last night by Lord Henry Petty in the House of Commons. Mr. Bond has now been many years in America, and has served this country and felt all its claims in that country perhaps too acutely; because he has an enthusiasm for every British interest, which makes him almost too stubborn for the present condition of things. He is a most able accountant, and perhaps better qualified for the office of a commissioner than any man that could be found; and as Government has uniformly made provision for faithful servants, it would not only afford an opportunity of doing it without burthen to the public, but without even any weight on the patronage of Government, as his office, which is generally for life, would become vacant, and would be, *for many*, a far more eligible appointment than the one to which Mr. Bond would be removed.

“I should have, perhaps, acquainted myself first as to whether this matter was in your lordship’s department before I gave you the trouble of reading my letter; but as the head of his Majesty’s councils, I consider *nothing to be out of it*, and that a word from your lordship would be decisive. There is yet another advantage. The situation of America is most critical, and we may have negotiations there of a very critical nature upon principles which may require some change of persons. I asked my friend Mr. Fox in a most anxious manner, three months ago, to send my eldest son *as envoy*, not as *ambassador*, to America, and he seemed to think that his connection with Mr. Bond would be unfavourable. His connection with him is nothing but affection. He has no influence that could disturb him in the exercise of his duties. He is 32 years of age, has been four years in America, is acquainted intimately with all the considerable persons there, and his wife’s family are most extensively connected, and I can venture to be quite sure that it would be a most popular appointment. I only mention it to your lordship as it is connected with the subject of Phineas Bond, because whatever Mr. Fox does or forbears from doing will be equally-satisfactory to me, having the most perfect reliance on his friendship, and never wishing that any relation or friend of mine should receive anything from Government unless where they were capable of being more eminently useful to the public than others standing in competition with them.”

*Private.* VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH TO THE SAME.

1806, May 22. Clifford Street.—“ Bathurst has just called upon me to express his earnest and anxious wish that his brother may be appointed one of the additional commissioners for auditing the public accounts. He is *eminently* qualified for such a situation. Of his good sense, his talents for business, and industry, I can confidently speak from personal knowledge and experience. I should have called to-day in Downing Street, but am far from well.”

## LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, May 23. Palace Yard.—“ The blank license shall be sent to you this morning, in a form to be communicated. The parties will have a very profitable speculation, but of course would have been glad to have had it on terms still more profitable.

“ Having two sons well worthy to be employed, I certainly am not bound to advert to the sons of others; but it just occurs to me (though I suppose too late) that Charles Moore would have been well suited to the new commission of military accounts. He is independent in fortune, of the fairest moral character, and highly esteemed by Mr. Canning, and his contemporaries. His late father had a sort of promise to some appointment for him from Lord Sidmouth. I know nothing of his views, nor how far he now looks to any office of this description, but I should not be sorry to see him *out* of Parliament; and he is aware, I believe, that his seat at Heytesbury will, at the next election, go to my son, who is zealously attached to your Government, and to all its connections, and who by his character and activity of mind would materially contribute to keep the Woodstock and Oxford representations, and many others, in the right line.

“ The Duke of Montrose yesterday had the prudence to withdraw all opposition to the Franking Bill; but his bench was well filled, and with a disposition to give us as much trouble as possible on every subject.”

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1806, May 25. Rochampton.—“ I have had this morning, for my sins, a very long visit from M. de Jacobi; and he seemed desirous to proceed to Dropmore, but I recommended to him rather to write to you, and I am persuaded you will think that I gave good advice.

“ He is desirous that permission should be given to the Prussian Company at Embden to send through our line of blockade about three score vessels employed annually in the herring fishery, and to return with their cargoes unmolested. He used all his eloquence to persuade me that such a complaisance on our part would not only do honour to the cause of humanity, but would conciliate the mind of the King of

Prussia. I apprised him, that I was not ignorant that the produce of the fishery in question, though partly for the sustenance of the poorer classes in Germany, is a principal article of sustenance (during a part of the year) for the Prussian army. In the result, and after an interchange of much *persiffage* (unavoidable in all conversations with Jacobi) I told him that the permission in question was entirely *une affaire d'état*; that if your lordship and his Majesty's confidential ministers could reconcile it to policy as well as to philanthropy to accede to what is asked, there would be no delay in the details to be done either at the Council Office or the Admiralty. We parted with the following words: '*Mais, Milord, au moins la moitié.*' '*Mais, M. le Baron, sous le Gouvernement actuel, on ne fait pas des choses à moitié. Tout ou rien.*'

"I have written a few lines to Mr. Fox, and shall be glad to know what you decide, on or before Wednesday. I have also written to the King's Advocate.

"Buonaparte will some fine morning take some new turn as to the northern commerce, which may overset all that we are doing. In the mean time, in so anomalous a mode of making war, new embarrassments are arising from hour to hour; and I receive great assistance from the Advocate in parrying or modifying them. What shall we do as to our licenses to trade with France and Spain in neutral ships? Those licenses have hitherto excepted blockaded ports. We had, prior to the order for reprisals, given several licenses to Prussian vessels to go to Holland. Some of those vessels not having sailed, though laden, are detained by the Customs as having ceased to be neutrals. I have, however, desired the Customs to give the clearances *pro hâc vice*, and hope to be obeyed.

"I have had an opportunity of speaking to Foster about the Irish Corn Bill; he promises *as far as he can pledge himself for anything*, to give it his best support. The sooner it may be brought in the better, either by direction to your Solicitor, or by sending it back to us to prepare it."

#### LORD ELLENBOROUGH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 24. Bloomsbury Square.—"As I am satisfied that your lordship will, in the execution of the proposed plan for the examination of Public Accounts, be anxiously desirous of selecting the fittest persons in respect of talents and integrity for the situation of Commissioner, I trust you will forgive the liberty I take in handing to your lordship the enclosed recommendation and voucher in favour of a very worthy, intelligent, and respectable man, Mr. William Burn, whom I have long known through the late Chief Baron Skynner who married his sister, and through the Archbishop of York, in whose family I am in the habit of meeting him.

"The person whose recommendation and voucher I venture to transmit to your lordship is that of my brother, Mr. Ewan



Law, a principal member, as your lordship probably knows, of the Commission of Naval Enquiry, whose zeal, industry, and usefulness in the detection of public abuses are, I believe, unquestioned, and give his representations on such a subject a fair claim to be attended to.

“Mr. Burn is a gentleman of decent private fortune, and both by his principles and situation far removed from any temptation to do wrong in the execution of such a trust. For his ability to execute the duties of it, my brother seems to have had the most satisfactory means of knowledge; and to his voucher on this subject I beg leave to refer your lordship.”

*Enclosing :—*

A letter signed E. Law, recommending Mr. William Burn to the post of commissioner for the examination of public accounts.

*Private.* EARL SPENCER to THE SAME.

1806, May 24. Whitehall.—“I received late last night the accompanying letters from Elliot, upon which I shall be glad to have your opinion before I return any answer to them. I called this morning in Downing Street in hopes to have seen you before you set off, but you were flown.

“I wished to have spoken to you on another matter in which I am involved, and upon which I believe something has been said to you either by Lord Bathurst or some other of Pitt’s intimate friends. It is relative to the placing of a statue of him, for which a subscription was raised in London in the year 1801, and which has never yet been settled. I am going this morning to attend a meeting at Angerstein’s, who are to consider on the subject. My decided opinion upon it formerly was to have recommended to the subscribers to ask permission to place the statue in the Senate House at Cambridge; but now that another still larger subscription has been raised in the University for that purpose, that scheme is precluded; and it therefore, I think, only remains to place it in St. Paul’s, which I intend to propose to-day. Any other situation would, I fear, be attended with objections and inconveniences to which, in a matter of this sort especially, it would be far better not to be exposed. I am going to Wimbledon this afternoon, and shall stay there, if I can, till Wednesday morning.”

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM to THE SAME.

1806, May 25. Brighton.—“Finding by the papers that the new commission for auditing accounts is to consist of ten members, allow me to mention the name of Mr. Baldwin, a son of Mr. Baldwin of Lord Spencer’s Office, as a person capable from education and early habits to fill, with advantage to the object in view, one of the appointments. The long

friendship and attachment of the father to me, makes me anxious in a great degree, to make some return by being useful to his family; the present occasion seems to offer the opportunity; if it can be done, I shall hold it a mark of your friendship for me."

*Private.* VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 25. Clifford Street.—“I called yesterday in Downing Street and learnt that you were gone to Dropmore. My chief purpose was to inform you that my friend B. Bouverie had thoughts of resigning his situation as one of the commissioners of public accounts, and to express my very earnest hope that, *in that event*, William Bragge—Bathurst’s brother—might be appointed to succeed him. The truth is that, on W. Bragge’s account, I feel an anxiety that is extremely painful to me. If I could have followed my own wishes, he would have been the first person whom I should have appointed to a seat at one of the Boards; but it so happened that, during a period of near three years and a half, not a single opportunity occurred of which *I could* avail myself for that purpose; with the particular causes which frustrated my wishes, it is unnecessary to trouble you. Of his qualifications I cannot speak more highly than I really think of them, but I am glad to find that he is not altogether unknown to you.”

W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, May 25. Beaconsfield.—“I find by the messenger who has brought me the enclosed, and is going on to you, that we have been nearer neighbours than I had supposed. If my stay here had not been so short (I came only last night, and return to-morrow morning) I should have rode over to Dropmore to ascertain the fact.

“Lord Minto’s letter is the consequence of a conversation which we have had, and, I am glad to find, holds out the immediate prospect of accomplishing what we had in view, at least as to the experiment. As to the modes of raising the regiment, they all seem so good, that I have at present hardly an opinion in favour of one more than of another. To borrow a regiment already raised would be the easiest and the readiest; and hereafter, if the experiment succeeded, the natural and best course would seem to be to raise them at once for the king’s service. But upon this point one would take counsel. I shall probably have an opportunity of hearing some opinions upon that subject to-morrow.

“It will be [a] grand point gained if we can accomplish the measure of garrisoning a part of our distant possessions by troops drawn from our Indian population. With a view to this in its immediate application, as well as to some objects that come into contemplation at the same moment, I should

rather have *my* governor of the Cape, than the one that we last talked of. I have been wanting to talk to Sir Arthur Wellesley, as you may have an opportunity of doing to Lord Wellesley, about the possibility of an attempt on the Mauritius; for which the accumulation of a force of British and sepoys at the Cape might furnish a good opportunity.

“As the messenger, I find, is waiting here, I will not prolong my letter further than to say a word upon a quite different subject, namely, whether one of these new commissionerships may not furnish an opportunity of doing something for Craufurd, to whom I have no immediate prospect of being able to offer anything which he would like to accept (I have offered to him the deputy governorship of the Cape) and whom you will feel as desirous to provide for, as I can be. The objection, however, upon recollection, will here present itself, namely, that the appointment will not be consistent with his seat in Parliament.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO THE SAME.

1806, May 26. Dublin Castle.—“You may be sure that I shall not fail to pay all the attention in my power to Mr. Bisset, or to any person about whom you may interest yourself.

“I will speak without delay to the Lord Lieutenant about Lord Longford and Colonel Longfield. The most *convenient* hostility we can show them will be to exclude Mr. Longfield (Col. Longfield’s son) from the Revenue Board, when we make the new arrangement.

“Lord O’Niell is a man likely to take his own course in politics, and we have no means of establishing a communication with him. Perhaps you might get at him through Isaac Corry, who used to have some influence over him.

“Sir Lawrence Parsons has resisted several urgent applications which have been made to him for attendance, alleging that he could not leave Lady Parsons who has been dangerously ill. However she is now, I believe, so much recovered that I do not think the state of her health is a sufficient excuse for his absence. I wrote to him on Thursday to request he would go over for the division which is expected on the 30th, and not having received an answer, I this morning dispatched a messenger with another letter to him. As his country-house is 60 miles from town, I fear he will now be too late to vote on the 30th.

“I was much concerned at hearing of your accident, but trust you are now released from your confinement.”

C. J. FOX TO THE SAME.

1806, May 26. St. Anne’s Hill.—“I enclose you a note of Count Starhemberg’s, who is not, I believe, more importunate than the orders of his Court oblige him to be. He has proposed before the *quantum* of the subsidy due can be ascertained, to

have something upon account; and, if anything can be done in that way, I shall be very glad, because I feel it most desirable to show our liberal disposition towards his unfortunate Court; and events may occur that may make giving them any money liable to the construction of giving it to the enemy. Such constructions I do not much regard, but others may.

“You mentioned two papers of Sir Evan Nepean’s. I can find but one, but it is possible that by some carelessness I left the other in London. The one I have is from a Mr. Williamson of whom I had heard before, and who had written to another correspondent to the same effect as he has written to Nepean.

“I understand Lord King has applied in favour of Page of Pointers to be one of the new Commissioners. He is a man very fit for business, and would, I am sure, not be wanting in diligence, and he is also a person whom I should much wish to oblige. I should not send all this to you at Dropmore, if I did not want very much to know at what time I must be in town Wednesday morning to meet you on the unpleasant business we talked of when we met last. I suppose not later than eleven, but, if earlier, pray let me know.”

*Postscript.*—“I find that I have put Starhemberg’s note into the fire by mistake; it was only a dun of the most pressing kind.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, May 26. Dropmore.—“I am very grateful to you for saving me the visit of my old friend Jacobi. I cannot see any reason to comply with his request, which would remove the pressure from Prussia in one of the few cases where we can press them without injuring ourselves.

“I think you had best propose to Sir John Newport to assist at your Board, and make an order to your people to prepare it. They do such things much better than Treasury solicitors. I am as anxious as you to expedite the measure, and I earnestly hope there can be no necessity to put it off for another year.” *Copy.*

#### THE SAME TO VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1806, May 26. Dropmore.—“I have a very earnest desire on your account, on Mr. Bathurst’s, and I may add on my own, to comply with your wish of naming his brother as one of the new commissioners, and, if the thing be possible, I certainly will do it; but you will easily guess how much I am importuned for a situation for which everybody thinks himself qualified, I have heard nothing yet of Mr. Bouverie’s resignation.” *Copy.*

#### LORD HENRY PETTY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 26. Bolton Street.—“As the enclosed letters are, I presume, intended for whoever appoints the Commis-

sioners of Accounts, and relate to persons whose claims may be deserving of consideration, I think it right to forward them to you, although I am aware that the arrangement is nearly completed; and I must add that the only person I meant to recommend from my personal knowledge of his fitness for the situation was Mr. Abercromby.

"I also enclose a letter from Lord Nelson expressing his wish that Mr. Hazlewood may be named one of the trustees. There is a report, but I do not know with what foundation, of an intention on the part of the East India Company of addressing the King not to recall Sir G. Barlow."

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, May 26. Dropmore.—"I am very sorry that I did not know yesterday that you were at Beaconsfield, as I was close to it.

"I rejoice at the prospect of employment of sepoy's at the Cape. As to the mode, I should much wish to talk both with Lord Wellesley and his brother, and for that purpose, I should be glad if you could return me Lord Minto's letter to you for a few days. The next point will be to ascertain what can really be done about black corps for West Indian service, a measure both of humanity and economy, and tending to give us that species of force which must ultimately ensure the possession of those islands to those powers which first avails itself of so manifest an advantage. The example of St. Domingo, and the triumph of the blacks there over both English and French armies, is, I think, conclusive as to this view of the subject.

"I wish what you mention about Craufurd were practicable, but you see the difficulty yourself."

*Postscript.*—"The inclination of my own mind would be to borrow sepoy regiments from the Company, provided that the whole of a regiment could be expected to volunteer. If not, perhaps the vacancies might be supplied by general enlisting there; but I suppose it would not be so good to introduce there too much of our English notions of volunteering for this or that particular service." *Copy.*

THE SAME to LORD HENRY PETTY.

1806, May 27. Dropmore.—"I fear the applications already made on the subject of the Commission of Audit are too numerous to leave any chance of inserting any of the names mentioned in the letters I have this morning received from you, though certainly some of them are well entitled to attention. If it is possible to include Abercromby I certainly will. I can see no objection to naming Hazlewood as one of the Nelson trustees.

"We shall, I hope, be beforehand with the East India Company as to Barlow's recall." *Copy.*

## LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, May 27. Dropmore.—“Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to submit for your Majesty’s royal signature, if approved, an instrument vacating the appointment of Sir George Barlow, as Governor-General of your Majesty’s dominions in the East Indies.

“The circumstances of the case are as follows:—In the first days after your Majesty had been pleased to form your Majesty’s present administration, advices were received of the death of the Marquis Cornwallis; and as it was apprehended that in consequence of this event, for which no provision had been made, the public service might materially suffer from the want of a person invested with sufficient powers to act in India as occasion might require, it was judged expedient to recommend to the Court of Directors that Sir George Barlow might immediately be appointed Governor-General. But when this was done, it was at the same time distinctly explained to the Directors that the measure was merely provisional, and was to have effect only until there should be time to consider of a permanent arrangement.

“It has accordingly been recently recommended to the Directors that they should revoke this appointment with the view of appointing the Earl of Lauderdale. But they have declined to comply with this proposal, partly from objections alleged by some of them against the person recommended, but more, it is believed, from a desire to retain one of their own servants in that high station, a system of governing India the objections to which are obvious on the slightest consideration, and have repeatedly been demonstrated by experience.

“The same law which vests in the Directors the power of appointing a Governor-General gives to your Majesty that of vacating all such appointments. And your Majesty’s servants humbly conceive that there can exist few occasions more proper for the exercise of that power than one where an appointment originally understood to be merely temporary is adhered to, for the purpose, as it is supposed, of keeping the Government of India in the hands of a Company’s servant. It is hoped that when this object shall have been frustrated, there will no longer exist any considerable difficulty as to the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale, who is unquestionably a person eminently fitted for that station. But whatever may be the appointment to which the present step may lead, your Majesty’s servants cannot hesitate a moment in humbly submitting to your Majesty their clear and decided opinion that the Government ought not, in the present critical circumstances, to be left in the hands of Sir George Barlow; and it is on this ground that Lord Grenville has taken the liberty to lay before your Majesty the enclosed instrument of revocation, which, if your Majesty shall be graciously pleased

to approve the measure, will afterwards, as the Act of Parliament requires, be countersigned by the President of the Board of Control.

“Lord Grenville begs leave to add that he has carefully read the papers which your Majesty has done him the honour of transmitting to him, and that he hopes to be able (though still very lame) to pay his duty to your Majesty to-morrow, and to receive your Majesty’s commands on the subject to which they relate.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, May 27. Dropmore.—“Though the new commission will consist of ten members, we shall have only four to add, six being already the number of the existing boards. The applications for these are so numerous and pressing that I really fear it will be impossible for me to include Mr. Baldwin in the general commission. Perhaps there might be an opening in the commission for the West Indies, the members of which are to go there in rotation, but even of this I am not sure; and possibly the climate may be an objection to his wishing it.

“I hope I need not say how truly anxious I am to take every opportunity that can enable me to do anything agreeable to you.” *Holograph draft.*

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 28. [Pall Mall].—“I return you Lord Minto’s letter. The object I have not lost sight of, though it is difficult to say what can at this moment be done upon it, unless it be the obtaining a temporary and limited supply upon the breaking up of the settlement at Sierra Leone, which, I am afraid, will be found necessary.

“I have a large volume of correspondence from my friend Colonel Stevenson, which I have kept for some time as a readier way of getting at his ideas than by conversation; but I have at length taken the course of referring it to Colonel Craufurd. His ideas however go to nothing immediate; nor can there, I apprehend, be much done in respect to recruiting free negroes unless we should take possession of Senegal. Even then the success may be doubtful. That, however, is an experiment to be tried.

“I am come to town early this morning upon hearing that Fox had said in the House that the clauses intended to be inserted in the Mutiny Bill should be previously printed. The clause for the extension of service in time of war may stand in substance thus, I think; ‘such additional period as the King shall direct; provided always that such period shall in no case exceed three years, and shall at any time cease and determine at the end of six months of continued peace.’

“ I have never talked to the King upon any of these points since our first communication; he never having mentioned the subject to me. Is it necessary ?

“ The settlement at Sierra Leone must, I fear, be given up ; that is, can hardly be undertaken by Government. It is very up-hill work, with hardly any prospect of ever reaching the summit.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1806, May 29. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to acquaint your Majesty that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been pleased to inform him of his having received a letter from Mrs. Campbell, expressing her wish to resign her situation as governess to the Princess Charlotte : and his Royal Highness has, at the same time, laid his orders upon Lord Grenville to lay before your Majesty his humble request to be permitted to submit to your Majesty the name of Mrs. Garth for that situation, she being a person whom his Royal Highness has reason to believe your Majesty approves of, and who, having originally been about the Princess Charlotte, was removed only in order to be placed in a better situation, though one inferior to that which the Prince would, with your Majesty’s permission, now propose to her. His Royal Highness has further directed Lord Grenville to add that he has not mentioned the subject to Mrs. Garth till he should be apprized of your Majesty’s pleasure upon it.” *Copy.*

*Enclosing two letters :—*

No. 1.—H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 29. Carlton House.—“ I enclose to your lordship Mrs. Campbell’s letter of resignation, entreating of you to forward it to his Majesty as early to-morrow morning as may be convenient, together with my humble hope that Miss Garth, who has heretofore attended my daughter as her sub-governess, may meet (for the reasons I have assigned to your lordship, and which I must also entreat of you to lay before the King) with his Majesty’s approbation to succeed Mrs. Campbell in the situation of second sub-governess, should his Majesty deem it necessary that another sub-governess should be nominated.”

No. 2.—A letter signed Alicia Campbell, resigning the post of sub-governess to Princess Charlotte of Wales.

LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, May 29, Downing Street.—“ As you have not work enough, I send you a memorial from the W[est] I[ndian] planters. I do not much see what they wish to be enquired into, except it be the proportion between price and drawbacks, which may be stated in one paper as well as by twenty examinations.



“The system of a fixed price is entirely vicious, because the real price must depend on fluctuations of seasons and circumstances of which no calculation can be made. But we cannot abandon our duties nor give up the people of this country wholly to the monopoly of these gentlemen.

“Perhaps if you have no objections to go through the form of seeing these people at the Committee, that might be the best course; but I suspect the real object of the whole is to lay ground for *jérémiades* about the slave trade.” *Copy.*

#### VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 29. Clifford Street.—“My friend B. Bouverie is disposed to resign his situation at the Board of Commissioners of Accounts, provided some arrangement could be made for the benefit of his family. The mode which has occurred to him he is very desirous of explaining to you in person, and you will receive a note requesting that you will name a time for seeing him. Independently of my anxiety on Bragge’s account, I earnestly hope that a mode may be found of releasing Bouverie from a situation to which he thinks that his health will be unequal, and of rendering a service to his family, on whose account he was induced to accept it.”

#### GEORGE III to THE SAME.

1806, May 30. Windsor Castle.—“The King is extremely sorry to find that Mrs. Campbell is under the necessity on account of the state of her health of resigning the situation of sub-governess to the Princess Charlotte of Wales, for which she has always appeared to his Majesty to be in every respect eminently qualified. The King has not any person in his eye whom he could wish to recommend for that situation, and therefore consents to the Prince of Wales’s nomination of Miss Garth whom, from her private character, his Majesty considers a safe person to be about the Princess Charlotte.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, May 30. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to submit to your Majesty that, by a report made to the Treasury by the Surveyor General of Crown Lands, it appears that a proposal has been made for a renewal of the lease of the manor of Twickenham which expired last year; but on account of the vicinity of that manor to your Majesty’s manor of Richmond, Lord Grenville thought it proper first to take your Majesty’s pleasure as to the renewal of that lease; and to submit whether, if renewed, a clause should not be inserted, enabling your Majesty to resume it at any time on paying such sum as should be settled by arbitrators.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, May 30. Downing Street.—“What you propose about Mr. Longfield may probably be the right step to take. I conclude however that you will communicate the whole of the two lists here before the measure is actually carried into effect, which should doubtless be as soon as the bill passes.

“I will try what I can do with Isaac Corry about Lord O’Neill. We have settled with Lord Caledon, who goes Governor to the Cape, and gives his interest in Ireland to the wishes of Government. In the county of Tyrone it is explained that his interest goes entirely and exclusively with James Stewart. Since I wrote this Corry has been with me, and I am sorry to say I forgot to mention Lord O’Neill. He goes over to-morrow to attend to his interest at Newry, where he is threatened with a formidable contest from two very long purses, Lord Downshire and Lord Kilmorey’s. He asked me about the Government interest and patronage there being continued to him, and I told him I had received no other application, that I was, as is the truth, favourably disposed to him personally, but that I could not say any thing positively till I had communicated on the subject with the Duke. If he has entered into no different engagement I rather think it would be right to continue the patronage to Corry unless he should actually lose his seat. He has been steady, and has occasionally assisted Newport. He also desired me to press his request of making some arrangement by which he could get his whole 600*l.* recommended in the present year. If it be practicable I should be glad of it.

“Sir L[awrence] P[arsons] we must, I think, bring to some point; it will never do to have our Lords of the Treasury holding off from us in difficulties. The learned in those subjects talk very confidently of our having a good division to-night.”

*Postscript.*—“I am still laid by the leg, and have a prospect of a still longer imprisonment. I send you a letter which I received to-day, and an answer which I leave it to you to send or not, as you may judge it safe or useful.

“It seems doubtful to me whether you can do better than to secure Cashel by the second arrangement, opening that by the revenue commissionership; but of this the Lord Lieutenant and you will judge, and I will never press your putting, for the sake of any parliamentary arrangement whatever, an inefficient man at the Revenue Boards.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 31. Palace Yard.—“With the consent of Lord Abercorn, I moved last night to postpone Judge Foxe’s business to Friday 6th June; there is not, however, the smallest probability of its coming forward on that day. Our consideration of the impeachment articles is in a most untoward and embarrassed state, and I never saw so great a

want of your presence and assistance. The Chancellor and Lord Ellenborough, not consulting with others, suddenly pledged themselves yesterday to opinions implying that the *uniform* practice of a previous vote on the charges ought to be abandoned. Those opinions are supported by reasons which, though plausible in the first statement, are (I think) demonstrably unsound; and which, if acted upon, would compel us to proceed to our verdicts without any previous free discussion of the law and facts on which we are to decide. I will not however plague you with this subject, from which you are happily relieved; but unless it can be brought back to some more practicable line of management, I shall seek some pretext quickly to withdraw from it, and to attend to other duties.

“A curious question has arisen at the Committee of Council for Trade, on the subject of our Botany Bay establishment; and I conceive that we must have immediate recourse to the Cabinet for a decision. A ship of nine hundred tons burden from Port Jackson, with oil and seal ships (*skins?*) is hourly expected (this is the second vessel). The people interested in our British fishery object to this, as ruinous to their whale fishery, and as producing no seamen to the navy. The India Company object to it as an infringement of their charter, *and also* as having tended already to the building of ships calculated to follow the China trade, and eventually leading to the most alarming consequences. The short question will be: is it the intention and policy of Government that these establishments shall be considered as colonies, with all the privileges of colonists?”

“It is too late now for the Bremen whalers to proceed on their voyages, and their application is abandoned; but I submit to you and to Mr. Fox that we might release from the embargo the five or six Bremen vessels which we still retain; great orders are come and are coming for British cargoes to be sent in neutral ships to Bremen, and even that Bremen vessels which are here would go back fully laden.

“I have a long letter from the King’s Advocate on the mischievous frauds which are practising by neutral nations in the abuse of their flags; I will forward it to Mr. Fox’s Office.

“I should be glad to know that you are recovering from your lameness.”

#### W. WINDHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, May 31. [Pall Mall.]—“I have always had it in view to take the first opportunity in my power to comply with Lord B[uckingham’s] wishes in favour of Sir W. Young, though I was fearful of making a promise generally to give to Sir William the first government that should fall. To the present arrangement I shall accordingly lend myself with great pleasure, if you should think it worth while to make the

vacancy at the price you mention, rather than to wait the chance of some future opportunity, when I might be able to offer to Lord B[uckingham] an appointment for Sir William equally advantageous, without your being obliged to create the vacancy."

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, May 31. Downing Street.—“I have this day seen Lord Dartmouth, who informs me that, in consequence of what has passed between his Majesty and him last year, he had named a person of the name of Willis, who is in the Lord Steward's office, to be Auditor and Comptroller of Accounts of the establishment of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte.

“I did not think it proper to take any final step in the business till I knew whether your Royal Highness approved of this appointment; and I have therefore taken the liberty to trouble your Royal Highness with this letter. If there should be no objection to it, I will immediately insert Mr. Willis's name in the warrant which is ready prepared for his Majesty's signature, directing the payment of the establishment according to the footing proposed last year, with the addition of 1,000*l.* to cover unforeseen expenses. For this purpose the grant of 6,000*l.* to your Royal Highness for the Princess's maintenance will by this warrant be revoked, and an allowance of 13,000*l.* to her Royal Highness placed on the Civil List.” *Copy.*

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, May 31. Carlton House.—“Accept my best thanks for both your kind notes, that of yesterday, as well as that of this evening. I should have thanked you for the first, but I was unwilling to put you to the trouble of reading a stupid repetition of thanks, knowing how your time is taken up with more material matters. However, upon the note I have received this evening you must forgive me if I state how sensibly I feel the delicacy which prompted you to say what you did to me respecting the nomination of Mr. Willis. I happen to be well acquainted with the character of this gentleman, and in the world there cannot exist a worthier nor a more respectable character; consequently a person that in every sense can be more agreeable to me, to fill the office for which he is intended. I trust however you will allow me to add that, as the arrangement of the establishment of my daughter seems to be drawing to a final issue, it will be necessary for me to intrude upon you for a few minutes to lay before you some *certain* circumstances which are most essential for you to be acquainted with, previous to the ultimate statement being laid before the King.

“There are also some other very material matters that I wish to lay before you at the present moment, which render

it necessary for me to request of you to name an hour, any time to-morrow between one o'clock and six should you be remaining in London, and should it not materially interfere with any other important business to which you may have dedicated these hours, when I may call upon you in Downing Street."

GEORGE III to THE SAME.

1806, May 31. Windsor Castle.—"The King does not object to the renewal of the lease of the manor of Twickenham, and approves of the insertion of the clause which Lord Grenville has proposed."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1806, March-June. Charles Street.—"I have seen the bishop and have told him of the duke's danger, and have discussed with him the question of his probable successor. The bishop thinks that, before the Catholic question, Christ Church might upon a vacancy have taken the lead in your favour with great confidence of success; but, with the strong opinion which so lately and so unanimously prevailed upon that question in the University, he is not without apprehensions that a cry might be raised which would perhaps defeat the most active exertions that Christ Church could make, even if the dean was disposed to try to take the lead. The bishop tells me that he knows nothing confidentially of what the dean's present notions are in case of a vacancy; but he suspects that the dean would wish Christ Church rather to be invited by other colleges, than to take any lead upon a new election. The bishop however frequently repeated that he did not know the dean's intentions, and I see plainly he thinks he cannot influence them. He told me that, if you was not a minister, he should recommend to you to try to sound the opinions at Oxford without meaning to persist if there should be any obstruction; but he sees that, in your situation, it would be an essential loss of consequence to you to bring your name at all forward without great moral certainty of success. He does not know of any candidate, but thinks either the Duke of Beaufort or Lord Dartmouth not unlikely, if they start anybody upon the cry of the church. I have left him strongly impressed with the value which you attach to the election, if it could take place; and he has promised to turn in his mind all that can be done to assist, or at worst, to ascertain the question, and to let me know all that occurs to him.

"It is evident however that he cannot influence the dean, whom he supposes to wish not to be active, for he frequently said that, if that should be the dean's determination, he has no power to shake it.

“The bishop himself is certainly anxious to find such a probability of success as would warrant the experiment, but he does not talk sanguinely yet.”

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, June 1. Downing Street.—“I am this moment honoured with your Royal Highness’s commands. I should of course be entirely at your Royal Highness’s orders for any hour this morning that may be most convenient to your Royal Highness, but I wish to be allowed to submit whether it might not be better if to-morrow were fixed for that purpose instead of to-day; because this morning we are to see Sir J. and Lady Douglas, and the two other persons who have already been examined; and although there could be no solid objection even to your Royal Highness being present, if you thought fit, at their examination, yet in a matter of such peculiar delicacy, where appearances are to be watched and misrepresentations guarded against, some story might hereafter be grounded upon it, if it were known that immediately after these examinations, and on the very same day, I had received the high honour of your Royal Highness’s visit here.

“We are to have a Cabinet to-morrow morning on other business, but if I knew what hour would suit your Royal Highness, I would take care to have the Cabinet fixed so as not to interfere with it.” *Copy.*

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 1. Carlton House.—“I entirely agree with you that, for the reasons assigned in your letter, it will be better for our interview to be deferred till to-morrow. Independent of what I have to mention respecting Charlotte’s establishment, I am very desirous of seeing you *previous* to its being determined to examine *any* other witnesses, than those that are to be examined this day, as there are several considerations which I wish to lay before you; and many points which, I am confident, no one can give you such material information upon as I can myself. Our interview therefore, if you please, shall stand over till to-morrow at any hour that you will please to name.”

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1806, June 1. Downing Street.—“I much wished to have seen you in the course of yesterday or this day, but I am under an engagement that will occupy me, I fear, the whole of this morning, and that it will not be possible for me to put off; and I learn that you dine out of town. The subject on which I wished to converse with you is that of the further steps to be taken on the business of the slave trade which, I am confident you agree with me, ought—whatever is to be

done upon it—to be considered as a matter involving the interest and character of the country; and on which its Government is therefore bound to deliberate, and, if possible, to form an united and well considered system of conduct.

“If I understand your sentiments on this subject rightly, and I think I do, you agree with me in the strong disapprobation of the nature of this trade, in the earnest desire to see it put an end to; but you think the steps for that purpose should, on political considerations of the colonial and commercial interests of the country, be more gradual than I can bring myself to think they ought to be. You voted, I believe, not only for gradual abolition—as it is now termed—in general, but specifically for abolition, in the shape in which that proposition was carried in the House of Commons; that is abolition at a period long since elapsed.

“Would it not therefore be easy to shape a proposition in which we should all concur, all except the very few in either Houses of Parliament who now defend the slave trade on account of its own intrinsic merits. Suppose the House of Commons were to send us up a resolution that it is desirable to put an end to this practice by such steps, and in such time and manner as shall be provided by the wisdom of Parliament, on a due consideration of all the circumstances connected with that important question. I do not give you these words as correct, but merely as conveying the substance of the idea. Is not that a proposition which would carry with it the assent of all the opinions we should wish to conciliate? of every public man indeed, with the very few exceptions I have already pointed at.

“After such a resolution passed in the House of Lords, we might then employ part of the interval before the next session in shaping by mutual accommodation such a measure as would certainly fall short of my sanguine and impatient wishes to do this great good at the first possible moment; but as would, nevertheless, meet with my cheerful support, as being the best thing that may be practicable. We could, at the very opening of the next session, resume the subject so as to put it out of the power of our opponents again to defeat us by the disgraceful methods of delay which have so much hurt the character of the House of Lords; and we might look with sanguine hopes to the setting at rest a question, in the rejection of which persons feeling as Fox and I do never can acquiesce; and which it is nevertheless certainly desirable not to have perpetually agitated, either with a view to the harmony of this country or of the colonies.

“It would be premature here to enter into the different plans that have suggested themselves to my mind for a measure of this subject. That which I have always thought the best mode of gradual abolition I still continue to look at with partiality. It is the imposing on slave ships cleared out from British ports a capitation tax proportioned to the number

of slaves they carry; and gradually increasing this tax every year, say 10*l.* the first year, 20*l.* the second, and so on, till the increase of duty will at length operate as a total prohibition. The produce of this tax, which would, according to the calculations we have lately heard, amount to about 150*l.* on the first year, and probably more the second, but after that would diminish rapidly, I would employ for the benefit of the planters, either in diminution of the duties here on their produce; or, perhaps better, in bounties on the number of black children reared on the different plantations; or, lastly, which I should like the best of all, in buying out a day in each week for the slaves now in the islands.

“The merits of this plan, if it has any, is that the abolition will thus not only be gradual—more so than I wish—but graduated by a scale arising out of the nature of the thing itself to which it is applied. When an estate is not in great want of farther supplies of negroes, the increased price will deter the proprietor from making the purchase. When the want is considerable, the benefit received will counterbalance the additional expense. Those who fear the sudden effects of sudden abolition will see in this mode sufficient provision both of due notice, and of time given to meet the emergency. And the very measure which we have just passed will facilitate the adoption of this plan, by rendering the supply of negroes on the coast for our old colonies much more abundant than it would otherwise have been; and making therefore a provision, without increased misery in Africa, for some increased importation of slaves into those colonies during the next two years, in order to meet whatever inconvenience may be apprehended from the subsequent diminution of the trade.

“A separate consideration is that of Trinidad which requires no Parliamentary measure; and with respect to which, therefore, the whole responsibility of the slave trade rests on the Cabinet; a dreadful responsibility to those who feel upon it as I do, and believe that the responsibility of public men in public stations is not confined to impeachments in *this* world. I have desired Fox to summon a Cabinet for to-morrow on these subjects, but I know not what hour he will wish to name; all are indifferent to me. Whatever we resolve on the subject, the consideration of it must be speedy; for days and weeks are passing over us rapidly, and it will soon be too late in this session for any discussion whatever on such a subject.” *Copy.*

#### LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, June 2. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to submit for your Majesty’s royal signature the warrant for paying the establishment of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte on the footing settled by your Majesty, with the addition of 1,000*l.* *per annum* which Lord Grenville has taken the liberty to add as a provision for unforeseen



charges. If your Majesty should, on consideration, deem it proper to make any further addition, it may of course be done at any time that your Majesty shall be graciously pleased so to order it ; but it appeared very desirable that no time should be lost in carrying into effect the orders with which your Majesty was pleased to charge Lord Grenville.

“His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has commanded Lord Grenville humbly to submit to your Majesty a letter which his Royal Highness has received from Miss Garth declining the situation which your Majesty had been graciously pleased to empower his Royal Highness to offer her. The Prince is still anxious that she may accept the appointment for which she had been destined by the favourable opinion both of your Majesty and the Prince, and his Royal Highness thinks that if your Majesty were graciously pleased to intimate a wish to that effect through General Garth, *that* might probably induce her to accept it. Should that not be the case, and should your Majesty not have any other person immediately in view for the situation, his Royal Highness would humbly solicit that the decision might be postponed until he shall be enabled to submit to your Majesty his further wishes on a subject so interesting to him.

“Lord Grenville is under the necessity of intreating your Majesty’s gracious permission to keep his house this week, as he is told by his surgeon that his doing so is absolutely necessary to his being able to attend his duty in Parliament next week.” *Copy.*

#### LORD HENRY PETTY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 2.—“I enclose an application from the Duke of Kent ; but I have told his Royal Highness that I understood the vacant situations were filled up.”

#### W. WINDHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, June 2. [Pall Mall.]—“I have just heard that Bond for some reason is about to resign his situation as Judge-Advocate. I am sure, in this case, you will recollect what I mentioned formerly of Laurence’s wishes, and will feel with me that his claims have been considerably strengthened, and the merits of his character been rendered more conspicuous even by what has passed since the period that I allude to.

“I will not say a word, as from myself, where I am sure your opinions will go so much with mine, should the fact be as I have heard, and should Bond not have resigned on grounds that would equally indispose Laurence to accept.”

#### GEORGE III TO THE SAME.

1806, June 3. Queen’s Palace.—“The King has signed the warrant for paying the establishment of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, and entirely approves of the addition

made to it by Lord Grenville of one thousand pounds *per annum* for unforeseen charges, and of the provision left for such further additions as may be necessary. His Majesty will not fail to speak to General Garth, and hopes he may succeed in prevailing upon Miss Garth to accept the situation of sub-governess, but if she should still persist in declining it, the King will wait for such further proposal as may be made to him by the Prince of Wales for filling that situation.

“His Majesty regrets very sincerely that Lord Grenville still suffers so much inconvenience from his accident, and fears that he did not do himself any good by coming out last week.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD HENRY PETTY.

1806, June 3. Downing Street.—“I return the Duke of Kent’s letter to which you have already given the only possible answer. His Royal Highness is a very general patron, and a most persevering solicitor.” *Copy.*

LORD HENRY PETTY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 3.—“I enclose Sir J. Sinclair’s notes respecting his report, which he desired might be communicated to you.”

*Enclosure:—*

*Memorandum as to the balances of the Scotch forfeited estates.*

“The distribution of these balances proposed by the Committee will do more good than ever was effected by such a sum.

“It will establish the deep sea herring fishery, and promote in various other respects, the commercial and agricultural interests of Scotland.

“It gratifies the most important public bodies in Scotland—

1. The British Fishery Society, in which there are many English gentlemen, as Wm. Smith, Wilbeforce.

2. The Highland Society, and

3. The Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh.

“The proposed distribution is also highly important to many of the principal families in Scotland as—

1. The Duke of Gordon.

2. The Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford.

3. Lord Eglinton.

4. Lord Breadalbane.

5. Lord Salton.

6. Miss Drummond of Perth.

7. Sir James Colquhoun of Luff, Mr. Brodie of Brodie, Sir James Montgomery, Sir John Sinclair, and a number of others.

“In short, had not the Committee taken great pains and acted on the fairest public principles it could not have been effected.

“The only person hostile to the plan is the Duchess of Gordon, because the Committee could not recommend giving the public money to a private society instituted by the Duchess, called the Badenoch and Strathspey Society.

“If it is necessary, the Lord Advocate and Sir John Sinclair the chairman will wait on Lord Grenville or Lord Henry Petty on Wednesday or Thursday morning to explain any further particulars, but they are very anxious to have the report made Tuesday morning.”

*Nota Bene.*—“The plan is completely approved of by the opposition, Mr. Wm. Dundas, Mr. Robert Dundas and Mr. George Rose having attended the committee, or seen a sketch of the report.”

LORD GRENVILLE to C. J. FOX.

1806, June 3. Downing Street.—“Immediately after you left me I received the enclosed letter from Wickham, with the note respecting Fauche-Borel.

“As to the question respecting Austria, I think, if you agree in it, the right thing will be, first to say that we do not insist on the claim of vacating the whole treaty on the ground stated by Wickham; but, secondly, that if Starhemberg will take 500,000*l.* paid immediately in one sum as a satisfaction for all demands, he may agree with Starhemberg to that effect. As to Fauche, I think you will agree with me that he is entitled to a provision from this government, though possibly you will not think better than I do of the wisdom of sending him back to Paris under the circumstances that Wickham states.

“If such a provision is right, it can only be given as an annual allowance out of the secret service fund of the Foreign Office; and you will therefore of course determine what you think right about it. I confess I think it should not be less than 600*l. per annum*, and perhaps an immediate advance of something more than the first year’s payment.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to W. WINDHAM.

1806, June 3. [Downing Street.]—“I have just received your note. I am anxious, if I can, to prevent Bond’s resignation, and wished (if one could find time for all these things) to have spoken to you on the subject. It arises from a new regulation that the Duke of York and Fitz Patrick have settled between them for preventing the Judge-Advocate from having the access to the King, as had been usual. I own I think the thing might as well have been left on its former footing, or, at least, not changed without previous communication.

“If we should fail in adjusting this business, there is certainly no one whose wishes I should be [so] glad to consult as Laurence’s, both on your account and on his. But I shall be much embarrassed what to do with Bond.” *Copy.*

## LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, June 4. [Downing Street.]—"I hope you have said nothing to Dr. Laurence on the subject of the Judge-Advocate. The account which I have just read of what passed yesterday in the House has staggered me very much. I have no sort of claim to influence the conduct or opinions of Dr. Laurence; but, on the other hand, I must pause before I can decide to recommend for a high judicial situation a person who means, I am confident, to do justice, but whose ideas of justice lead him to take so very forward and strong a part in countenancing what I consider a very unjust proceeding against a most meritorious public servant.

"I am not so unreasonable as to expect that all the persons with whom I am acting politically should agree with me in sentiment on all past measures. On the contrary, the present Government was, as you well know, formed on the principle of agreeing, if we could, prospectively, to administer the affairs of the country *without retrospect* to former differences; and there are certainly very few of those with whom I have the satisfaction of being now joined, between whom and myself there could be less difficulty in such co-operation than with Laurence, because I hardly know any other subject of difference between us but this.

"But then if this is pushed forward unnecessarily into so prominent a point of view, it becomes me to consider what is due to my own character, feelings, and honour, and to ask myself (I do not yet decide) whether it be consistent with any of these, or with the opinions which I profess, and most sincerely hold, respecting the singular and almost unparalleled merits of Lord Wellesley's administration in India, to take the very moment of this unjust persecution of him, to recommend for a high judicial station one of those who, *before trial*, takes so strong a part against him.

"All I mean to say in this moment is to beg that I may not be considered as committed by any thing that has passed. Possibly the question may not arise. If it does, we must talk it over again, and, certainly, all I shall say or do on the subject will be no other than what I at least deem due to my own honour, and consistent with the sincere regard which I feel for Laurence's character, and the regret with which I look at any circumstance of difference with him, even on one (though certainly not an unimportant) point." *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 4. Dublin Castle.—"The only point I have ventured to settle with regard to the intended commissions of revenue is that Lord Castle-Coote is to preside at the Board of Customs, and that Lord Annesley is to be chairman of the Excise Board. This arrangement I was anxious to fix, because I understood from Sir John Newport it would be agreeable to

the wishes of you both. Of course no further steps will be taken without previous communication with you. Pennefather, from all I can learn of him, would not be likely to prove very efficient. However, I will enquire more about him.

“Mr. Carleton (brother to Lord Ashton) the present Collector of Newry, being by length of service entitled to a retirement on the incidents of the revenue, the Lord Lieutenant proposes giving his office to Mr. Matthews, who has had for some time past the management of the Downshire property, and about whom Lady Downshire is much interested. Attention *must* be shown Lady Downshire, and this is the only instance in which the Duke has at present any prospect of being able to oblige her. In respect to all other patronage at Newry the Duke is quite disengaged, but I doubt whether it may be politick to support Corry, either against Lady Downshire, or the Needham Family, as I apprehend he will not have the smallest chance of success against such opponents. The Lord Lieutenant’s pension list is already so deeply pledged that it will be impossible for him to give Corry his whole pension this year. The Duke has, I believe, explained to Lord Spencer the claims on this year’s list.

“As you mention that Lord Caledon’s interest in the county of Tyrone is promised *exclusively* to Stewart, I presume you do not intend to give Knox the support of Government. I believe I apprised you in a former letter that Knox is in London, if you should be disposed to treat with him.

“None of the Beresfords appear to have been in the last division. John Claudius is in London, and I wish much you could see him after you have ascertained the views of Lord Ponsonby. In case the city of Waterford should make part of your negotiation with the Beresfords, you will probably come to some understanding with Sir John Newport in respect to the patronage there, as he at present naturally looks to the *whole*.

“I am sorry to hear you have the prospect of so long a confinement, but I hope you do not suffer much pain.

“I forgot to advert to Sir Lawrence Parsons. He is to be in Dublin in the course of this week, and I shall come to some explanation with him in respect to his parliamentary attendance. Your division was far better than I expected.”

#### W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, June 4. [Pall Mall.]—“I have said nothing to Laurence by which you will be committed, or the difficulty, which you described, increased. But the difficulty itself is such, according to your present view of it, as makes me pray most anxiously that the case may never happen.

“Consider how we shall severally stand if our friends are expected to agree on points on which there is so much reason to fear that we may not be able to agree ourselves; if anyone

is to give up the just pretensions and claims upon him of another, because, upon a subject necessarily left open for difference of opinion even among the members of the Cabinet, he finds his friend, in the exercise of that same right, adopting an opinion the same possibly with his own. It is impossible that, upon a great question of Indian policy more possibly than upon any other, Laurence can compromise his opinion. There is not a reason for supposing that his opinion will be guided by anything but his most sincere conviction; and how will any one stand of those more immediately connected with him, if, in consequence of his opinion so formed, and for the exercise of a privilege which they confessedly must reserve for themselves, they should see him put aside from an object to which his pretensions would otherwise be admitted. Such a reason on their part could never be avowed, and can as little, I fear, be acted upon. But were it possible that it should prevail, I should still, for my own part, feel myself under the most serious difficulties at seeing Laurence, for a second time, put aside in favour of another claimant, from an object for which he is so peculiarly marked out, and which, from his situation, is the only one probably that can be devised for him. I enter perfectly into your feelings about Lord Wellesley, though it does not appear to me, and I hope will not finally to you, that the course of proceeding which those feelings might naturally dictate, is the course also of reason and duty. One of the reasons for thinking it not to be so, is its opposition to what seems clearly to be prescribed by duty on the other side. With every possible disposition to accommodation, particularly in the present case, I do not conceive how it is possible for me to see Laurence again set aside with no better grounds, either of reality or appearance, than the present circumstances will afford. I do most anxiously hope, therefore, that either Bond will stay, or that Laurence, with whom I have had but little conversation, may for some reason not think the situation desirable. He knew before I had seen him of the probable vacancy.

“The accounts received to day from the West Indies make it necessary to consider anew the question which we had before decided, about the sending the 54th regiment to the West Indies. It will likewise be necessary that we should settle, as soon as may be, the points still left in doubt in our remaining Bills, in order that they may, if possible, be presented either to-morrow or Saturday; on which last day it will be desirable that the House should sit, in order that the Mutiny Bill may go up that day to the Lords. Will it suit you, therefore, to summon a Cabinet either at two or three o'clock?”

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 5. Phoenix Park.—“I have delayed communicating with your lordship on the subject of your letter

(marked private) of the 6th *ultimo* in the almost constant expectation of seeing the Primate who, I understood, was likely to be in Dublin on his way to England; but, finding myself disappointed in this hope, I requested Dean Warburton, who last week visited his living in the neighbourhood of Armagh, to take an opportunity of waiting on the Primate, with a view of stating to his grace fully my sentiments on the subject of a regal visitation, and other matters connected with the interests of the church establishment of Ireland referred to in your lordship's letter, and in which I have the satisfaction entirely to concur in opinion with your lordship.

"In consequence of the dean's visit, the Primate, who was about to leave Armagh for England by way of Donaghadee, determined on taking his passage from Dublin in preference, and I have this morning had a long conversation with him on various matters relating to the church, and to the actual state of Protestant education in Ireland. The Primate embarks this evening, and has assured me that he will endeavour to see your lordship during his short stay in London (which is limited to a very few days) and concert with you such measures as may be deemed advisable to forward the important object we have in view. His grace is of opinion that the application from the Lord Lieutenant to the archbishops should be backed by the powerful influence of the King's sanction and authority; and it will be extremely satisfactory to me if the Primate and your lordship would take into consideration the form and substance of the letter to be addressed to the archbishops, not only as affording me a just confidence in the propriety and efficacy of the conduct I am pursuing, but as securing to me a reasonable pledge of the assistance and co-operation of the Primate himself, so essential to the success of the measure.

"The instructions I received previous to my leaving England, together with the thorough understanding that was had on the subject in the several communications at Spencer House, are perhaps every thing which may be necessary to our purpose; but I think some official instructions intimating his Majesty's pleasure upon this immediate subject, may give an additional weight to our proceedings.

"I have only to add that I earnestly hope that whatever Parliamentary measures it may be thought expedient to adopt in the next session (unconnected with money grants) will originate with your lordship in the House of Lords, not only because it is the House of Parliament in which the episcopal bench exercises its legislative functions, but because your lordship's name, and character, and station, will give that confidence and security to the minds of the bishops and other friends of the established church, without which we shall in vain look for any solid and effectual reform of the abuses which have from time to time crept into the establishment."

## LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, June 5. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville has the honour of humbly submitting for your Majesty’s Royal signature, if approved, three warrants ; two for the pensions of 600*l.* each for Lady Luey Taylor and Lady Griselda Jekell, in lieu of their contingent pension of 1,200*l.* each, on which Lord Grenville has already had the honour of receiving your Majesty’s commands ; and one for an increased allowance to the First Lord of the Admiralty, in order to bring the salary of that officer to 5,000*l.* *per annum* net, which Lord Grenville hopes your Majesty will not deem more than justly adequate to the dignity, responsibility, and labour of that high office.

“ If Lord Grenville had been able to have had the honour of paying his duty to your Majesty to-day, it was his intention to have humbly submitted whether your Majesty would have approved of this arrangement ; but, as it has been so long depending, he trusts your Majesty will excuse his taking the liberty of laying it before your Majesty in this mode.” *Copy.*

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 5. Palace Yard.—“ Messrs. Gordon, Reid, and Murphy have had a long conference with me respecting their project of bringing ten millions of dollars from South America in vessels to be sent with Spanish and British licenses from Cadiz. I have convinced them that the vessels must not be Spanish but neutral ; that the cargo must not be Spanish but neutral or British ; and that a proportion of the cargo must be British manufactures with an exclusion of all articles except what are called innocent articles ; and they are to have the licenses accordingly so framed. I mention this, that you may have the goodness to support me in it, if they attempt again to have licenses without those restrictions.

“ Judge Foxe has presented a petition through Lord Moira, stating in terms well expressed, the hardships of his prosecution. If (as I conceive) it should be impracticable to pursue the business so as to receive his justification, his expenses at least ought to be paid ; and I have some reason to believe that Lord Abercorn, if we manage, as I wish to do, the postponement with due delicacy towards him, is disposed to such a conclusion, which seems to be better than a pension to a person under accusation.

“ Wyatt’s plan for the *facade* of the House of Lords is on my table to be shewn to you ; it looks well on paper, and the expence will be very inconsiderable. Whenever you can spare five minutes I will shew it or send it.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, June 5. Downing Street.—“ The restrictions you mention on the licenses are certainly right, but we have determined to confine them to *two* millions, instead of *ten*,



agreedably to a power to that effect reserved by the late Treasury, by whom this bargain, not an advantageous one, was made. We have since an offer of dollars on much better terms, and may look, I trust, to save not much less than 500,000*l.* on these transactions alone. In the meantime an immense question is opening by this attempt (successful hitherto) of Miranda's on the Caraccas. The thing was launched by our predecessors, as a matter of connivance only, without any plan for acting in consequence of it. How far shall we now countenance it, or engage in it?

"I have desired Lord Spencer to postpone the consideration of Fox's business to some further day when the press of the trial attendance may be over, and I myself able to attend."

"We must keep Tuesday for the second reading, and Thursday for the committee on the Meeting Bill. Naturally the opposition will be in the latter stage. I am promised leave to go out on Tuesday."

"Lord Howick, who is not well used to committee business in the H[ouse] of C[ommons] has, I understand, got into difficulties about the plan for the Hunter museum."

"Any morning that you could call here about half past ten, I should be glad to see Wyatt's plan, except Saturday."

#### THE SAME to W. WINDHAM.

1806, June 5. Downing Street.—"We will talk on the subject of Laurence when we meet, and can find a moment for the purpose. I am sure it is not necessary for me to assure you of my sincere desire to smooth all difficulties as they arise, so long as I can do so without compromising my own honour; but, if your regard for Laurence leads you to feel sensibly any obstacle in the way of what I freely admit might otherwise be his reasonable pretensions, you have much too liberal a mind not to enter, on the other hand, into my feelings, at seeing my oldest and most intimate friend exposed to the most unjust persecution, after a series of such services as no other man now living has been happy enough to render to his country; and at finding this persecution countenanced and encouraged by the persons with whom I am joined in political connection, and in whose favour I am *at that very moment* desired to exert myself. My objection to Laurence's conduct, in this instance, does not rest on such difference of ultimate judgment as he might feel himself compelled to declare in a case of this nature, after it had been heard and fairly examined, and when it was brought to judgment, as far as that term can be applied to a decision of a body so little judicial in its character and course of proceeding as the House of Commons. What I object to, and think I have great reason to complain of, is the studious manifestation of a hostile predisposition against so near a connection of mine, whose case *cannot* be known to Laurence,

because it never has been before him or before the public. And you may yourself judge how strong that predisposition must be when it could induce a man, naturally of an upright mind, and that mind enlightened by legal studies and acquirements, to oppose the endeavours of Lord Wellesley's friends to obtain a decision of his ease this session; and to justify the studious and deliberate procrastination of his accuser. See what Paul's conduct is, and what Laurence is able to bring himself to vindicate; and then judge whether I think as you do, that there is no reason to fear that his subsequent conduct will be unduly biassed. With all his materials fully before him, with the Directors and Proprietors contending who shall be foremost in furnishing him with every document and paper he can want, with a House of Commons (most strangely, as I think) delegating to him without reserve their whole inquisitorial power, he chooses to defer bringing his charges forward till a period of the session at which he may hope they cannot be examined; and, when he is called upon by the friends of the defendant to make good his accusation, he procrastinates it from time to time, with no other motive that any man can assign but that of loading a man of unimpeached integrity, of the highest honour, and of the most distinguished public services, with the foulest imputations; laying [them] before the public for months, perhaps for years, before they are to be enquired into.

“Can I think, can you yourself think, that the apologist of this proceeding is likely to bring to the discussion itself whenever it is forced on, as I trust it will be in spite of the accuser, an impartial, an unbiassed mind? I cannot. And then the question must be whether honour and justice will allow me to give, at this very moment, a fresh weight and authority to opinions of such a description, and even to appear myself implicated in them. The limits of mutual forbearance and accommodation in the case of differences of opinion between friends are always difficult to be exactly defined; but there are cases where the transgression of those limits is obvious to every eye; and, surely, you cannot yourself hesitate to acknowledge that this case is of that description.

“I got your note too late to fix a Cabinet for to-day. I wish therefore you would send notes for it at 12 to-morrow.

“One of the points you mention, that of the question between proceeding on old or new militia lists, is saved for the future decision of Government by one of the alterations I had proposed in the Training Bill; which gives the King power to proceed this year either on the new or old lists as he shall think fit.” *Copy.*

#### GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 6. Queen's Palace.—“The King has signed the warrants submitted to him by Lord Grenville for the

pensions to Lady Lucy Taylor and Lady Griselda Jekell, and for the increased allowance to the First Lord of the Admiralty.

“His Majesty has seen General Garth, who has acquainted him, that, with every assurance of duty and respect, Miss Garth persists in declining the situation offered to her, for which she states that neither her spirits or her health, nor, in her own opinion, her abilities are competent.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE TO H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, June 6. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville presents his humble duty to the Prince of Wales, and has the honour to acquaint his Royal Highness that he has just received a note from his Majesty mentioning that his Majesty has seen General Garth, who has acquainted his Majesty that, with every assurance of duty and respect, Miss Garth persists in declining the situation offered to her, for which, she states, that neither her spirits or health nor, in her own opinion, her abilities are competent.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 6. Palace Yard.—“I have appointed Mr. Wyatt to meet me in Downing Street at half-past ten on Tuesday, and I hope that you will be able to receive us for a few minutes.

“I had a long conference yesterday with the West India deputation; on Monday I am to settle with the Inspector General and the East India Directors as to various accounts of duties, drawback, bounties, net produce, quantities imported and exported, East India sugars to different parts of the world; and the deputation will come again on Friday, when we shall have facts sufficient to ground a report.

“I presume you did not mean that *We* (I mean the Council) were to hear the two Assurance companies. It would lead to delays tantamount to a negation in this session; and they can be heard, if they claim it, at the H[ouse] of Commons.

“Lord Howick’s two Bills as to the Greenwich and Chatham establishments will be most creditable to him, and to your Government.

“But a doubt has occurred to me on the clause 43, George III, c. 160, which gives the prize money to the officers and seamen serving during the war. It is desirable that you should look at this. I do not think that the objection will occur to others, or that it can be material, particularly as this new regulation is solely for the benefit of officers and seamen, and also as it will be necessary to have a prize Act for Prussian prizes. At all events Lord Howick’s measure (I submit) may go forwards even if we restrict it to prizes in future wars, which I hope not to be obliged to do.”

*Confidential.* “Every observation and Parliamentary event confirms me strongly in an observation which I risked to you sometime ago on the great expediency of ‘a change of cards.’”

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 9.—“I have heard repeated to-night with so much confidence what I had before but little attended to, of a supposed nomination of Alexander to the Secretaryship of the Cape, that I cannot but feel some alarm upon the subject, though I know not how any thing can have happened by which my alarm can be justified. There is indeed another matter which may seem to countenance these apprehensions, but which, I am willing to hope, is not so, namely, that you had settled the point, on which we had some correspondence, of the agency of the Cape by giving away the appointment.

“I will call upon [you] both about the one and the other, in the course of the morning.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, June 10. Palace Yard.—“I have written to the Speaker and to Mr. Groves respecting your proportion of the gallery; and Mr. Burrell will be with me to-morrow morning, when I shall accompany him to the Hall and resign the further details to him. I mention this, because if you should have an audience to-day, and can recollect so small a matter, I would beg the favour of you to submit to the King the dutiful hope which Lord Gwydir and I have; that his Majesty will approve of Mr. Burrell as Deputy Great Chamberlain under the special circumstance of Lord Gwydir’s precarious state of health. I had already made some mention of this to his Majesty through Colonel Taylor some months ago. It is really out of my power to undertake that task further than I have done. I hope I have succeeded in expediting the preparation of the Hall, I believe beyond example; and it should also be mentioned to his Majesty that particular attention has been given respecting the boxes which are called the King’s boxes, and also respecting the box which her Majesty has in the Speaker’s gallery.

“Messieurs Wedgwood and Byerly represent to the Council that *since* the supposed closure of the Prussian ports, they have received from Hamburg a very large order to be immediately supplied. I presume that they must be considered for the present as precluded by the blockade.

“When the present hurry is a little cleared, I will make a statement of the money gained by the sale of Church lands. I can speak to it with tolerable accuracy from recollection; for yesterday I signed some conveyances, in which the purchase money completed the sum of 996,400*l.* sterling, received for such sales. And there are some further considerable

sales coming forwards. As therefore the gain to the public is  $\frac{1}{11}$ th, and as there has been a considerable accumulation of interest, the whole may be stated at about 100,000*l.* sterling, and would, as I have before remarked, clear the land tax affecting 1,000 or 1,500 of the small livings. If the measure should be thought right (and certainly it sounds well) I conceive that the commissioners should be authorized to carry it into effect within the several dioceses, in the proportions received within those dioceses; for the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Salisbury, and some of the great colleges have not yet made any sales; and it is not just that livings in their patronage should have the benefit to which they have not yet contributed. Besides that distinction would promote further sales, and tend to compleat the clearance of the land tax."

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, June 10. Dropmore.—"I never said one word either to Lord Caledon or to Alexander about the latter going Secretary to the Cape; but, having heard the same report that you have, that he considered the thing as settled, I yesterday desired King to see him, and to tell him that, if he wished for this object, he must apply to you for it.

"With respect to the agency, I must say in the first place that I have not, nor ever had, one moment's doubt in my own mind upon the question of right; all colonial agencies having always been considered as in the disposal of the Treasury, as I well know by my own experience when I held the Home Office; and the practice of an appointment by the Governor, in one or two late instances, having been adopted solely, as I believe, for the purpose of evading the law, and enabling the holders of those offices to sit in the House of Commons.

"But, independently of this, I really had understood from the terms of the letter you wrote to me on this subject, that, without entering into any question of right, you meant to leave me at full liberty to make such disposition of this office as might meet the object I had in view. If I was mistaken in this, the fault is mine; because, though I certainly could not have relinquished the right, thinking it so perfectly clear as I do, yet I certainly would not have taken it upon myself to decide the matter without further communication with you." *Copy.*

THE SAME to C. J. FOX.

1806, June 11. Downing Street.—"There has been some difficulty in adjusting the days for the various points of business we have to bring forward in the House of Lords next week; we at last fixed them as follows, namely:

Tuesday—Third reading of the Mutiny Bill, which is to be opposed.

Wednesday—Scotch Courts.

Thursday—Judge Fox.

Friday—Slave Trade.

“The Lords expect to go through with giving their verdicts to-morrow, and we were therefore obliged to put off the Committee on the Mutiny Bill till Friday next.”

*Postscript.*—“I have just received your note and shall be very glad to see you and Lord Yarmouth at one, if that time suits you. I can come over to your Office if it is more convenient to you, and perhaps indeed it will be better to do so as we may be less interrupted.” *Copy.*

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 11. Oxford Street.—“I could not find any opportunity on Monday of stating to you the great severity and injustice of my situation, nor of submitting to you any propositions for bringing the proceedings in the House of Commons to an issue. The affair has been suffered by Mr. Fox to proceed to such an extremity as absolutely to require some immediate determination; and I wish very much to be able to find you at leisure for the consideration of the question in its present state. It is most painful and grievous to me to trouble you in any degree, but, by the most incredible misfortune, I am brought to the hazard of every thing that renders life valuable; and my sufferings are not to be described. I must therefore hope that an early opportunity may occur of discussing the whole subject with you fully and deliberately.

“I could not state to you my feelings on another point, which you mentioned to me on Monday. You apprized me of several questions likely to occur in the House of Lords (one this day) on which you wished me to attend. My anxious desire is to support you in every way steadfastly and openly. But in my present situation, standing accused of every crime which man can commit, and that accusation having been admitted on the table of the House of Commons without a word of defence from those who lead that House, I really think that it would be indelicate in me to take any part in the House of Lords. Until my situation shall be changed in this respect, I cannot feel myself to be free, in any sense of the word; and I apprehend that any vote which I might give, in such circumstances, might be imputed to motives equally dishonourable to me and to Government. I refer this point, however, to your judgment, which I shall be happy to receive whenever you can allow me an hour for the consideration of my unhappy situation.”

W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, June 12. [Pall Mall.]—“I sent over this morning to know if you were at home, with a view of stating to you,

what I apprehend you are apprized of, that Wilberforce has been pressing most earnestly for the introduction of a clause in the Training Bill expressly to exclude *Sunday*, except in case where it should be specially appointed. It was on this account, and from a compliance with his wishes, for which I rather blamed myself at the time, that the Bill was not presented on Tuesday; and yesterday we were counted out.

"After much discussion, we have compromised upon grounds which, I think, you will not disapprove; that the clause should go no further than to direct that Sunday should not be appointed as a day of exercise, except by special direction from the Crown. It was at first proposed that the condition should be annexed of *urgent danger or particular emergency*; but that was afterwards given up. The subject was revived upon the discovery of a clause prohibiting exercise on a Sunday in some early Militia Bill. The alternative was complying with the application, or having an opposition; and the clause, as it now stands, is perhaps but little objectionable. If I hear nothing from you to the contrary, I shall let the clause be inserted before the Bill is presented."

#### LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, June 12. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville begs leave humbly to mention to your Majesty that he omitted yesterday to submit to your Majesty's pleasure (as he had intended doing) whether your Majesty would be graciously pleased to determine the abeyance of the Barony of Roos in favour of Lady Henry Fitzgerald, which, if your Majesty had no objection to it, Lord Grenville would venture humbly to recommend." *Copy.*

#### GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 13. Windsor Castle.—"Lady Henry Fitzgerald having been at so much expence and trouble in regard to the Barony of Roos, and having brought forward the case so clearly, the King considers it very fair to grant the abeyance in her favour, as recommended by Lord Grenville."

#### *Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, June 13. Downing Street.—"I have given to Knox, through King, an assurance of our good wishes in the county of Tyrone, but from what Alexander explained to King it appears that Lord Caledon is extremely pledged to James Stewart. If he and Knox join I suppose there can be no doubt of success. I ought to mention to you in confidence that I begin to be more doubtful whether it may not be necessary to dissolve in the course of the ensuing recess, but nothing is at all settled on this point as yet."

*Postscript.*—"I enclose a further statement from Lord Henry Petty of the notes he took at Maynooth. The object is in my mind so very important that I much wish something could soon be done upon it." *Copy.*

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 13.—"I called in Downing Street yesterday morning to tell you that there was an anxiety on the part of Lord Melville's friends to proceed to judgement without the loss of a day, and they expressed a wish that the com[mittee] on the Mutiny Bill might be deferred to Friday, in order to the House going into Westminster Hall on Thursday. The subject was left loose on Monday night, but, not finding you yesterday, on consultation with Lord Spencer, we thought it would be better not to dispute the day, on an occasion when the enemy were sure to be strong, and ourselves weak, and when it was very possible that we might be beat. Thursday is therefore appointed for the judgement, and, of course, the com[mittee] on the Mutiny Bill cannot be brought on sooner than Friday.

"In hopes that Mr. Bond's resignation may not take place, I have waived the opportunity of mentioning Dr. Laurence's name as a person I should most earnestly recommend to your consideration as his successor. His character, talents and professional rank I need not dwell upon; they are known to everyone; but it may not be known, that this above all others is the situation he would most covet; it will not be in the way of his profession as long as he may choose to pursue it: whenever he may think proper to withdraw, this situation would afford him not only a comfortable provision, but also an honourable retreat. Under these circumstances, and from the fear lest some other appointment should suddenly take place, in case Mr. Bond should not be persuaded to remain, I have thought it better not to leave the subject to be mentioned at some occasional interview, but to convey to you in this manner the deep interest I must feel in forwarding the wishes of so worthy a man, and one so dear to me, not only from long personal connexion, but also on account of the esteem and regard in which he was held by our common friend, poor Burke."

LORD GRENVILLE TO W. WINDHAM.

1806, June 13. Downing Street.—"I think the clause you mention is quite unobjectionable; and I am heartily glad you have so well settled a question which might otherwise have given us some trouble, particularly if the bishops had taken it up in the House of Lords." *Copy.*

MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 13. Camelford House.—"I was interrupted yesterday before I could complete my statement of the condition of my case in the House of Commons.



“Bankes has given intimation of an intention to remove all the charges from the House of Commons to the Court of India Judicature, under the Act for trial of offences committed in India. This would be a most injurious proceeding, before the House had resolved whether the charges contained criminal matter against me; and even if the House of Commons should resolve to bring me to trial, the House of Lords is certainly the fittest tribunal for such a cause.

“I am apprehensive that Mr. Fox may avail himself of Bankes’s caprice to throw the whole subject out of Parliament, and this step might greatly embarrass the question.

“Every consideration renders it absolutely necessary to ascertain Mr. Fox’s sentiments; and I am most anxious that you should endeavour to do so in the course of to-morrow. It is desirable to know: 1. Whether he will admit evidence; 2. Whether he will negative the charge; 3. Whether he will declare my conduct to have been founded on a sense of public duty. It is also desirable to know whether, under any circumstances, he will encourage the removal of the cause to the India Judicature.

“I am the more anxious to ascertain Mr. Fox’s intentions as Mr. Cravey (Secretary to the Board of Control) has informed my brothers very candidly that he is against us upon the case, and, to use his own phrase, *an enemy*.

“I should be very glad to see you again on these points soon; it would be most desirable, if possible, to negative the charge on Wednesday; and if Mr. Fox would go so far as that, it may be a question whether we should proceed further.”

#### C. J. FOX TO THE SAME.

1806, June 14.—“Nothing appears to me more reasonable than what you have set down concerning Sicily, but I will take the note to St. Anne’s Hill, and think whether I have anything to add, or to be observed upon.

“I congratulate you on the House of Lords of last night.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, June 14. Palace Yard.—“After much consultation with Sir John Nicholl on the Papenburg claim, we passed the inclosed minute. The purport of it is:—

1. “That vessels under the Papenburg flag (and really belonging to the inhabitants of the small sovereignty of the Duke of Aremberg) which arrived in the ports of this kingdom before the order of general reprisals of the 14th, may have a claim on our justice and generosity to be released, as having come into our ports on the faith of an accustomed trade, founded on an implied amity; the breach of that amity was caused by events over which their sovereign had no control.”

2. “That the embargo of the 16th April must be considered as a notice that the neutral character of Papenburg, a town

lying up the Emms in the entire control of Prussia, can no longer be respected."

"We submit to you and to Mr. Fox, that this distinction, if approved by you, will give every relief that can in fairness be claimed; and will at the same time maintain a restraint which will contribute to distress the ports of Prussia, Holland and France."

*Private.* VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 14. Clifford Street.—"The majority last night was such as to relieve me, in a great degree, from the uneasiness which I felt at having omitted, in my hurry and distress yesterday, to leave my proxy behind me. If you are not fully provided, I should wish you to take it for Monday and the two succeeding days; on Thursday I hope to attend again. If you are full, I will place it in the hands of Lord Ellenborough. It is my wish that it should not be used on the questions relating to Miss Seymour and Judge Fox."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, June 15. Palace Yard.—"The letter sent to-day by Lord Glenbervie and by me would have been addressed equally, and in the same words, to the first Lord of the Treasury, if he had not happened to be a private friend, and even if he had happened to be a political enemy. To you, however, I may add, that the consideration is of real importance to me, and also to Lord Glenbervie; and certainly if either the Treasury Board or a Committee of the House of Commons would refer to one or two of the volumes which record our proceedings, they will find proofs of labour such as few individuals would have given, or indeed could have undertaken, without a disposition and turn of mind to encounter an enormous mass of legal details, full of novelty and difficulty. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Young can give testimony to our seven years perseverance.

"It was a disappointment to me to find that you were not expected yesterday at Lord Wellesley's. The ladies of the family were present and the dinner went off pleasantly. But it was impossible not to regret both the domestic and Parliamentary circumstances which throw a shade over his resettlement in this country.

"I am sickening both in mind and body under this London life, and I must escape to Eden Farm. But I will continue to attend at the Committee of Council, or rather at the Privy Council, for a large proportion of the business at present belongs to the latter Board."

W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, June 16.—"I have been prevented by various causes from writing to you on the subject of the agency to the Cape;

but principally by the wish of informing myself more particularly of the circumstances of the case, which I must regret that I had not sooner enquired into.

“My note, to which you refer, certainly implied, that upon that as well as upon every other point of patronage, I should be happy to consider the general wants of the Government, and to lend myself, whenever I could, to your wishes. More than this, as far as I can recollect, was not said in respect even to the appointment itself; and still less was said as implying any doubt as to the right on which, after the best enquiry and consideration, I cannot find that any doubt is to be entertained. The transition, therefore, you must allow, was rather quick from this state of things to the disposal of the place; and the disposal of it as of a place regularly and properly in the nomination of the Treasury. The loss of the place is to me a very serious consideration as it deprives me of the only means within the compass of my own patronage of providing for some for whom I am peculiarly anxious, and who could not be benefited by any appointment which I might have to offer abroad. But the question of right is that to which I attach still greater consequence, because it involves considerations, which, if not absolutely points of honour and duty, are not without effect on the character of the person who happens to be concerned in them. It is not pleasant to stand recorded in an Office as the chief in whose time patronage was lost to the Office, which had never been called in question during the time of any of his predecessors. The reason ought to be strong that can supersede, in cases of this sort, a practice long continued; and it seems to me that reason here, instead of opposing, is so perfectly on the side of practice, that I cannot but flatter myself you must have been led from the beginning into some entirely wrong view of the case.

“The plain and broad distinction is, between agents appointed and paid here to transact business of Colonies for which there are Parliamentary grants; and agents appointed and paid abroad, and paid out the revenues of the Colonies, to transact their business with the various departments of Government, in cases where there are no Parliamentary grants. The former class of agents have, as was natural, always been appointed by the Treasury; the latter have as naturally, and as I believe as constantly, been appointed by the Colonial Governments. The question between the Treasury and the Colonial Department here with respect to these latter agents, if any question could arise, would not be who should appoint, but who should recommend. They have neither of them any right of appointing at all; and accordingly, in the case of those settlements where there are assemblies, neither the one nor the other have any share in the procuring the nomination. But in those cases where the Government resides in a single person, or is confined to a

number who owe their appointment, more or less, to a department here, *there* the influence of that department finds its way, and the appointment is substantially made at home, though formally by the Government upon the spot. Nothing can prove this more decisively than the form of proceeding now proposed, by which I am desired to write a letter to the present Governor of the Cape, reciting that an agent is necessary for transacting various business of the Colony in this country, and requesting that he will appoint the person recommended to him for that Office. This has been the invariable course; and with such a course established, it seems impossible to say that the agency of the Cape is in the nomination of the Treasury, otherwise than as the same might be said of every appointment under every department of Government. It can as little be said that the nomination of these agents (that is the recommendation of them to the several Colonial Governments) has in fact been in the Treasury, though it may have formally passed through this Office.

“The enclosed list contains the names of all the persons, five in number, who now hold situations of the sort in question, some of whom have been appointed more than once, and all of whom will be found by those who know their connections to have been the nominations of the persons who were at the head of the Colonial Department. If a doubt could arise in the case of Huskisson, who was equally protected by Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, that consideration would, on the other hand, do away with the idea of any management having been necessary on the part of Lord Melville to secure the appointment to Huskisson as to a friend of his own; and the date of his first appointment, as well as the testimony of those perfectly acquainted with the transaction, would equally prove that, in the form of the proceeding, there was no view to the object of rendering the appointment compatible with a seat in Parliament. The form in fact is no other than that which it is proposed to follow now, and which has been followed in all former instances.

“I am really, therefore, and seriously at a loss to conceive on what ground this supposed right of nomination on the part of the Treasury can be made to rest; unless, as I said, in the same way in which it may be made to apply to the present or any other appointment through this and every other department. It certainly has not been acted upon for a period of now several years, and for a succession of not less than five Secretaries. It has not been shown that it was ever acted upon; but if it should, I must lament that, after so long an interval, it should just have been revived in my time. I say this without the least suspicion of any want on your part of the kindest and most friendly feelings towards me, but with a view only to what must necessarily be the effect, namely that of exhibiting me in the situation, in which I cannot consent to stand, of yielding from weakness, or

facility, or from whatever other cause, what no one had ever obtained, or appears even to have asked, from my predecessors.

“It is sufficiently distressing to me to part with the present nomination, valuable as it would have been to me for the reasons which I have stated. But though by a progress not now necessary to be traced, that proceeding is gone to an extent from which it may not be capable of being easily recalled, I cannot consent to the completion of it, either in the way proposed or in any other, unless it shall be clearly understood that in so doing I establish no precedent, either against the Office or myself, with respect to any future appointment of the same sort.”

EARL SPENCER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 16. Wimbledon Park.—“I enclose you a letter I received yesterday from the Duke of Bedford. With regard to the military question referred to in the beginning of it, I had, on Saturday evening, a long conversation with your brother the Marquis of Buckingham upon it, and he gave me some suggestions which I am in hopes, when put into shape, will be the means of obviating all the material difficulties which may arise, and do not appear to be likely to meet with any serious objections from the Duke of York. I shall employ myself here to-day in putting the heads of them into writing, and hope you will allow me to look over them with you on an early opportunity before we bring them forward officially.

“I suppose the Duke’s proposal for filling up the bishopric of Limerick must be adopted.

“A messenger will be sent for me from my Office at two o’clock to-day, by whom, if you have anything to say to me, I shall be obliged to you to send me a line; and pray return the Duke of Bedford’s letter.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, June 17. Downing Street.—“I enclose a letter from Lord Ranelagh. I am a perfect stranger to the transaction otherwise than that I believe Sir Evan Nepean confirms his statement. Can anything, and what, be done for him. You may perhaps know that he married Sir P. Stephens’s daughter, but she died, and I am told he had nothing settled upon him and is in great distress.” *Copy.*

*Private.* MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 17. Oxford Street.—“I understand from Arthur that he concluded from the aspect of the meeting to-day, that Mr. Fox is to be against me. Can you inform me to what extent, or in what manner?”

## LORD GRENVILLE to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, June 17. Downing Street.—“ I think it likely from Fox’s conversation that he will be adverse, but to what extent, or in what manner, I believe he does not know; at least I was totally unable to learn.

“ I sent him, as we agreed yesterday, the memorandum about Oude. He quite satisfied me, as indeed I understood that your own leaning was, that it was in all respects better not to oppose hearing evidence.

“ It occurred to me that the House might be pressed to sit for that purpose in the morning.

“ What was decided at the meeting? ” *Copy.*

*Private.* VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 17. Clifford Street.—“ I am sorry that when I had last the pleasure of seeing you, it did not occur to me to show you the enclosed letter, which I received on the preceding day. It is evident that though General Fitzpatrick’s *opinion* was not to be changed, the *measure* would not have been pressed if it had been deemed objectionable, after a full and fair discussion. I should add that the Duke of York has, in a very handsome and gratifying letter to Bond, disclaimed any share in it. Under these circumstances I am strongly disposed to think that an accommodation may not be very difficult. Your suggestion to Bond respecting the mode of transmitting the King’s pleasure on sentences of courts-martial, appears to me to afford a foundation for it. If adopted, it would apply to the professed, and I am convinced, the real object of the alteration; as it would afford to the Commander-in-Chief, and in his absence, to the Adjutant-General, an opportunity of submitting opinions to the King upon the proceedings of courts-martial, before the sentences were carried into execution, and even before his Majesty’s pleasure, founded upon the representation of the Judge-Advocate-General, could be known elsewhere. I write in great haste and may not, I fear, have made myself intelligible. If you should see Bond be so good as not to mention this letter, as neither he nor any one besides is aware of my intention to write to you on this subject; and it is his wish, as indeed it is mine, to leave the whole entirely to your decision, without interference from any quarter.”

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to THE SAME.

1806, June 18. Phoenix Park.—“ By a letter from Sir John Newport to Mr. Elliot I find it is his intention to bring a bill into Parliament for the appointment of commissioners to enquire into the state of the schools and Protestant education in Ireland, and the newspapers inform us that he has already moved for leave to bring in the bill. Upon this subject I have only to express my earnest hope that nothing

will be determined, without a previous consultation with the Primate. If your lordship has not already conversed with him on the subject of this bill during his short stay in London, I request that it may be sent over here as soon as it is prepared, that I may have an opportunity of taking his grace's opinion upon it, before it passes the House of Commons.

"Your lordship, I am persuaded, will concur with me in the propriety of establishing a cordial, constant, and unreserved communication with the Primate on every subject of this nature. As the head of the Protestant schools of Ireland he appears to feel a just and laudable anxiety to connect Protestant education with the morals, industry and happiness of the people; and, in the last conversation I had with him on the subject, he observed to me that much useful information was to be obtained from the report of the Parliamentary commission in 1788. This report, I am informed, was not printed, and no copy of it is to be found in the Office here. If we could obtain this document from your side of the water it might be of much use to us."

LORD GRENVILLE TO MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, June 18. Downing Street.—"It is very unfortunate that no persons of the description you mention were present at the meeting, because my principal view in having the meeting was that some such persons should attend, and I had so explained it both to Vansittart and Lord Temple; but I fear the former was too full of his marriage to think of anything else. You know I cannot conduct these details myself, and I know not how to remedy the helplessness of others. Whenever the evidence is gone through, I would recommend another such meeting, and that Lord Temple and your brother should previously speak to the different persons who are likely to attend.

"Of Lord Morpeth's disposition I know nothing, except his general favourable dispositions towards myself. But I never can believe that either Lord Minto or he have anything to do with printing passages in *italics*, which is generally a trick practised by somebody after papers are laid upon the table, and before they go to be printed.

"Nothing was ever said to the King about Alexander's going to the Cape as Secretary, nor have I a wish about it. The Office is undeniably in Windham's gift, and so I always considered it." *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 18. Dublin Castle.—"Lord Henry Petty's suggestion relative to the college at Maynooth has not, I assure you, been out of my mind; but on conversing on the subject with the Chancellor, who, by virtue of his office, is a trustee of the institution, we both thought the arrangement

would require some consideration and management, first because the enlargement of the lay education might create a considerable alarm and jealousy on the part of Trinity College, where Roman Catholics are now permitted to graduate; and secondly, because we are not sure that it would be agreeable to several of the superior Catholic clergy. There are, however, one or two persons of that persuasion coming in the course of a very few weeks to Dublin, whom I am desirous of consulting; and when I have seen them, and when the Chancellor is more disengaged from the business of his court, you shall hear from me again on this topic.

“From what I hear from the Chancellor, I am afraid there is little chance of Lord Ponsonby’s acquiescence in any negotiation with the Beresfords, where his local parliamentary interests are concerned. If this should be the case, the support of Government must, I presume, be given to the Ponsonbys and to Sir John Newport; and it would be very desirable that there should be a full explanation on this point with the Beresfords, otherwise we shall have much future embarrassment. You will be able probably to ascertain Lord Ponsonby’s views either from Lord Fitzwilliam or Fox, if his state of health does not enable him to call on you.

“I hope, if you should decide on a dissolution in the autumn, that you will send us a copy of the Parliamentary list which I transmitted to you, with such remarks and annotations as you may think necessary.

“The Primate has manifested so cordial a disposition to co-operate with the Duke on ecclesiastical matters, that the Duke is very solicitous that you should communicate with him, while he is in London, on any measures you may have in contemplation either with regard to the Church or to the schools of Ireland.”

#### EARL SPENCER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 18. Wimbledon Park.—“I send you a draft which I scratched out last night to the Lord Lieutenant on the subject of the Church of Ireland. I read it over to the Primate to-day, who made no objection to it, and seemed to acquiesce completely in the measure. I proposed to him to take it home with him in order to suggest any additions, but this he declined to do. I shall be much obliged to you to look it over, and to make any corrections or alterations in it you may think fit; and then return it to me that I may forward it to Ireland.

“Am I to mention the proposed new bishop of Limerick to the King to-day? The Primate said he had no objections to him.”

#### *Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO W. ELLIOT.

1806, June 20. Downing Street.—“As Newport is so much acquainted with Lord Ponsonby, I thought the shortest



and best course was to express to him generally that I thought it not impossible that, through the intervention of Government, such an arrangement might be made respecting election interests as might be mutually satisfactory both to the Ponsonbys and Beresfords; and therefore that I wished he would converse with Lord Ponsonby and learn how far he would be disposed to such an arrangement, and what would be his views in it. This he was to have done, and called upon Lord Ponsonby for that purpose, but he was too ill to see anybody. Newport will take the first opportunity to try again, till then I see nothing we can do." *Copy.*

C. J. FOX to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 21. Stable Yard (Saturday night, near 12).—  
"I send you the letters I have received this evening from Lord Yarmouth. Though there is an appearance of flying off, I feel persuaded they would not insist upon Sicily; it being so contrary to the basis on which they still seem to rest.

"We have a Cabinet dinner to-morrow at Moira's, where these letters must be discussed. You will hardly take the trouble to come, but pray let me know your opinion on this point, namely, whether powers ought to be sent to Lord Yarmouth. Perhaps it would be right to send them with an injunction that he should not produce them till the point of Sicily is understood; and that he should acquaint Talleyrand both with his possession of the powers and the injunction.

"Hanover is to be given for the honour of the Crown, in return, our recognitions are given for the honour of *his* crown; for the rest, *uti possidetis*. Pray send the messenger back immediately, as I have a copy of one of the papers only."

LORD GRENVILLE to C. J. FOX.

1806, June 22. Dropmore.—"I lose no time in returning you the enclosed, with such suggestions as occur to me upon them.

"I have no doubt that what you propose is right as to giving Lord Yarmouth powers to treat, but with an injunction to declare to Talleyrand that he is not at liberty to produce those powers unless the point of Sicily be given up, as that demand on the part of France is wholly inconsistent with the basis of the *uti possidetis* for us, on which the whole of the negotiations must proceed.

"The difficulty that then remains is how shall the point of honour respecting Russia be maintained by us if they persist in keeping D'Oubril and Lord Yarmouth at a distance from each other, and of course misrepresent to each what the other is doing. We know now that Russia is not treating with them for a separate peace, and it is material that Lord Yarmouth should be apprized of all that has passed between Russia and us on that subject.

“ My proposal would be that Lord Yarmouth should require either that Oubril should come to Paris in order that they may freely communicate with each other on the subject, and sign nothing upon which they are not mutually agreed ; or, that the preliminaries should bear the same form as the provisional treaty of peace we made with America, namely, to take effect whenever a Russian peace is concluded ; which, if it be true (as they say) that Oubril is ready to conclude, would lead to no delay, but if this be false would maintain our good faith.

“ As to the terms that Russia might ask, I have no idea that the Emperor Alexander would really wish to prolong the war for the sake of the Austrian interests in Istria and Dalmatia, though doubtless very important to himself. But the sovereignty of Corfu he might fairly ask on the same ground of real possession on which we treat ; for, though nominally independent, it is, I take it, now both occupied by his arms, and entirely under his influence and control.

“ I am sorry Lord Yarmouth has not said anything on the question of a definitive treaty being to be signed by all the allies on each side who choose to accede to it. This point in substance, for there may be different ways of arranging it in form, is essential to save our honour both towards Russia and Sweden. In all other points I think his papers clear and satisfactory.

“ Will you allow me to mention to you how urgent it is that no time should be lost in concluding an arrangement with the King of Sicily on the footing of something like the note I sent you ; because, if further question arises on that point, our treaty with him will then form a part of the actual state of our possession in that respect. Something of the same sort must also be done as to Sardinia. If the King of Sardinia is reduced to that island we must take him and it under our protection, pension the former, and garrison the latter, and thus make of all these islands in the Mediterranean an important chain of stations highly useful to us both in war and commerce. The harbours of Sardinia were, as I recollect, of great use to Nelson (as well as those of Sicily) in his operations previous to Aboukir.

“ Lord Yarmouth does not *mention* Spain, but I conclude that is to be included in the general *ûti possidetis* which we ask for the rest of Europe. We have the better right to ask it when we renounce for it views on the Spanish possessions in America.

“ I shall be in town early to-morrow morning and will call upon you at the Office, or expect you in Downing Street, at any hour that suits you, in order to discuss these points together. If you wish me to come to town for the dinner to-day, I am still in time to receive your orders, and will not fail to obey them.” *Holograph copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 14. Dublin Castle.—“Sir John Newport has written to me lately on the subject of his interest in the city of Waterford. I have hitherto carefully abstained from touching any of the patronage there, thinking it might become a matter of future arrangement between him and the Beresfords. I have not felt myself at liberty to apprise him of the overtures I had received from the Beresfords; but, if you see no objection to it, I wish much you would have the goodness to communicate with him *confidentially* on these points, lest he should construe my reserve into an indifference to his views at the general election.

“You, I suppose, persevere in your intention of supporting Mr. Carew for the county of Wexford at the general election.”

*Postscript.*—“Pray bind Newport to strict secrecy in respect to whatever you may have to communicate to him with regard to the Beresfords.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, June 23. Dublin Castle.—“Sir John Newport some time ago intimated to me a strong wish to have the nomination of a friend for a seat at one of the Revenue Boards. Both the Duke and myself were anxious to comply with his request, not merely from motives of friendship to Newport, but from an impression that it would be desirable with a view to the public service that he should have a commissioner completely in his confidence. The person he has suggested is Mr. May, the collector of Waterford, with the intention that Mr. Creagh (Newport’s brother-in-law) should succeed to the collectorship. It occurs to the Duke and me that these two appointments (*both* from *Waterford*) would have too much the appearance of an arrangement connected with the general election, and might, in the present temper of our adversaries, create a good deal of invidious observation. Under these circumstances I propose writing to Newport and explaining to him our apprehensions. He will of course take your judgment on the subject, and I have therefore deemed it proper to apprise you of the nature of our objections, to which I am sure the Duke would be sorry Newport should attribute more weight than you may think they deserve.”

LORD GRENVILLE to C. J. FOX.

1806, June 23. Downing Street.—“I send you a letter from Lord Minto on the subject of the answer to be returned to the last communication of the Directors. I am confident that I need not tell you how painful it is to me to find my own opinion decidedly adverse to that which you and Lord Lauderdale entertain, particularly on a subject which he considers in any degree connected with the maintenance of his character. But I must say that I agree entirely with Lord

Minto's view of this question. I have repeatedly reconsidered it with all the attention it so well deserves, and I have carefully weighed the arguments contained in the paper which I received from Lord Lauderdale. But I remain firmly of opinion that the line of conduct there recommended could serve only to accredit, however unjustly, the imputation of intemperance, if any such rests upon him in the minds of any persons, and would justly entitle us to our full share of the same reproach.

"In support of Lord Lauderdale's nomination all has surely been done that his honour and the honour of government required. To succeed in that object is now manifestly impossible. He himself appears indeed to cherish an expectation that a lapse will be suffered to take place, and that he may still in that manner be appointed. Of the grounds of that expectation I am ignorant; but all I have heard or seen of the past conduct and present temper of the Directors fully convinces me that Lord Lauderdale's wishes mislead his judgment, and he is as much too sanguine in this instance as he has certainly been in the former stages of his business.

"If this be the case, what course are we then to take? In what manner can we compel the Directors to accept from us a nomination to which they are decidedly adverse? In the relations between government and the company fixed by the existing laws, it is undeniable that the Directors ought to have at least a negative on the choice of a Governor-General. This negative they have now exercised in a manner very contrary to our opinion. But can we for that reason refuse all further communication with them on a point of such infinite importance to the interests of the empire as the appointment of a Governor-General for India?

"The proposal which they last made to us was as conciliatory, both in form and substance, as it could possibly have been without departing from the right which they meant to exercise, and which we cannot deny to them. If to that proposal we return a sullen negative; if, because we cannot carry that appointment which we think the best, we decline to accept their offer of naming the person next in our choice, we shall, I am convinced, be universally and justly condemned for an unwarrantable sacrifice of public interests to motives and feelings which, even if well-founded, are purely personal. But I do not agree that Lord Lauderdale's character is, in fact, at all implicated in our present decision. I cannot see in what manner our recommendation of Lord Minto would operate as an acquiescence in the objections of others against Lord Lauderdale. What those objections are the Directors have never told us. Be they what they may, we have repeatedly and earnestly protested against them; and in recommending Lord Minto we ought undoubtedly once more, and in the strongest terms, to renew that protest as against a measure highly injurious to the public interests. But in yielding

to a necessity which we cannot control, we do not recognise its justice; nor, in recommending the best *practicable* nomination, do we cease to assert that our former choice was preferable to this.

“To adopt any other line would in my judgment be contrary to our duty both to the public and to ourselves. It would be injurious to our own character and to the character of the government. It would be inconsistent with what we owe to all our other friends, and most particularly to Lord Minto himself. This office was first proposed for him. I was authorised to propose it to him, and I did so, but fortunately in such terms as did not prevent my postponing his claims to those of Lord Lauderdale when the wishes of the latter became known to us. From that moment he, as well as myself, used every exertion to carry those wishes into effect. But when this is found to be plainly impossible, I must say that it is too much again to put by Lord Minto's wishes and objects, and to incur at the same time all the odium and mischief of a contest with the Directors on bad grounds, and all the risks of a choice personally embarrassing to ourselves and injurious to the public interests; and this for no other purpose than that of manifesting an unavailing resentment at a decision which we could not prevent, and which such a conduct has no tendency to alter, except indeed by the additional exasperation it must create.

“Nor can I conceal from you, wishing as I do to have no reserves with you on these subjects, what are the ulterior views which I entertain as consequent upon Lord Minto's appointment. His office had always been in my mind destined for my brother from the moment that I consented to the proposal of recommending Lord Henry Petty for the Exchequer Seals. No part of the arrangement ultimately formed was or could be so distressing to me as the failure of this object, and you know that I have more than once so expressed myself to you. I am confident no other circumstance has proved in the event equally prejudicial to the interests of our government, and knowing the opinion you entertain of him, I am sure the claim which I must make of that situation for him, accompanied with a seat in the Cabinet, could meet with no reluctance on your part whenever the opening shall arise.

“I fully shared in your desire to do everything that the warmest zeal could dictate to uphold Lord Lauderdale's pretensions.

“I am conscious of having done this to the very utmost by the exertion of the whole weight of Government as far as it was in my hands, and even by the unprecedented step of a personal canvass of the Directors. I did so the more zealously because, seeing what might come in question in case of failure, I was resolved that no personal views of mine either for myself or for those most nearly connected with me should

interfere with the most honourable discharge of what was due to yourself and to Lord Lauderdale. But when the accomplishment of his wishes is clearly impracticable, I cannot help expressing the hope that, in return, you will feel the same anxiety on your part to mould the new arrangement which must now be looked to, into such a shape as may best afford the opening for satisfying the just expectations I entertain on the subject of my brother. For myself at least I am sure no man can think it reasonable that I should be required to put these objects to hazard by doing that which I think wrong in itself, by declining to express a recommendation which is asked of us by the Directors in a spirit of conciliation, and which, in the common course of things, we are naturally called upon to give.

“My opinion of the course to be pursued by us in this business is, however, in no degree dependent upon the question of the particular individuals whose situations or pretensions may be brought into question by it. If the arrangement I have mentioned were wholly out of view, I should still think that our answer to a conciliatory proposition ought to be conciliatory, and that we ought to comply with the request now made to us of suggesting some other name in the place of one to which there appear to be objections, insuperable though unreasonable, on the part of those whose right to a negative in such case we cannot deny.

“I have stated to you all that is in my mind as to this subject because I cannot bear the idea of any concealment in such a case. But I trust you will do me the justice to understand that I do not mix the two questions which are in themselves perfectly distinct. I hope the views I have explained to you cannot be thought unreasonable; but if I were satisfied that they were so in the highest degree, I should equally be of opinion that some fresh arrangement must be made on the subject, and that some new recommendation ought in the present circumstances to be transmitted to the Directors.

“This is the point that presses first for decision, and on which it was therefore indispensably necessary that I should express my opinion to you. The other may easily be postponed for a subsequent consideration, nor would any other motives but those which I have stated to you have led me to advert to it in this letter.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, June 24. Downing Street.—“Both Lord Spencer and I have seen the Primate and conversed fully with him, and I trust he is well satisfied of our desire to act in the most perfect concurrence and co-operation with him in all that relates to the objects which you have mentioned. Sir J. Newport will, I trust, have explained to Mr. Elliot that his

proposed bill does nothing more than revive the powers of a former act which the Primate thought was still in existence, but which was found on enquiry to have expired. But I shall see him to-day, and I will again desire him not to proceed in it till the bill has been sent to Ireland and returned to us with your opinion upon it. I wish I knew where to get at the report of the commission of 1788. We have not, as far as I can find, any copy of it here. Newport showed me a sort of summary of it that had been made, I think, by Corry and Cooke. If we cannot find the original I will desire him to have this abstract copied and sent over to Ireland."

*Postscript.*—"Since I wrote the above I have seen in the Irish journals the report of a committee of the Irish House of Commons on this subject which seems to contain some useful information, but I have not had time yet to look into it." *Copy.*

#### THE SAME to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, June 24. Downing Street.—"On the fullest consideration of your brother's case, I am afraid I must say it is impossible to make a foreign Minister's provision for him on the scale he wishes, or indeed on any scale worth his acceptance.

"If you will look yourself at the Civil List Act you will see that the power there given is only that of enabling the King to allow to his foreign Ministers when unemployed a certain proportion of their allowances. It is plain therefore that these allowances must have reference to their former pay, and that we cannot take as the ground of such proportion the salary and other incidents, of a situation which your brother was indeed named to, but which untoward circumstances prevented him from ever executing.

"The time he has passed in India has undoubtedly been employed for the public service, but not for the public service in the Foreign Department; and it would be as improper to take that into consideration in giving a foreign Minister provision, as it would be to fix Sir J. Warren's pension by a reference, not to his services at Petersburg, but to his professional merits as a scaman.

"You are too just not to see the force of these difficulties, and I am sure you would be the last person in the world to wish that I should do in such a case what I could not justify either to myself or to the world." *Copy.*

#### MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 24. Oxford Street.—"I return you many thanks for your kind note respecting my brother Henry. Be assured that I am thoroughly convinced of your good wishes on every point affecting my interests, or those of my family. You do me justice in believing that I am incapable

of urging any request which could involve you in difficulty ; and I am satisfied that Henry would not advance any claim, which he did not think well founded. The observations which you make upon his claim appear to me to be just, and, as far as my own sentiments are concerned, I think it is due to you to assure you that I am completely satisfied. However, as I have not yet seen Henry, it is possible that he may state some further considerations to be submitted to you ; and in that event, I am convinced that you will examine with kindness whatever he may allege.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 24. Eden Farm.—“ I go to town to-morrow on some Privy Council businesses almost of importance sufficient to merit your attention and attendance, but Lord Henry Petty and Mr. Vansittart are summoned, and we will report to you if any doubts or difficulties should arise. The businesses are :—

“ 1. The drainage, canals, new purchase of lands, and other expensive considerations proposed for the completion of the lazarettos on Chetney Hill.

“ 2. A discussion with Mr. Rennie as to the building of the Mint on Tower Hill. That great undertaking is not yet reduced to any regular system of contracts.

“ 3. The final adjustment of a quarantine Bill, which we have prepared with great care and various advice, and which will not have any opposition ; Mr. Rose having contributed to it very materially.

“ 4. A Pilotage Bill, which has been in a course of preparation during three years, and is of very great importance. It is not proposed however to pass it this year, but only to carry it through the committee and to print and circulate it.

“ I should have added, with respect to the quarantine Bill, that it is highly important to extend that system to *Ireland* ; at present it is confined to Great Britain.

“ 5. A petition from Demarara, Berbice, and Essequibo proprietors for an order of Council to qualify the Act as to the importation of slaves and cultivation. I propose to decline entering into a subject which has been so recently before Parliament.

“ 6. The new instructions to the Governor of Newfoundland.

“ The above, added to the numerous incidents of the day, will furnish an ample bill of fare.

“ I presume that the Tortola Bill will go forwards without further difficulty : but I will enquire about it at the House.

*Private.* “ I would rather abandon any personal advantage, however material to me, than permit it to be attained in a form that might subject you to any fair attack. And therefore, as I have doubts whether a Treasury warrant, in favour of the two acting Lord Commissioners for redeeming



Land Tax, might not be a questionable mode of proceeding, I have received the advice of the Speaker. He is decidedly of opinion that the compensation should be proposed and voted in the Committee of supplies (to which the report may be referred) and that it cannot meet with any opposition. Lord Glenbervie has since seen Mr. Harrison for the purpose of settling the motion, that, at the proper time, it may be submitted to you for your approbation or correction.

“The Speaker has also assisted me in preparing the enclosed outline of a short Bill, if you continue to think with us that the measure is right in itself, and creditable to your Government. When the outline shall be approved, I will settle the particulars with Mr. Harrison. We calculate that the gain made by the public from the ecclesiastical and charitable bodies would clear the Land Tax of *all* the small livings and small charities, and leave a considerable residue.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, June 24. Downing Street.—“The Demerara planters having addressed their petition to the King in Council, Lord Fitzwilliam seemed to feel that it was not possible to avoid referring it to a committee. The proceeding need however be very short, for when the Bill was first introduced I heard all they had to say, and they have not a foot of ground to stand upon.

“I believe the form in which you propose that the matter of the compensation should be put, is the right one. Vansittart might have settled it with you in ten minutes if there were not just now obvious objections to his being the person to bring it forward. I must therefore speak to Lord Henry about it.

“I think the draft of the bill you suggest unexceptionable. When you have fully considered it, I will trouble you to return it to me, and I will fix a time for conversing with you and Lord Henry upon it. I return the draft with this note.”  
*Copy.*

*Private.* MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 24. Oxford Street.—“I send you a letter, which I have just now received from Barlow; it contained copies of his treaties with Scindiah and Holkar. They are too long to trouble you with at present. But I am happy to assure you that they are ably and effectually done; that they contain no concession which I should not have made under similar circumstances; and that they retain and, I trust, secure all the main advantages of the conquests achieved under my government. I therefore consider this event as of great importance to our interests in the East, and I sincerely congratulate you on the prospects which it opens.

"I am very anxious to see you on the general subject of India, and also respecting Barlow's situation. Both require immediate attention.

"Be so good as to return Barlow's letter by this messenger, and, if possible, name a time for seeing me.

"My cause seems at length to be in a way of obtaining justice. I am very cordially sensible of your kindness, to which I am deeply indebted. Perhaps it may now be thought wise even by your colleagues to make some effort to extricate from utter ruin and misery the person, who is the efficient cause of our present transcendent situation in the most valuable branch of our foreign empire. This can only be done by compelling my assassin to bring my whole case to immediate issue."

#### C. J. FOX to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 24. Stable Yard.—"I send you my draft for the inspection of the Cabinet as well as of yourself. I will write a private letter to Lord Yarmouth in regard to sending a person, if necessary, to draw up articles.

"I am too much tried with writing and pain to be able to answer your letter of yesterday. At present I can only say that of the three things proposed there is only one which I approve, and that one unfortunately depends on the carrying into execution of the former two, both of which I almost equally dislike. However, I suppose I must acquiesce, where, I am sorry to say, I cannot concur.

"I am a little hurt, too, when you were looking to the consequences of our yielding, that the *first* consideration with you should not have been what was to be offered to Lauderdale.

"I am afraid Lord Minto will be hardly judged. I know all that that is to be said on his side but yet—appearances.

Ουσζηλοι ναρτ'ειμεν επι χθου φυλ'ανθρωπων.

"I will write more fully on this to-morrow. My desire of T. Grenville in the Cabinet is hardly less than yours."

Stable Yard, 9 o'clock.—"I must have the draft to send to the King to-night. If you think of any alterations write them on a separate paper, and most probably they may be such as may be made after the King has seen the draft. I wish to send it off to-morrow. Lord Howick must have a vessel ready to carry it to Boulogne."

#### LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, June 25. Eden Farm.—"I go to town early to-morrow :—

"1. To adjust with the Speaker and Messieurs Wyatt, Groves, the Dean of Westminster and others, the further progress and completion of the Westminster improvements.

"2. To discuss with the Commissioners of Customs and

some merchants connected with the Newfoundland, American, and Mediterranean trade, the warehousing project for Malta and Gibraltar. I have a strong persuasion in favour of that project, which might gradually become of gigantic importance to us.

"I shall attend of course in Whitehall on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, as long as any business remains unfinished. I wish to avoid the House of Lords, but will attend there also if anything should arise to make you wish it particularly. In the meantime I have requested my old friend Lord Hood to vacate his proxy and to go when summoned.

"I have sent to Mr. Harrison our outline of the Bill for redeeming Church land tax, and have desired him to put it into technical form, and to deliver it to you. He understands the subject perfectly, and sees it in the same light that we all see it. Indeed I have no doubt that it will bring forward the opulent corporations with a profit to the public far beyond the sacrifice to be incurred. It will, however, be necessary that Lord Henry Petty should have explanations of this subject, which is quite new to him. I will send to-morrow to Downing Street the two first volumes of the Proceedings of the Lords Commissioners. These volumes will serve to show the nature of the land tax redemption; and they will also satisfy him that the pretensions to a compensation are most just and reasonable. They can remain for the present on one of your tables.

"We are much occupied at present by our various marriages; after which we meditate a visit to Shottesbrooke, and should have paid our respects at Dropmore on our way; but I fear that the session will not be completed soon enough for that part of our plan."

#### MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE SAME.

1806, June 26. Oxford Street.—"I am just now going out of town to Richard, and I hope to be able to return with him by Monday, or at least early in the next week.

"The subject on which I spoke to you last night is really become quite tedious to me, and I am convinced it must be vexatious to you. It is therefore my determination to leave the matter entirely to your judgment. I am ready to answer upon any inquiry; and I am satisfied that neither you nor the majority of the House will suffer any unjust prejudice to be cast upon my cause. My brothers will be prepared in Parliament to express these sentiments, and here I shall leave the subject without attempting to give any further trouble upon it.

"When you have decided with Lord Howick the line which you propose to take on Monday, it might be useful to acquaint Arthur with your intentions. Upon that point however you

will exercise your own judgment. Arthur will always be ready to attend you. He is in town, No. 11, Harley Street.

“I wish you could let me know whether you have decided anything respecting my brother Pole, or whether you are likely to be able to promote his wishes.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1806, June 26. Downing Street.—“I had some conversation yesterday with Lord Wellesley and Lord Temple respecting the course to be pursued on the subject of the Oude charges, on which the evidence is now closed, or on the point of being so. I believe the impression is very general that Paul has entirely failed to establish his accusation; and he now seems only to wish to put off the decision till the next session, a course of manifest and indefensible injustice.

“Notice has therefore been given on the part of Lord Temple that, if Paul does not bring the question forward before Wednesday next, Lord Temple will on that day submit to the House a motion upon it, and I sketched the enclosed which I now send for your consideration. I should be very glad to know your ideas upon it.

“The business I mentioned to you is not arranged owing to F[ox’s] illness, but I trust it will be satisfactorily settled.”  
*Copy.*

*Private.* THE SAME TO C. J. FOX.

1806, June 27.—“In consequence of a conversation I have had this morning with Lord Lauderdale, I mean, if you do not object to it, to desire Lord Minto to appoint the Chairman and Deputy to-morrow that I may deliver to them a paper recommending Lord Minto; protesting at the same time against what has passed on their part as being decidedly contrary to our deliberate opinion.

“I was, however, unwilling to take this step without first mentioning it to you; but unless you wish me to stop it, I beg you will not trouble yourself to write.

“I shall of course immediately put every thing in course for the Great Seal of Scotland being put into Lord Lauderdale’s hands, which I considered of course on his not being named to India.” *Copy.*

*Private.* VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 27. Richmond Park.—“I entirely concur with you in thinking it indispensably due to Lord Wellesley that there should be a decision on the Oude charge, previous to the prorogation; and the question upon which it is proposed to take the sense of the House of Commons appears to me to be well calculated to obtain the support of a large majority.

“The words that ‘this charge be dismissed’ are, I rather think, novel; if they should be considered as objectionable by any of those who wish to support the motion they might be omitted, and no other alteration would be necessary than the substitution of the word ‘appears’ for ‘appearing’ in the first line of the proposed resolution.

“In consequence of my continued absence from town, your letter did not reach me till this evening; from the same cause, I had not received a summons to the Cabinet, which, I conclude, met yesterday in Downing Street. The change of the place of meeting makes me apprehensive that Mr. F[ox] is very unwell. On that subject I have most uncomfortable forebodings. I mean to take my chance of finding you at liberty for five minutes about twelve o’clock to-morrow, but I should not be sorry to hear that you were gone to Dropmore.”

#### MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE SAME.

1806, June 29.—“My brothers have been very urgent with me, especially Arthur, to induce me to state for your consideration their opinion, that I ought to be present in the House of Lords to-morrow upon Lord Melville’s motion, in order to defend myself, if any attack should be made upon me, and also in order to bear testimony to Barlow’s conduct under me, without any reference to subsequent arrangements.

“It seems that an attempt has been made with success in the City to raise an opinion that I have been instrumental to Barlow’s recall; and notions are circulated that I have injured Barlow in your opinion. No rumour, as you know, was ever more false or absurd. But it prevails; and is certainly injurious to me. I confess that the inclination of my own mind is rather towards your advice, which led to dissuade me from attending to-morrow in the House of Lords. I wish, however, that you would reconsider the question; and, in a few lines, without troubling yourself to reason the point, state to me whether you think I ought to attend or not. Let me know your opinion pretty early in the day; I will follow your advice implicitly. I find that the sudden recall of Barlow is very unpopular; and unless you are too far advanced for any compromise, I think you would gain considerable advantage by continuing him undisturbed at least for another season. I am satisfied that such a measure would be useful to the public interests, and to your own reputation in a variety of considerations: and, if you can possibly pursue this moderate course, I would earnestly recommend it. If (as I hear) your first engagement is now out of the question, perhaps you might be able to conciliate the Directors by permitting Barlow to remain for a season; taking the new ground of the treaties, and of the arrangements connected with them. You will excuse this plain statement

of my opinion, which is founded upon my knowledge of the general sentiments of the public in London."

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 29.—"I send you with this the letter for the appointment of Mr. Agar to the agency of the Cape. I cannot dissemble that it happens in this instance that the sacrifice is considerable, as it deprives me of the only means of providing for some who cannot be benefited by anything which I could offer them abroad. I will flatter myself that, as opportunities occur, you may find one for disposing to equal advantage of Mr. Agar, and enable me thereby to apply this according to its original destination."

MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1806, June 29. Buckingham House.—"My satisfaction of every sort on the contents of your note, which I have just received, can only be equalled by my sense of the kind attention that suggested to you how much such a cordial would relieve an invalid. I verily believe that nothing you could suggest is more likely than this arrangement to contribute to your private comfort, or to your public situation; and it is peculiarly invaluable at a moment when it is impossible to disguise from ourselves the hourly increasing difficulties of public affairs.

"I fear that the die is cast respecting Fox, whether his life be protracted a few months or not; and I will fairly say that I see no solution that will give you either in Cabinet, or in the House of Commons, reasonable grounds for confidence or security; and, on the other hand, I cannot but turn with extreme disgust from those who, with a thousand duties to the public, and as many personal duties to you, have discharged those duties to both so ill. It will remain to be seen what engagements Mr. Fox's friends would contract, and what reasonable security they would hold out to you in case he should be forced by illness to vacate, or in case of his death; but I am satisfied that the result of a coalition with the present Opposition would be a complete surrender of the House of Commons to them, such as would turn you out of office in six months, or sooner, if the King should so think fit; and with a grievous diminution of character and of public confidence; more especially as such a coalition could not take place without including that *acquitted* man Lord Melville, whom *you* have saved, and who has instantly hoisted the Indian and Scotch standard against you.

"Very much however of all this will depend upon the issue of your negotiations, on which I will fairly say that I distrust you so much because I feel that I should distrust myself. It is so obviously the interest of Bonaparte to

sacrifice so much *in presenti* for the immense objects *in futuro*, that I fear he will make it impossible for you to refuse his peace—suppose him to agree to cede Hanover and Malta—and yet such a peace would be the death warrant to England, either with respect to foreign relations or to domestic security.

“But I know not why I make you so bad a return for the pleasure your note gives me, for certainly your view of your difficulties did not want any colouring from my sombre pencil. The bright side of the picture is the perfect understanding and cordial union of all those who love each other, and look to their present and future comforts in that love and union.”

#### W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, June 30. [Pall Mall.]—“I find by inquiry that there is no objection whatever on the score of professional practice to Craufurd’s appointment to the command of the force about to be sent to South America. Maitland was only a Colonel when he was sent to the command of St. Domingo; and the present Major-General Spencer was not more than half way up the list of Lieutenant-Colonels, when he was made a Brigadier in the West Indies. Upon that latter precedent, therefore, as well as upon others, there would be no objection to granting to Craufurd the local rank of Major-General, were it necessary; but the number of troops which he would have to command would require nothing but the rank of Brigadier. In every other view the case is perfectly clear. There can be no service in which it is so necessary that the person employed should carry out the immediate sentiments of his employers, and be a person selected by them; and I know not in the whole army list a person more to be confided in than Craufurd. Every one confesses his good sense and talents as an officer; his length of service is not less than that of half the Lieutenant-Generals, namely, six and twenty years; and his probity and disinterestedness have been evinced both in the circumstances which have brought us together, and have shown themselves in every transaction since. He has literally sacrificed all his professional prospects to the part he took in Parliament, and scarcely an opportunity can be looked for for replacing them, should the present be passed over. Among his other claims is the moderation and modesty with which he has urged his wishes on the present occasion, after having been giving to me, for now five months, his assistance as Under-Secretary of State, in mere consideration of my wish to have placed him in that situation.

“I should really never be able to look him in the face if I were to pass him by upon this occasion; nor could I reconcile it to my belief of what is best for the service, were I to put the execution of it in the hands of any one whose name has occurred to me, in preference to his. Besides the advantage

of sending to such a command a person who can take with him the last ideas of Government, communicated to him personally as well as in writing, the officer deputed by those whose conduct has made their recall necessary, even though he may not be so blameable as to be an object of direct censure, is not precisely the person whom you would choose for so delicate a service."

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, June 30.—"I saw Canning this morning, and without committing you in any degree, conversed upon the prospects of different parties, and particularly upon the scale of pretensions among the leaders of the Opposition. I found from him that they were to have a meeting on Wednesday for the express purpose of adjusting their plans for the summer and autumn, with a view to the event of any change of circumstances. He said that after that meeting it would be more easy to speak positively with regard to the relative pretensions of those who had led among them, and with regard also to the degree of union which was likely to be maintained in the whole body upon any future occasion.

"As far as I could collect however from a very desultory conversation, it appears that Lord Melville's views are more likely to be directed to the advancement of his son, than to any objects for himself; and that although any exclusion of him, upon any principle which might be deemed disgraceful, would of course be inadmissible, it was not probable that Lord Melville personally would press for office at any time.

"The persons named as the principal leaders were Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, and Percival. I could not however ascertain what their expectations are in the event of arranging any new system.

"I shall see Canning again on Wednesday, immediately after their meeting, or in the course of that day, when I shall be able to learn the exact state of their views."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1806, June 30. Charles Street.—"General Du Mourier has enclosed to me three papers which he has already communicated to Mr. Fox, and which he desires me to forward to you. The first is a project of the northern league; the second contains two letters from Du Mourier to the King of Sweden whom he saw at Stralsund six weeks ago; and the third is a project for the defence of Sicily and of Sardinia; that of Sicily by a large English force, and that of Sardinia by a marine of frigates, sloops and smaller vessels.

"Du Mourier tells me that he has always thought it his duty since he has been in this country, to communicate all papers of this description both to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and



to the most influencing Minister in the Government, and therefore desires me to send them to you.

“There are some parts of the northern project, and of his notions about the Mediterranean, that appear to deserve notice.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO THE SAME.

1806, June 30. Dublin Castle.—“As Newport seems to entertain the hope of being able to leave London early in the next month, I must beg you not to let him go without seeing Lord Ponsonby, as it may be productive of endless embarrassment if the line Government is to pursue in respect to the Beresfords and Ponsonbys is not settled and *defined* under your authority. There should also be an explanation between Newport and the Beresfords about the city of Waterford. I presume you persevere in the intention of supporting Carew for the county of Wexford at the general election.

“Lord Spencer will have mentioned to you that Mr. Justice Johnson is anxious to be *secured* from the *possibility* of any future proceeding against him in consequence of his conviction, by a *noli prosequi*. I know not what you may ultimately judge proper to do upon this point; but I am solicitous you should understand that I have carefully abstained from holding out to him any expectation of a compliance with his request.”

EARL TEMPLE TO THE SAME.

1806, June 30. Pall Mall.—“Parnell called upon me to-day to communicate to me a message with which he is charged to you from Lord Clermont, but which, not having been presented to you, he preferred giving in the first instance through me. Lord Clermont desires you will not conceive Fortescue, the Irish member his nephew, to be in opposition. This he has thought it necessary to explain, as Fortescue has been *making as if* he was in opposition the whole session; but Lord Clermont has sworn, and Fortescue has sworn too, that his wish and intention is to support *your* government. I take it for granted that this is preparatory to some attempt at a job; but as Lord Clermont probably wishes the message to be delivered *to you* by Parnell, will you desire Mr. Fisher to appoint him any hour, on any day, merely that he may say what I have written.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, July 1. Eden Farm.—“In my frequent excursions from this place to Whitehall, I do not attempt to call on you, though it would often remove my doubts and difficulties, if I could engage your attention for a moment.

“I yesterday settled finally a report to the King in Council on the location of lands in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

It has been a very troublesome business, and we were well assisted by Mr. Uniacke, the Attorney General for Nova Scotia, who seems to possess considerable ability and information. I have desired Mr. Fawkener to lay our draft before you, and you will see that your suggestions have been particularly adverted to. Mr. Uniacke is of opinion that this measure will gradually work itself into a most extensive and beneficial operation.

“The *Sydney* (of 900 tons) being expected every day from New South Wales with a cargo of seal skins and oil, we have ordered the vessel to be admitted to entry, and the cargo for home consumption; and we have apprised the East India directors that this order is without prejudice to any right or claim of right on their part; it being our intention, as soon as time will allow, to take the whole subject into consideration, and to bring it under the view of his Majesty’s ministers.

“Applications are making for licenses to Prussian vessels to bring masts, spars and naval stores from Dantzic. It is extremely objectionable to trade avowedly under the flag of an enemy; but Lord Howick, with whom I have corresponded and consulted on the subject, seems desirous that such cargoes should come, at all events if for the use of the navy. I shall know more to-morrow at the Board.

“We have completed the ‘Bill to allow certain enumerated articles’ (oil, wine and cork) ‘to [be] exported *direct* from Gibraltar and Malta to his Majesty’s colonies in North America, in return for North American fish.’ Some applications are now making to extend that provision to Lisbon; but as the experiment is novel, it seems best for the present to confine it to our own possessions. The Duke of Kent has written a very handsome note on the importance of this Bill.

“Mr. Vansittart and Sir Joseph Banks have much assisted me in the discussions respecting the lazarettos and warehouses on Chetney Hill. We shall make our report to-morrow to the Treasury.

“We have ordered a small copper coinage (tokens) for the use of the Bahamas, to be executed immediately by Mr. Bolton, deducting from the intrinsic value only so much as shall pay the expense.

“It seems desirable to avoid bringing forwards any new Bills, and to close the session, if possible, on the 16th or 17th at the latest.”

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 2.—“I have just now seen Canning again; from him I collect, that the greater portion of the present Opposition is personally well disposed towards you, and Canning particularly so; that, however, they are resolved to adhere together as a body, and that the leading individuals would

think it injurious to the public service, as well as to their own reputations, to form any connection without the concurrence of the corps. That if any propositions were to be made to any of them, their first inquiry would be, whether it came from the King, without whose direct authority none of them would be disposed to enter into any discussions relative to the acceptance of office.

“ Upon the whole it appeared to me that Canning’s opinion is, that it would be difficult to obtain any considerable aid from the Opposition without a previous dissolution of the present Government, and a new construction upon such a basis as might appear advisable under such circumstances. In the event of a dissolution of the present Government, his opinion is, that all would unite in considering you to be the most proper person to form a new system, which might then be composed of such materials as might appear to promise duration. The crisis would (in his view of it), be nearly the same as that which occurred upon Pitt’s death, and a fair consideration might then be given to the relative pretensions of all parties under your general control.

“ I am inclined to believe that he spoke to me with sincerity and fairness, and with an extensive knowledge of the state of the House of Commons, and of parties generally. He said that it was obviously the interest of himself and his friends rather to avoid than to seek office in the present moment, as it was evident that their pretensions would be augmented by acting in a body for a longer period of time, under circumstances of increasing advantage.

“ I think it is therefore improbable that any large body of the Opposition would easily be disposed to act with the present Government in the event of any calamity depriving you of Mr. Fox’s aid.

“ With regard to individuals, I found that Canning spoke of Lord Camden as a person on whom he did not rely, and whose conduct was deemed doubtful and even unimportant by the party. I do not believe this sentiment to be general. I am convinced that Lord Camden is highly respected by many of the party; but it may be useful to you to know that he was not numbered among the chiefs in the account which I received to-day.

“ My opinion upon the whole question (founded on the impressions which I have received from Canning’s conversation, and from the general language of my brothers), is that you will not be able to draw any material assistance from the Opposition in the event of Mr. Fox’s death, unless that event should produce a totally new construction of the whole Government. In that case, *you* will certainly possess the power of proportioning the materials of a new system according to such principles as you may deem most secure. When I say you will possess the *power*, I make no reference to your engagements with Mr. Fox’s friends, of which you

know the extent better than I do : but I am satisfied that no other obstacle would exist, to prevent the formation of a Government of great strength under your control.

“ I have been confined to my house for two days by a cold, and cannot yet go out. To-morrow my daughter is to be married by Doctor Moss.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, July 2. Downing Street.—“ It seems to me perfectly impossible that the Prussian ships (whatever be their cargoes) can come here under Prussian colours. There is also a new difficulty which has arisen on the part of his Swedish majesty, who blocks all the Baltic ports of Prussia. I should wish to see you for a few minutes on this latter point, on which something more must be done.

“ Vansittart has promised me to expedite all the business now before the House, and certainly no new points must be brought forward there.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 2. Palace Yard.—“ Your note having been brought to this house, was not received by me till this moment, on returning from the Whitehall businesses which happened to be longer than usual.

“ I will wait on you at half-past ten on Friday morning, in the hope of being admitted for three or four minutes.

“ In your interdiction of new points to be brought before the House, you will not include a few provisions for the benefit of trades, which we are adjusting with the Commissioners of Customs, and which are of considerable importance, and *not on debateable grounds.*”

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, July 3. Downing Street.—“ There is reason to believe that, in case of a dissolution of Parliament, Lord Frederic Montague would not offer himself again for Huntingdonshire; and in that event, there seems ground to hope that Lord Proby might be considered by the county in general as an unexceptionable candidate. If your grace is not under any other engagement in this respect, I need hardly say that I should feel myself most particularly obliged by your support of Lord Proby; and I believe the knowledge that he had the advantage of your good wishes and powerful interest would decide him to offer himself, and would, I trust, insure his election. *Copy.*

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 3. Phoenix Park.—“ I have the honour to transmit for your lordship’s consideration a list of the can-

didates who present themselves to our choice to fill the vacant seats at the Boards of Revenue, together with Mr. Elliott's observations on the merits of each, in the propriety of which I entirely concur with him. The arrangement for Mr. Marsden's retirement being now, I hope, completed by the assistance we have received from your side of the water, his appointment to one of the Boards may, I presume, be considered as decided upon; and I am persuaded we shall gain by it a very useful and efficient member. Another seat your lordship will recollect was promised to Mr. A. Hutchinson, in the arrangement concluded with Lord Donoughmore previous to my leaving England; and, beyond these, no engagement has been made, and no expectation held out, with the exception of a seat to be reserved for the recommendation of Sir John Newport; a request on his part, which Mr. Elliott and I concurred in thinking to be just and reasonable, and on every account fit to be acceded to. In the disposal of the remaining three seats we are anxious to obtain your lordship's opinion.

"Mr. Dundas stands first on the list, and his name has been so strongly urged by the Latouches, that I cannot help thinking his appointment in this respect most desirable; though of his probable efficiency, I am sorry to add, I have not heard any very favourable report. My own wishes incline strongly to Mr. Lambert, as Mr. Coke is so extremely anxious about him, and I have reason to believe he would prove an efficient member; but I have no desire to press him against what may be considered as better founded or stronger claims.

"The Ponsonbys are particularly anxious in favour of Mr. Taylor, and if he is disposed to give up his army agency, the appointment, I think, would be a very proper one; but I presume your lordship would not approve of a Commissioner of Revenue exercising also the office of army agent.

"Mr. Hardy is strongly recommended by Mr. Fox and Lord Moira, and would be an useful member, if he does not object to reside in Dublin, of which it appears there are some doubts.

"Mr. Therry would also make a very unexceptionable commissioner, and the important object which his Majesty's ministers have in view of extending the countenance and goodwill of government towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland would be consulted by this appointment. I must, however, add that it is possible that some other office may be found for Mr. Therry.

"Upon the whole it appears to me that Mr. Dundas, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Hardy and Mr. Therry are entitled to the most prominent share in your lordship's consideration. I feel strongly the importance, the absolute necessity of giving vigour, energy and efficacy to the revenue laws; and I am not aware that I have selected any names (with the

exception perhaps of that of Mr. Dundas) which will not add character and efficiency to the Boards."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 4. Office for Trade.—"I forgot to mention that I have promised to Lord Howick that I will attend at the House of Lords on Wednesday next to move the second readings of the two Greenwich Bills; for it is possible that Lord Eldon may be disposed to ask some questions respecting them.

"If you foresee any long debates as to the military questions either on that day or on the Friday, and think it material that I should attend, I shall be glad to have a hint before-hand, that I may make my arrangements for postponing engagements in the country, and for sleeping in town. I have, however, some reason to believe that it is not meant to try any more divisions this session."

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, July 4. Dublin Castle.—"Mr. Brooke, a gentleman of considerable fortune in Fermanagh, is likely to be a candidate for that county. He is recommended to the countenance of Government by the Chancellor. However, if Lord Enniskillen is friendly to administration, I presume you would not think it right that we should withdraw our support from Colonel Cole (Lord Enniskillen's brother) who is now one of the members. Pray let me have your sentiments on this matter. As we have had no lists of peers on any of the late divisions, I know not what part Lord Enniskillen has taken.

"I shall be obliged to you also, if you will inform me whether Carew and Colclough are to be supported for the county of Wexford at the general election. Newport will probably speak to you on the subject. From the tenor of your letters at the commencement of the last Wexford election I certainly conceived that it was your wish that Carew and Colclough should have the interest of Government at the general election, but the friends of Mr. Ram, one of the present members, are circulating a report that you and Fox have given some assurance to *him*. I am anxious therefore for further information."

*Postscript.*—"The collector of Maryborough in the Queen's County has failed. It is a good collectorship, and Parnell has applied for it on behalf of a friend, who, I believe, is qualified for the situation. Will there be any objection to the arrangement? My reason for asking is that Lord Temple has a considerable interest in the county. The name of Parnell's friend is Doyle."

*Private.* THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, July 4. Dublin Castle.—"The Lord Lieutenant will transmit to you, either by this, or the next post, a list of all

the candidates for situations at the new Revenue Boards. There are, exclusive of the seats intended for Hutchinson and Marsden, four vacancies; and the persons, whom the Lord Lieutenant has selected for his particular recommendation, are 1st, Mr. Dundas, brother-in-law to Mr. Robert Latouche, with whom I am not acquainted, but he is a person who wishes for an efficient office, and it would give the most serious umbrage to the Latouche family if he were not appointed to one of the Boards; 2nd, Mr. Hardy, who was formerly in the Irish Parliament and about whom Fox feels a great interest. He is, I am informed, well qualified for business, but Sir John Newport will be able to furnish you with more particular intelligence about him; 3rd, Mr. Taylor, who is an old friend of the Ponsonby family, and whom they have most earnestly pressed upon the Duke's attention. He is conversant with business, and would, I have no doubt, make a very efficient commissioner. I must mention, however, that he is an army agent, and the Chancellor told me that he was desirous of retaining his agency with his seat at the Revenue Board. The *two* employments you will probably think incompatible, in which case the seat at the Board can only be offered to him on condition of his relinquishing his agency; 4th, Mr. Maquay, a respectable Bank Director, who is proposed by Sir John Newport. The Lord Lieutenant will of course explain to you that, with the exception of the promises to Hutchinson and Marsden, no *engagement* whatever has been made, and that the arrangement is perfectly open to your consideration."

#### MINUTE OF CABINET.

1806, July 4. Downing Street.

Present :

|                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| Lord President.   | Lord Howick.       |
| Lord Privy Seal.  | Lord Ellenborough. |
| Earl Spencer.     | Mr. Windham.       |
| Lord Henry Petty. | Lord Grenville.    |
| Earl of Moira.    |                    |

"On consideration of the letters received early this morning from Lord Yarmouth it is humbly submitted to your Majesty that Lord Yarmouth should be instructed to decline all proposals of indemnifying your Majesty or your allies for the cession of Sicily to France, by the acquisition of states or towns in the north of Germany; such acquisition not being consistent with the principles on which your Majesty acts; and that Lord Yarmouth should recall the French Government to the basis on which alone the negotiation was opened, in which Sicily was by express declaration included, and with which its surrender would be wholly inconsistent; and, if he should find this impossible, that he

should then return to England, expressing, in terms perfectly civil, but at the same time quite determined, that he is not at liberty to treat on any other basis than that already established.

“It is also submitted that a reinforcement of six thousand men should immediately be sent to Sicily to ensure the protection of that island.” *Copy.*

CHARLES JAMES FOX to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 4. Stable Yard, 9 o'clock.—“Mr. Fox has been in such a constant state of suffering or weakness that he has been incapable all day of writing or dictating on any subject of importance. He entirely approves of the minute, and will be very much obliged to Lord Grenville if he would write himself or get written a draft conformable to its contents. He hopes Lord Grenville will send it to the King to-night that there may be no delay. Mr. Fox's only doubt is whether so much stress ought to be laid in the draft on the affair of the Hans Towns. The principles professed are perfectly right, but whether it be necessary or even convenient to display them on the present occasion is the question. Might it not suffice to say that they cannot in the present circumstances answer the purpose of an equivalent. Sicily is the main point.”

*Particulière.* COUNT STROGANOFF to THE SAME.

1806, July 4. London.—“En transmettant ci-jointe à votre Excellence la copie de la lettre particulière que m'a écrite Mr. d'Oubril, et où vous verrez en partie ce qu'il compte obtenir, je ne puis m'empêcher de profiter de cette occasion pour prier votre Excellence de considérer avec attention, si par l'établissement d'une puissance indépendante en Dalmatie et les pays circonvoisins, on n'assureroit pas la stabilité de l'empire Ottoman, l'influence Anglo-Russe à Constantinople; si cela ne seroit pas un avantage pour l'Autriche en assurant son flanc, et si ses conséquences, dis-je, ne justifieroient pas l'évacuation de la Sicile, dont la défense ne présente pas à l'Europe et à l'Angleterre en particulier les avantages qu'un pareil état présenteroit; et si, par conséquent, le point d'honneur attaché à la garder ne seroit pas mis hors d'atteinte par les nombreux bienfaits qui en resulteroient pour le Continent? Je vous prie d'observer ici que je ne dénomme aucune contrée spécialement; parceque les questions que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser ce matin, doivent nécessairement être approfondies avant de pouvoir prendre une décision finale; mais je parle simplement en tant que cela regarde le principe, bien persuadé que si l'on en convenoit, cela faciliteroit la négociation à Paris; et j'ose prendre sur moi d'affirmer que



l'opinion de ma cour seroit pour l'établissement d'un pareil état conforme à l'opinion que j' enonce ici. Un autre avantage que je ne saurois passer sous silence, et qui n' est certainement pas de peu de conséquence, seroit celui de ne point faire de paix séparée, idée qui, je dois l'avouer, me repugne infiniment, et sera bien désagréable à St. Petersbourg. La conclusion d'un paix unie seroit, je erois, du plus grand avantage dans ce moment. Je n'appuyeraï d'avantage sur cette vérité, que est gravée dans le coeur de tout bon Anglois et de tout bon Russe. Je suis persuadé que le Cabinet de Sa Majesté Brittanique pèsera ces considérations avec toute l'attention qu' elles méritent, et je m'enfie totalement à ses sentimens loyaux à eet égard."

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1806, July 4. Admiralty.—“As the accompanying despatches did not arrive till past two this morning, Fox has not seen them. Will you have the goodness therefore, after reading them, to return them to me that I may send them to him. If you think it would be desirable to have a Cabinet on them to-day, pray fix the hour.

“The third reading of the Training Bill is fixed for to-day. From the appearance of last night I don't think they are inclined to debate it any more, and it probably may be got through in time for Lord Wellesley's business to come on afterwards. But, even at the risk of this being put off till Monday, which cannot be of much importance, it appears to me to the greatest degree desirable that the Training Bill should proceed, as it might then be taken to the House of Lords to-morrow, and you might get through it in time to prorogue Parliament the week after next, which otherwise you will not be able to do.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, July 4. Downing Street.—“We are to have Lord Melville's motion on Tuesday, and I suppose that day and the two or three following will dispose of the Training Bill, and with it of the debates of this session. It is always difficult to judge as to the intentions of dividing, but of course we ought to have what strength we can for those days.”  
*Copy.*

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 4. Oxford Street.—“The rumour of an existing negociation for peace is now so strong, that I think it is right to call your attention to the state of affairs in India with reference to the probability of peace with France and Holland.

“The questions connected with this subject were under my consideration in the year 1803, when I sent a dispatch to Lord Hobart, which I believe comprehends every material branch of the subject. The dispatch must be in Mr. Windham’s office. If peace should be concluded with France without some previous attention to the relative condition of the two states in India, great danger to our interests in that quarter must ensue. Being entirely ignorant of the nature of any proposed basis of peace with France, it is impossible for me, at present, to offer any more particular observation respecting the effect of such an event upon our interests in India. But I think that your attention ought to be directed without delay to an accurate examination of this subject, which, perhaps, involves the most important points to be settled in any peace with France and Holland at the present moment.”

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 5. Pall Mall.—“I am plagued to death by applications from Dumourier, claiming that his last year’s salary should be paid twice over in consideration of the expenses of his journey upon the Continent, which he describes as undertaken solely with a view to the common cause, and at the desire of the Government. His allowance per year (most improvidently granted him in my opinion) amounts to 500*l.* That it was paid from this Office, I have no authority but his own word, as there is no document upon the subject among the papers here; any more than there is for his having been sent to the Continent by the desire of Government. Both those facts may be true, however, without any trace appearing here, as little has been left in the Office that could by possibility be carried away. The 500*l.* for the expenses of his journey must, perhaps, now be allowed him; though it might be right that the question should first be asked, which I thought had been done, whether Lord Castlereagh or any of the late Government owns his having been sent to the Continent by their desire. The more material question is, what should be done with him, and how, if he is to stay here, or have his allowance continued, the allowance ought to be paid. I shall certainly be very glad to get rid of him as a charge upon the secret service of this Office.”

GEORGE III to THE SAME.

1806, July 5. Windsor Castle.—“The King cannot but highly approve the minute of Cabinet which he has received from Lord Grenville, and the firmness with which his Ministers are disposed to act upon an occasion when it must be evident to them that the French Government has lost sight of every

principle of honor and good faith upon which nations can alone treat with any degree of security. His Majesty is sorry that Mr. Fox's health still continues such as to offer an excuse for not transmitting the papers in question."

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, July 6. Dropmore.—“The principal difficulty as to the business to which the enclosed papers relate is as to the mode of carrying the work into execution.

“The more I look into this subject of expenditure, the more reason I see for believing that this new invention of issuing money to be expended by the Quarter-Master-General, made *under the pretence of field works*, is perfectly against law, a fraud on Parliament, and a contrivance to evade all the established checks of every description which the constitution of our Government has provided against improvident expenditure.

“My resolution is therefore taken (and nothing but the being convinced that the grounds of my opinion are wrong, can shake it) never again to put my name to any warrant for the issue of one farthing more in that form.

“If there be any utility in making a pier at the place here stated, which is, I believe, a point much contested, such an expenditure is exactly of the description of those which ought to be stated to Parliament, it's advantage discussed there, and the money voted upon estimate accordingly.

“With respect to Dumourier, I think the reference you propose to Lord Castlereagh is quite right. I believe he may be made use of. He has undoubted military talents; and the papers I have lately seen of his about Sicily and Sardinia accord so much with my own ideas, that I naturally think them able and useful. If peace should come, it might then indeed be a question what further use could be made of him.” *Copy.*

EARL TEMPLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1806, July 6. Pall Mall.]—“The very unpleasant result of Friday night, disastrous to Lord Wellesley and *most* disagreeable personally to me, has obliged me to write a letter of which the enclosed is a copy; it will explain itself. I can only repeat to you what the letter says that, although it is impossible for me after the treatment I have received to appear as leader in the cause, nothing shall induce me to withdraw from it; and I desire to be understood as ready to act under any leader, and to assist as far as I can any measure Lord Wellesley's friends may advise him to take. I should like to see you in the course of the day upon this business, and, if you will appoint an hour, I will contrive to get to you in my carriage.”

*Enclosure.*

*Private.* EARL TEMPLE to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, July 5. Whitehall.—“I trust Sir Arthur Wellesley has explained to you the cause of our failure last night. You well know that I went down to the House with the fullest concurrence of all your friends, who, after mature deliberation, had determined that, at all hazards, a decision upon the Oude question should be obtained last night. Feeling most warmly anxious that you should be relieved from the unpleasant state of suspense in which Mr. Paull had studiously endeavoured to keep you, and being most fully and deeply impressed with the injustice of the imputations cast upon you, and the charges brought against you, nothing gave me more heartfelt pleasure than being the instrument, assisted by your friends, of gratifying my own feelings by vindicating your character. I cannot conceal from you the mortification I now experience in finding myself deserted by one class of your friends, and in the manner the most injurious and unpleasant to me. If Mr. Percival, or those with whom he is connected, had showed the least unwillingness in the course of our communications to adopt any of the measures we had proposed for bringing the charge to an issue, I trust you will believe that no foolish pride on my part, or wish to put myself forward, would for one moment have stood in the way; and I would with pleasure have acceded to any mode which could have been suggested for uniting persons who think equally warmly on your subject, however they may differ upon other points, in one common effort. I, however, fully understood at the various meetings which were held, that no difference of opinion existed as to the mode to be adopted last night, and that it was fully understood and agreed to on all hands that the motion should be made by me. You may easily conceive my astonishment when Mr. Percival, without one word of communication with me, or any of your friends connected with me, took upon himself to give the whole business a new shape, and to render the carrying into execution *impossible* that which he as well as his friends had promised to support me in doing at all hazards. I certainly had no right to expect that any feelings for me should operate upon Mr. Percival or his friends, but I cannot help thinking that regard for you might have induced them to pause before they disavowed me, who, in putting myself forward, had but one object in view, that of forwarding your wishes; and in so doing had acted with their fullest concurrence and promises of support. When I found it impossible upon the ground on which Mr. Percival had placed it, to bring the House to any final decision upon the question, it was my wish at least to bring the business to a conclusion for that night in the manner which would best have enabled us to have resumed the consideration of the

question whenever it might be thought prudent to do so ; and which would have left it in the manner the least grating to my own personal feelings. I therefore proposed that the House should go into the committee *pro formâ* only, pledging myself that no decision should be called for until the papers Mr. Paull had stated were necessary, had been laid upon the table and considered. Mr. Wellesley Pole then rose and begged of me, as a personal favour, to withdraw the motion entirely ; and Mr. Percival again got up and professed his intention of opposing the Speaker's leaving the chair, even under my explanation. I found myself obliged therefore (though the House would have supported me in going into the committee upon my explanation) to withdraw the whole motion *at your brother's request* ; and thus I find myself, in the manner the most unpleasant to me, held out to the public as having wished to force on the decision of the question precipitately ; and that in the most invidious way, by taking it out of the hands of the person originally in possession of the question. The impression is further made that I have given way only to the request of your friends and your brother, and consequently that I had brought it in against their wishes, or at least without communication with them. In this very unpleasant situation the feeling the most galling to my mind is that your cause has been thrown away ; and an opportunity lost which I fear cannot be recovered this session. I can no longer put myself forward as the leader upon a question where those who think with me in principle will not act with me in detail. I trust you will believe the warmth and anxiety with which I assure you that, if your friends shall think it right to bring the question forward again in the course of the session, my best exertions are at your command. But I feel I cannot again put myself in the situation to be again disavowed and deserted ; neither can I disguise from myself that, after the impression which last night must have made, your cause must suffer if I was again to intrude myself upon the House, as the leader in a question upon which I certainly now, from want of support, have the credit of consulting the feelings of my own personal vanity only, and not your interests. Having said thus much I again repeat my readiness in the fullest manner, to co-operate with your friends under any leader and in any measure it may be thought fit to pursue ; but I shall feel it a matter of the deepest regret that I am deprived of the gratification I had promised myself of appearing the foremost of those entrusted with the proud charge of rescuing your character from the infamous attempts which have been made to put it down."

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 7. Phoenix Park.—"I have the honour of your lordship's letter of the 3rd instant, and hasten to assure you

that if Lord Frederick Montagu should decline offering himself for the county of Huntingdon at the next general election, what little interest I may possess in that county will be most cordially exerted in favour of Lord Proby.

“I perceive by the newspapers that Lord Henry Petty has introduced the subject of vaccine inoculation to the notice of Parliament, and I cannot resist the opportunity it affords me of expressing to your lordship how anxious I feel that Dr. Jenner’s merits and labours should obtain that justice from Government which has been withheld from him. His long and unwearied exertions, his patient and laborious investigation, the great expenses he has incurred, and is still annually incurring, justly entitle him to a liberal remuneration from the public; and sure I am that the sum formerly voted to him by Parliament can in no degree be so considered.

“I trust the enquiry will be extended to Ireland. I have taken some pains since I have been here in acquiring information as to the progress vaccination has made in this country, and as to the increase or decrease of the ravages of the small-pox, since the vaccine has been introduced; and the more knowledge I obtain on this subject, the more I am persuaded that we shall never succeed in the great object we have in view, namely, the extermination of the small-pox, without legislative interference; and, however, we may be shocked at the idea of compulsory measures, yet sure I am that it can never be inconsistent with the principles of a wise government to stop, or at least to confine the fatal progress of a pestilential and destructive disorder, by which thousands are annually swept from the population of the country.

“The propriety and probable efficacy of Parliamentary interference were last year frequently discussed at the Jennerian Society, and without trespassing on your lordship’s time by any detail of argument, I beg leave to refer you to Dr. Jenner, should you have leisure to see him.

“I rejoice to learn that Fox is so much better.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 7. Phoenix Park.—“It grieves me much to find by your letter of the 3rd instant that you entertain so gloomy a view of Fox’s state of health. The apprehension of such a calamitous deduction from the strength of Government does indeed render an efficient successor to King a matter of primary importance, and I wish I could suggest any such person for your consideration. Though I think Marsden would perform the *official* part of the duty of a Secretary to the Treasury to your satisfaction, and with the most scrupulous fidelity, yet I must *confidentially* acknowledge to you, that I doubt whether he has that sort of activity and address which would secure his success in his intercourse and communication with

members of Parliament. If, however, no person, who may be better qualified in point of parliamentary experience should occur to you, I will sound him on the subject, whenever you authorize me to do so. At the same time I conceive he would be reluctant to embark in so precarious a situation without being sure of some permanent provision in the event of any adverse circumstances.

"The two appointments to which you allude, give me, as you will imagine, much pleasure. They will both most essentially conduce to the benefit of the empire. The only circumstance which detracts from the satisfaction I derive from them, is the prospect of so long a separation from Lord Minto.

"I thank you much for your solicitude about my health, which is in its ordinary state, never, as you know, very *robust*."

*Postscript*.—"I have no other reason for thinking that Carew ought to be supported for the county of Wexford than that some foundation was given him at the late election for believing that he might have the interest of Government at the general election. Newport, to whom you had better speak on the subject, seems to be very sanguine about Carew's success."

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1806, July 7. Admiralty.—"I send you some despatches from Admiral Cochrane, which are of considerable importance. I cannot make out what the French line of battleship is that arrived at Martinique; but I think it must either be the *Regulus*, which went some time ago down the coast of Africa, or one of Jerome's squadron.

"The details of Admiral Cochrane's agreement with Miranda are contained in a letter to Lord Spencer which of course he will circulate. His conduct seems to me hardly less exceptionable than that of Sir Home Popham. I think we should have a Cabinet on this subject to-morrow, as well as upon the answer brought by Basilico, who landed at Dover yesterday evening. I have not heard whether he is arrived in town. Be so good as to send back Cochrane's letters as they must go to the King."

#### MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1806, July 8. Stowe.—"Under the uncertainty of your Irish election, I have arranged with my burgesses that the bailiff shall be absent till Monday next, and that the election will then be proclaimed for the ensuing Monday the 10th. This will give the most ample time for all the possible delay at Enniskillen.

"I have not an idea that Russia will disavow their treaty, and, if so, I shall be curious to see the line which you will

take on this dissolution of the Germanic constitution, in breach not only of an establishment in which all Europe is interested, but specifically of the treaty of Westphalia. The subject would lead very much beyond the limits of a letter, but I feel very much inclined to think that we ought to commit ourselves on this question.

“ I am sorry to find from Tom that there is reason to think, after all Sir Sidney’s vaunts, that Gaeta has fallen. My private letter from Talbot of the 27th May says that he is just returned from it, in his *Thunderer* 74, and thinks that it will hold out; but his account of the no-government of Sicily is very alarming. He has had bad luck, having—with the *Ajax* under his orders—missed by a very few minutes taking two Spanish 74’s off Carthage. He laid a trap for them, tempted them out of harbour, but the fog cleared away, and they got back, having escaped being cut off by about seven or eight minutes.

“ I hope and trust that you never will have reason to accuse me of pressing upon you any *protégé* for a situation for which he is unfit; but I own that I never was so much surprised at your doubts of Mansell’s fitness for such a situation, in which he is only one of two commoners, both of whom must concur *in every act*, and for which his residence in France for three years give him great advantages. But, independent of this, I, who have known him intimately and confidentially for so many years, must say that I think his abilities much above the common rate, and that his attachment, devotion and services to me require from me every return in my power. It would therefore mortify me very much if I failed in persuading you to consent to this arrangement. I have signed in Mr. Browne’s favour the appointment of Deputy Teller, which could not be delayed, and I will fairly own that I have done so, since I received your letter, in the confidence that you would not so far disappoint my wishes as to decline this arrangement. I have had the caution of directing Browne to say that he is for the present to keep both offices; but I earnestly beg that you will relieve me, and that you will believe that Mansell is not unfit for an office such as, from a long conversation with Browne this morning, I find this to be; in which, if a commoner were inclined to misconduct himself, the checks of the other would make it impracticable.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, July 8. Downing Street.—“ The arrangement which you suggest relative to the choice of the new Commissioners of the Revenue of Ireland appears to me, as far as I am able to judge of it, to be perfectly unexceptionable, and will, I trust, do credit to us all. It is unquestionably the wish of the Government here that Longfield should be dismissed. Then supposing Marsden and Hutchinson to be named, and



Sir J. Newport's recommendation of Macquay acceded to, which I think reasonable, there will remain, as I understand, three vacancies. Of these I should think Dundas and Therry should be two; the former from the motives you suggest, the second, because I think the importance of putting a Roman Catholic of good character and qualifications into the Revenue Board is extremely great; nor does it appear to me that the same objects would be nearly as well accomplished by finding for Mr. Therry any distinct office that might happen to be vacant, though of equal value.

"Then as between Hardy and Taylor, I am really unable to decide; the relinquishment of the army agency would I think be indispensable. But if this be done I know no reason of preference between them, and should take, if it depended on me, whichever of the two was likely to be the most efficient officer.

"Whatever your decision may be, will, I am sure, be quite satisfactory to me, and advantageous to the public service." *Copy.*

THE SAME to EARL TEMPLE.

1806, July 8. Downing Street.—"I was unable to see you yesterday, and I am not sure that I shall be more able to-day. I am sorry for the resolution you have taken though I cannot blame it, but the effect is that Wellesley suffers for the absurdity of others, whom he cannot control. We must now look to do what we can for him next session."

*Postscript.*—"Elliot writes me that an office of some value in the Queen's County is vacant, and applied for by Parnell. I suppose you wish it to be so given." *Copy.*

*Private.* THE SAME to W. ELLIOT.

1806, July 8. Downing Street.—"I received by to-day's post the Duke of Bedford's letter respecting the Revenue Commissioners, and I have in answer strongly urged that Therry should be included in the choice; not that I have any personal knowledge of him, or indeed ever heard of his name before; but because I conclude he is thought the fittest Roman Catholic for that situation, and I think it of infinite importance that there should be among the new Commissioners one of that persuasion.

"Longfield ought clearly to be dismissed. Can you do nothing else for Pennefather? It would be a pity to lose that seat, though I should not like that, on that account, an improper nomination should be made to the Revenue Board; and I have therefore said nothing of him to the Lord Lieutenant.

"Fox is, I fear, not materially better, though from one day to another he is occasionally more or less easy. I confess I have hardly any hope of final recovery. What a loss he will be?" *Copy.*

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 9. Whitehall.—“It may be material that you should read the two enclosed papers when you can spare two minutes. The observations are by Sir Joseph Banks, and certainly are material to be adverted to. On the whole, unless there were more time than you possess to consider the subject, I think it may [be] best not to bring in the bill even for the purpose of printing and circulating.

“I have received a very intelligent letter from the house of Baring, Mair, and Company on the great importance of the depôts proposed to be established at Gibraltar and Malta: and I yesterday wrote a long letter on that subject to Mr. Windham, and requested him to forward copies of it, and to enforce the questions stated on it.

“There is more difficulty than I was aware of in the St. Domingo consideration, and it will be necessary to have a conference with your lordship on it. The importance is great; but it is a preliminary question whether you are prepared to acknowledge the independence of the new black Government. I am collecting the materials, and also the opinions of the law officers.

“The question as to the small Prussian vessels seems to have been submitted to you in haste and without sufficient explanations of the grounds. In fact the *ostensible* grounds are not producible; and if therefore you wish to let the petitioners receive a negative, it is a minor consideration and they must bear it as well as they can. The truth is, that these vessels of 60 tons and under were used almost solely for our Dutch trade, were the property of a few industrious men, half English and half Dutch, and *traded only between London and Catwyk, Rotterdam, and other Dutch towns.* And on my remarking to the King’s Advocate that we were pursuing the example of a farmer who killed his milch cow because his neighbour’s bull had committed some vexatious trespasses, Sir J. Nicholl (though sufficiently tenacious on these subjects) most readily concurred in the minute which we sketched together, to be mentioned to you.

“The Chancellor is desirous to adjourn the House at four o’clock to-day; I will go there before that hour. And I have taken my measures to attend the debate on Friday, which I suppose will be long, and to stay that night in town.

“I understand from Mr. Cowper that Government appeared with great superiority in the Oriental discussion yesterday at the House of Lords. I had desired Mr. Vansittart to send a servant for me if there were any prospect of a division.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, July 9. Downing Street.—“I take it Lord Enniskillen is friendly to Government. Lord Spencer had, I believe, some explanation with him to that effect.

"I certainly think (as far as I understand the case) that it is best to support Colclough and Carew, and I have accordingly acquainted Colonel Ram that I can enter into no engagements with him on the subject. It is material if you see him that you should repeat this to him distinctly, as he seems desirous of pledging Government to him.

"Lord Temple's wishes go entirely with Parnell in the Queen's County.

"Newport goes to Ireland on Saturday. I am sorry to say he will bring no decision as between the Ponsonbys and Beresfords; Lord Ponsonby having been too ill to talk of business, and being even, as I understand, in considerable danger.

"Fox is reported to be materially better to-day, but I own I am not sanguine about it." *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 9. Dublin Castle.—"Mr. Hill (brother to Sir George Hill) who was collector at the port of Londonderry, died a few days ago, and Sir George Hill earnestly solicits the collectorship for another brother. He is a part of the Beresford connection, and states strongly the favourable sentiments of that family towards the present Government. Any arrangement which it may be found practicable to make with the Beresfords, cannot, I am afraid, include the county of Londonderry, as the Ponsonbys seem decided to try for one, if not both members; and the Beresfords will of course support Lord George, and *possibly* Colonel Stewart (Lord Castlereagh's brother) to whom I know Sir George Hill's interest is pledged. The collectorship, nevertheless, though it must give a portion of influence in the *county*, is properly to be regarded as a part of the patronage attached to the *city*, which Sir George Hill represents; and, if you come to any understanding with the Beresfords, and Sir George Hill promises his cordial and steady support to Government in Parliament, it may be advisable to comply with his request in respect to this office. If no compromise can be formed relative to the *county* of Derry, it would perhaps be better to explain to the Beresfords that the Ponsonbys must have *the aid* of Government in that particular quarter; but, for the reason I have mentioned, I do not think the Ponsonbys ought to claim the collectorship as a part of *that aid*.

"When you shall have had a communication with Lord Ponsonby, and shall have settled what course we are to pursue between his family and the Beresfords, I shall thank you to let me have such a letter on the subject *as I may show* to the Chancellor."

*Postscript.*—"The collectorship of Derry is one of the best collectorships."

## LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, July 10.—“ Lord Henry Petty has told me to-day that Rose, Long, and Huskisson, have all represented to him that they conceive that when the commission for the sale of the land tax of ecclesiastical corporations was established, it was under a clear understanding that the commissioners were not to receive any remuneration for that service.

“ As this must of necessity produce in the House of Commons a disagreeable discussion in proposing the allowance which was intended, and indeed given notice of by Lord Henry, and as our committee of supply will not close till Friday, I desired that Lord Henry would defer bringing the subject forward till that day in order that we might have the opportunity to-morrow of seeing you, and conversing with you as to what is best to be done on this unexpected difficulty.

“ I shall be at home the whole morning, and as it is a Board day, Lord Henry will probably be within reach any hour you can call.” *Copy.*

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 10. Great George Street.—“ I am sorry and surprised to learn that any opposition is intended to the proposed remuneration; and more especially as it rested on the most invidious ground that could be taken. I can *solemnly declare*, and I am sure Lord Glenbervie will confirm it, that nothing whatever passed when the commission was appointed, that extended or could be construed to extend to an understanding that the commissioners were not to receive remuneration for the service to be performed. I conceive that in point of fact it was not understood or foreseen that the service would be such as to lead to a question of remuneration. Mr. Pitt, the Speaker, and others of the commission thought, and we all, that the duties to be performed would be simple and of short duration. In the event they became difficult and most complicated; so troublesome in their details that they soon fell, indeed almost immediately, to Lord Glenbervie and to me, and to us exclusively from after the second meeting to the present day. We performed them by many, many journeys to London, by much daily correspondence, to the satisfaction of all the interests concerned, with a considerable gain to the public. Many new acts were passed to explain and extend our powers; we superintended and executed above 2,300 conveyances. I cannot say more on the subject: and I fear that I cannot throw more light on it when I meet your Lordship and Lord Henry Petty. But I will come to town again to-morrow morning, and will wait on you at eleven o'clock. I feel hurt at the predicament in which this circumstance places me; and I also feel beyond measure vexed that it should give this trouble to you and to Lord Henry Petty.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, July 10. Dublin Castle.—“The fines alluded to in Lord Abercorn’s letter were suspended by Lord Hardwicke, and it is the Lord Lieutenant’s intention to remit them. It occurred to me, however, that the most eligible course would be to let the remission be founded on the recommendation of the judge, which I have no doubt of receiving on his return from England; and I found the Chancellor in the same sentiment. The delay will not be more than two or three weeks, and none of the parties can sustain any injury from it. The putting the sheriffs under day-fees to the serjeant-at-arms was an error, which has been long since rectified.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, July 11. Whitehall.—“I wrote to Lord Glenbervie, and have received his answer, expressing much disappointment, but acquiescing in our decision, as being the properest that the circumstances would allow. Possibly if Lord Henry, previously to giving the notice proposed (and much depends on the manner in which he may give it), would have spoken to Mr. Rose and Company they would still acquiesce in the original proposition.

“If you should think that experiment desirable you will perhaps have the goodness to suggest it.

“I seem to exist at present on the Dulwich road; but I hope after the prorogation to reduce these excursions to two, and sometimes to one, per week.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, July 11. Downing Street.—“I am extremely obliged to you for your kind answer about Lord Proby.

“I have myself the highest opinion of Dr. Jenner’s merits. The business seems now to be in the best course for investigation; and certainly, when it comes before Parliament next year, my disposition will be to favour him as much as with propriety can be done.

“I fear it will hardly be possible to carry vaccination farther by any positive law than to introduce it compulsorily into all public institutions. But this will of course be matter of future discussion. It would I think be right that, as the matter is now referred to the college of physicians, you should direct that any information which can be procured on the subject in Ireland should be transmitted to them.

“I fear Fox, who had been considerably better, is rather gone back within these two last days.” *Copy.*

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 13. Phoenix Park.—“In consequence of your lordship’s observations on the several names transmitted for your consideration, as fit persons to be appointed

Commissioners of the new Boards of Revenue, I beg leave to suggest the names of Mr. W. Hutchinson, Mr. Marsden, Mr. Macquay, Mr. Therry, Mr. Dundas and Mr. Taylor to fill the six vacancies.

“I regret that we have not been able to include Mr. Hardy in the present arrangement, but he must be considered on the first vacancy which may occur, or for the first office which may fall to which he may be appointed; I must request your lordship also to bear in mind that I am anxious to serve Mr. Lambert, for the reasons stated in my last letter on this subject.”

*Private.* July 14th.—“Since I wrote to you this morning I have had some conversation with Mr. Elliot on the subject of the Ponsonby and Beresford interests in the county of Derry, and we concur in opinion that it would be extremely desirable that your lordship should come to an understanding with Lord Ponsonby with as little delay as possible. The collectorship of Derry, now vacant by the death of Mr. Hill, is strongly solicited by Sir George Hill for another brother, and it can scarcely be worth while to risk losing Lord Waterford’s support, or that of his near connection Sir George Hill, for an object which may be of comparative trifling value to Lord Ponsonby; but your lordship will be the best judge whether so powerful an interest as that of Lord Waterford ought not to be conciliated by all the reasonable means within our power; and if so, whether some sacrifices might not be asked of Lord Ponsonby’s family, as Lord Ponsonby himself is still too ill to converse upon business. Your lordship may possibly take an opportunity of seeing John Ponsonby who is now in London, and if his sentiments and his father’s are communicated to the Chancellor, we shall be relieved from much embarrassment here, naturally arising from the uncertain knowledge of their wishes and intentions.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO W. ELLIOT.

1806, July 13. Downing Street.—“Newport will probably be with you as soon as this letter. I saw Lord Ponsonby with him and conversed with him as to the idea of a compromise for the county of Derry, to which he did not express himself decidedly adverse, though he made a reserve of possible engagements that his friends may already have entered into, and by which, if taken, he must abide. He also threw out that Lord Waterford was probably engaged to Stewart. How this is I shall know to-morrow or Tuesday, when I shall see Lord Waterford.

“In the mean time Newport is authorized by Lord Ponsonby to converse with you and the Chancellor on the subject, and I cannot help still hoping that the matter may be arranged.

“The collectorship of Derry must of course now remain in suspense till we have seen what we can do in the way of

compromise. Newport has suggested the idea of a division corresponding to that of the Boards. This, though it would not fully satisfy either party, may perhaps ultimately be the best solution.

“I enclose a letter from Bisset, which I will thank you to return me; letting me know what I shall say to him. I hope the Duke understands that I by no means wish him to embarrass himself on the subject; but whenever it can be done with convenience, I shall be glad to see Bisset in possession of any reasonable object.”

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 14. Admiralty.—“I enclose a letter which I have just received from Captain Stopford, which confirms all the representations I have before received of the state of the borough of Ipswich. I had promised Sir William Middleton to speak to you on this subject, and to let him know your determination. For myself I can only repeat what I have uniformly said to Sir William Middleton, that I should prefer him to any other candidate, if he could unite in his favour that interest to which, in conjunction with their own strength, Government must look to carry the borough. He is sanguine in his belief that if Government declare strongly for him, the portmen will not persist in their objection, and that Sir A. Hammond will withdraw. All my information goes the other way, and induces me to believe that the only effect of his standing will be to throw a great part of the interest, which we might otherwise command, into the opposite scale, and to insure the re-election of Sir A. Hammond. It is much to be desired that you should consider and determine upon this case as soon as possible, for during this suspense Sir A. Hammond is canvassing actively, and strengthening his interest every day.

“All my naval authorities, except Markham, who is not yet returned from the country, represent Sardinia as a good station, much superior in that respect to Corsica, but not so valuable as Sicily or Minorea. The country itself is in a great degree uncultivated, and the inhabitants of the interior literally cannibals. I cannot help thinking that Sardinia with Majorca, Minorea and Ivica, would be a much more valuable establishment for the King of Naples than Dalmatia; and that if we could get something in that quarter both as a security for Austria and Turkey, and a satisfaction to Russia, by the cession of some of our conquests, they would be well bestowed to such a purpose. The advantage of making a peace on which we should have to state that we had given up nothing, would not in my opinion be greater than that of obtaining real securities in the Mediterranean, and showing a disposition to sacrifice something of our own for the advantage of our allies, and for the general security of Europe.”

*Enclosure.*

CAPTAIN CUNNINGHAME to the EARL OF CARYSFORD.

1806, July.—“I understand Lord Grenville proposes sending Mr. King as a candidate for Ipswich, provided Sir William Middleton does not get the support of the portmen. This he certainly will not do; and as a commissioner of the navy has great weight there, I could be useful to him at the same time I am to Captain Stopford. I write from Harwich where there are many Ipswich freemen. We are not canvassing, only feeling our way.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 14. Eden Farm.—“The King’s Advocate promises to meet me this morning at Whitehall on the Swedish business, and on some other questions of difficulty. On perusing Mr. Pierrepont’s despatch and enclosures, I much fear that the season for obtaining the object in dispute will be lost. It would not be difficult perhaps for the council to address to the Secretary of State that sort of remonstrance, ‘and vague assurance of reciprocity,’ which would induce his Swedish Majesty to allow our sending manufactures into the Baltic ports which are blockaded, in return for naval stores: but any arrangement between the courts will be a work of six weeks or two months, and then the equinoctial gales will begin.

“Some informers have discovered that by an obsolete clause in the 1st Jas. I ch. 22, it is unlawful for any person to buy and sell oak bark unless he shall be a tanner by trade: and suits are commenced for the penalties, and many more are apprehended. It is now too late in the session to move a repeal of the clause, which evidently ought to be repealed: but I incline to think that we ought to bring in the bill as a notice, and to suspend next session such suits as may be commenced after that notice.

“I suppose that the second reading of the Defence Bill will be taken on Wednesday, as it may be practicable for the print to be on the table that day; and I will not fail to attend, but I heartily hope that the committee (in which the debate may probably be taken) may be on Friday, and not on Thursday. However, my little private arrangements shall be cheerfully sacrificed, if it be necessary.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, July 14. Downing Street.—“I have seen Lord Waterford, whose conversation is, on the whole, very satisfactory. He pressed very strongly for an assurance of his brother’s succeeding to Raphoe, and of Sir G. Hill’s obtaining his object at Derry; but on both points I gave him only general assurances of favourable dispositions,



referring him to your grace for a more particular answer. He leaves town for Curraghmore the end of this week.”  
*Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 14. Dublin Castle.—“In consequence of your suggestion, the Lord Lieutenant has authorized me to propose a seat at one of the Revenue Boards to Mr. Thery. As the Ponsonbys feel the utmost interest about Taylor, and as he consents to resign his agency to his nephew, his name is to remain on the list of the candidates, who are to be recommended. Hardy, however, must have some provision whenever an opportunity occurs, Fox being very anxious about him. I do not think Pennfather could have been much depended on for attendance. He now offers the seat of Cashel for an office of 500*l.* *per annum* to his eldest son, and a pension out of the secret service fund of 100*l.* *per annum* to each of his two younger sons; but the Duke’s patronage is so limited, and the claims upon him are so numerous and so urgent, that I doubt whether he will be able to close even with these reduced terms. If I should be able to procure for you the refusal of one or two seats, for their full value *in money*, could you name purchasers?”

“I am sorry to find Lord Ponsonby is so intent upon having the collectorship of Derry, as I conceive it likely to be essential to a successful negotiation with the Beresfords that it should be given to Sir George Hill’s brother. It would be very desirable, if you should not have been able to use Newport’s intervention, that you should see Lord Ponsonby’s eldest son, who is in London, as you might perhaps be able to come to a distinct explanation with him on the Parliamentary views of his family. Whenever you shall have decided what line we are to pursue in respect to these two great interests, I must again entreat you to let me have such a letter on the subject as I may show to the Chancellor.”

*Postscript.*—“You are very kind in mentioning Fox’s health in your letters; I most heartily wish you could give us some hope of his recovery.”

#### MINUTE OF CABINET,

1806, July 15. Downing Street.—

Present :

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Lord President.   | Lord Viscount Howick. |
| Lord Privy Seal.  | Mr. Windham.          |
| Earl Spencer.     | Mr. Grenville.        |
| Earl of Moira.    | Lord Grenville.       |
| Lord Henry Petty. |                       |

“It is humbly submitted to your Majesty, on a consideration of Lord Yarmouth’s late dispatches, and of the communications from Count Stroganoff.

“That Lord Yarmouth should be instructed to declare that your Majesty feels insuperable objections to any proposal for abandoning Sicily, unless with the free and full consent of his Sicilian Majesty, and in consequence of such an arrangement as should provide for that sovereign a compensation really satisfactory, both in point of value and security. That the proposals now offered with that view are particularly objectionable. First, because Albania, which forms so considerable a part of the proposed compensation, is a part of the Turkish empire, the integrity of which is a principal object of the policy both of Great Britain and Russia. Secondly, because there appears no hope of forming such a power in that quarter as could, either in extent of territory or revenue, be able to maintain its independence unless France shall consent to annex to it large additions in Istria and in the Venetian States, including, if possible, Venice itself.

“That Lord Yarmouth should therefore discuss these points with M. Talleyrand in order to ascertain whether there be any possibility of obtaining such an offer as might be *bona fide* sufficient to induce his Sicilian Majesty to accept the proposal. But that he should declare to M. d’Oubril that this line is adopted only in consequence of that minister’s having so strongly expressed his wish that your Majesty’s Government might rather temporize with France, than break off the negotiation abruptly.

“That Lord Yarmouth should farther explain to M. d’Oubril the great importance which your Majesty attaches to the continuing to combine all measures both of peace and war with Russia; and the little expectation entertained here that Russia could, by any course of separate peace, obtain any effectual security for the remaining interests of Europe, particularly for Sweden, Germany, Swisserland or the Porte; much less that she could in that way establish a barrier against the French in Dalmatia or Albania. And that it is, in your Majesty’s opinion, on every account highly important under these circumstances, that no expectation should be held out to the enemy of success in any endeavour to make a separate peace with either of the allies.

“It is further humbly submitted that instructions should be sent to Rear-Admiral Cockrane, highly disapproving of his having taken upon himself, without instructions, to assist General Miranda by the employment of the ships under his command, and even to conclude a treaty with him; and that he should be directed to take no steps by which his Majesty can be further committed in that enterprize, but to adhere as strictly as possible to the directions which he has already received on that subject.” *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 15. Dublin Castle.—“ I trouble you with a line merely to apprise you that Newport suggests in a letter, which I have just received from him, that it may be expedient, under the intended arrangement of the revenue, to divide the collectorship of Derry into two offices, one for the collection of the customs, and the other for that of the excise.”

*Postscript.*—“ Colonel Ponsonby has declared himself a candidate for the county of Derry, and is very anxious to procure the support of Dupré Pascher which, perhaps, you may be able to obtain for him through Alexander, the chairman of the committee of supply. I find from John Claudius Beresford, whom I have just seen, that if the collectorship is given to any one hostile to the Beresford interest in the county, it will probably be the means of breaking off the negotiation with Lord Waterford. Sir George Hill’s brother would, I am afraid, be not well qualified for the situation, as I learn he was a few years ago collector of Coleraine, and was not by any means an efficient officer. Should his appointment, however, appear objectionable, the Beresfords would of course propose some other friend. Colonel Ponsonby solicited it for a friend of his family, but I told him that the Duke could enter into no engagement respecting it, and that you had been written to upon the subject. If the office should be divided, I think the Beresfords might possibly look to the recommendation to *both* collectorships, to secure Sir George Hill’s interest in the city, but this is merely *conjecture.*”

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806, July 16. Downing Street.—“ I shall be happy to see you here at two, if that will suit you. I enclose a letter I have just received from Lord Clinton. I am sure you will feel that Mr. Tucker’s activity ought to be a little combined with the rest of the Government, and particularly with myself, who am daily brought into difficulties by it. I had long since received and accepted assurances of support from Lord Clinton, and cannot possibly concur in any attempts injurious to him. But it is not only in this particular case that this plan of separate electioneering is destructive of the influence and credit of Government.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to the EARL OF YARMOUTH.

1806, July 17. Downing Street.—“ I believe Mr. Fox has already had the goodness to express to you the great interest which I take in Mr. Goddard, from whom, by your kindness, I received a few days ago a letter. Anything you can do to alleviate, and still more if it were possible, to terminate his captivity would be in the highest degree gratifying to me; and I should feel truly obliged to you for any exertions in his favour. I take the liberty to enclose under this cover a few lines for him.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, July 18. Downing Street.—“ I think you have decided quite right both as to Therry and Taylor, and nothing now remains but to carry the appointment into effect, which must, I apprehend, be done in Ireland. I saw Lord Waterford a few days since, and had from him (as I had before had from Claudius Beresford) a very satisfactory explanation of his favourable disposition towards the Government. Every exertion should certainly be made to cultivate this disposition, and I strongly incline to think that the collectorship of Derry should be given to Sir G. Hill, though certainly with all possible management towards Lord Ponsonby. Newport has, at my desire, been authorised to converse fully with the Chancellor and Elliot as to the different points in question respecting Lord Ponsonby's Parliamentary interest.

“ I am sorry to say that within these few days Fox seems worse again, and I fear there is very little hope indeed of any permanent or material amendment; though the disorder may still, as I am told, continue in its present state for some time longer.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to W. ELLIOT.

1806, July 18. Downing Street.—“ I am very glad the Lord Lieutenant has determined on including Therry in the list of Revenue Commissioners, as I am convinced that measure will be very advantageous. I make no doubt the decision between Taylor and Hardy is equally right, and it was particularly necessary to gratify the Ponsonbys in that instance, as I think we must ultimately decide the Derry collectorship in favour of Sir George Hill. On this point you will, however, have the fullest opportunity of conversing with Newport.

“ We have no present thoughts of dissolving this year. Pennefather's business may therefore be kept open till I see you. There is one part of what you mention respecting him on which it is very necessary that I should explain to you distinctly what my own feelings and line of conduct are.

“ What are your ideas as to coming over ?

“ We shall have but a short vacation, and that entirely employed in preparing our bills and measures, so as really to enter on the business of the session in October next.

“ It is much to be desired that whatever is to be done as to Ireland should be ready to be brought in altogether immediately after Christmas; for the mass of Irish business which came on quite at the end of this session, though under our peculiar circumstances (coming in at the time we did) it could not be prevented, yet certainly was not creditable to us.

“ No opportunity should be lost in securing such seats as may be offered to you at the common price. There will be friends enough very desirous of purchasing. Fox is, I am sorry to say, worse within these few days.” *Copy.*

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 18. Office for Trade.—The Attorney General and the King's Advocate attended here to-day and settled, after due discussion, the enclosed form of an Order in Council for opening the trade with St. Domingo. It seems to be guarded and unobjectionable so far as I can form a judgment relative to all its bearings; and if I should not hear from you to the contrary, Sir Stephen Cotterell shall carry it to the council at the Queen's House on Monday next.

"I forgot to mention that, if his Majesty should incline to be personally present at the prorogation, it will be my duty to attend him as Deputy Vice-Chamberlain: and in that case I should desire your lordship to submit the convenience to his Majesty of entering at the new stair-case, and by the short passage to the robing room. But I presume that his Majesty has no intention to go, though I incline to think that he may expect to have his pleasure taken upon the point.

"We save the question as to the point of sending naval or military stores to St. Domingo, by requiring that the cargoes shall have licenses."

## EARL TEMPLE to THE SAME.

1806, July 20. Stowe.—"I rather believe the means will be afforded me of offering James Talbot, to whom my father and I am under engagements, the situation of Deputy Paymaster-General at Halifax, worth 500*l.* *per annum.* I cannot however offer him this without knowing whether it may not be so managed as to prevent his warrant for the pension he enjoys for his diplomatic services from being superseded, in consequence of his acceptance of this office. Whatever may have been the merits or the demerits of those services, it comes within my own personal knowledge that he did completely exhaust his patrimony in that line from which he seems now to be excluded. I should therefore hope that this may be managed for him, and that my father and I shall thereby be released from engagements which now press upon us, and which possibly may eventually press upon us in a manner very difficult to get rid of without being obliged to trespass upon you. There are particular reasons which make me very anxious to get rid of this Halifax situation which, if it is vacant at all, will become so *to-morrow*, as soon as possible. I have not opened a word of it yet to Talbot, neither shall I till I hear from you. You will understand that what we ask is *not* a new warrant for Talbot, but an acquiescence in his holding my place with his pension under the existing warrant."

## LORD GRENVILLE to EARL TEMPLE.

1806, July 21. Downing Street.—"I will enquire about the question in your letter. If it depends on me I heartily consent; but I fear a doubt arises on the construction of the clause in the civil list Act." *Copy.*

## MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 21.—“ I saw Sir John Anstruther to-day, who is just arrived from India ; he waited upon you this morning, and is anxious to see you. I wish you would appoint a time to receive him soon. He is very well disposed, and you will find his conduct very satisfactory.

“ Not having heard from you respecting Ipswich or Seaford, I conclude that you think Arthur had better not appear at Ipswich, and that you approve the arrangement for Seaford.

“ I am very desirous of seeing you for an hour ; a pleasure I have not enjoyed for nearly a fortnight ; pray fix some time soon.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, July 22. Roehampton.—“ I am here in order to pass this day at Fulham with the Bishop of London, and to attend the marriage of another daughter, the last ceremony of the kind to which I can be subject for some years. I shall now have time to advert more to my sons, and to think of what I said to you respecting them in February last. I have no other objects in official life ; not wishing to have any situation beyond that which I possess, and which I try to make beneficial to the public, and not uncreditable to your Government. I regret that my eldest son (who is now visiting Scotland and the Western Isles) has not the advantage of being known to you, as it has always been his wish. But I feel the fullest confidence that both in public and private life he will in due time find means to justify and maintain the general estimation which he possesses. As to my second son, it certainly would be a great convenience to me (with so numerous a charge, and so insufficient an income) if he could obtain some small office not incompatible with the study of the law, and his intended residence in Lincoln's Inn. Upon the whole I hope that I am not unreasonable.

“ We go to Shottesbroke to-morrow for three or four days, and shall then (with the exception of a short visit to Mr. Hatsell and the Speaker) be fixed at Eden Farm till the 15th September, when we go into Lincolnshire.”

## MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, July 23. Stowe.—“ I cannot describe to you the difficulties you have put me under by the precipitate arrangement which you have made respecting Buckingham. It never had occurred to me, even for a moment, to propose Fremantle for that vacancy, which I had distinctly offered for Lord Percy ; whom I could elect consistently with the rule from which my uncle and I never have departed in any one instance, of recommending relations only.

“ Your letter informs me that you have written to the Duke of Northumberland to announce to him Lord Percy's

destination for Enniskillen ; and I have no doubt but that your intentions were for what you judged the best for me, looking to possible events ; but, differing with you in the view of this question, even with reference to possible events, I earnestly beg you to relieve me from this very serious awkwardness, to which you have committed me, from not adverting to my offer, and from not apprizing me by a messenger of your idea of abandoning Enniskillen for Fremantle. If there is still time, pray arrange the change with the Duke of Northumberland, and let me have the satisfaction of abiding by my rule, which I had no idea of abandoning.

“ But least you should think that I had thrown out a slight difficulty on this matter, which appeared so serious to my son that he offered to go to London to explain it to you, as one that he thought almost insurmountable, I have delayed this note till I have been to Buckingham ; where I found, as I expected, an anxious desire to gratify me, but much disappointment at the nomination of Fremantle. I did not, of course, name Lord Percy ; but I was obliged to say that I had agreed to open Proby’s seat with a view to a relation of my own, in which I had been disappointed by particular circumstances ; and the matter ends in their acceptance of Fremantle, *but it is not liked*.

“ I have therefore, as you see, endeavoured to meet your wishes against my opinion of what I should have thought best, had there been no difficulty, but against every opinion for the reasons I have stated ; and I will abide by the nomination, if you cannot change it, but earnestly begging you to do your best to relieve me.

“ The future election for St. Mawes, so far as I am concerned, may and shall assist Proby ; but my promise *must be subject* to George Nugent’s decision, as I had offered him the seat, and he had accepted it. I have fixed that the Buckingham election shall not be sooner than the Thursday or Friday of next week, on account of our assizes on Monday and Tuesday next. But I have as yet received no resignation from Fremantle, and the Deputy Teller is by law ineligible anywhere. He must therefore send me a formal resignation without delay, and I cannot write to him upon it, *for reasons*.

“ I grieve to hear you pronounce Fox’s death warrant, even for the month of November, because, though I think it probable that the question of peace or war will have been decided before that time, still the times and circumstances make his life invaluable. I fear that his party will not rally under Lord Howick who, on every account, ought to lead in the House of Commons, leaving the foreign seals to my brother. I find that he sees a difficulty in supposing all the Secretaries of State in the House of Commons, a difficulty which was not felt when they were all—Lord Hawkesbury, Mulgrave and Camden—in the House of Lords, but which might be avoided by leaving Lord Howick in the Admiralty,

where he is doing all that can be done in a scene of mischief, plunder, and insubordination, beyond imagination; and still leaving him to lead the House of Commons in the same manner as Lord Holland did for one session in 1762, *when Paymaster*.

“In one word I have very much at heart, that Lord Howick should remain at the Admiralty; that T. Grenville should have the foreign seals on the vacancy of Mr. Fox; that Lord Holland should not have the foreign seals; and that we should prevail upon Windham to assist Government by going into opposition.

“Pray let me have a line by return of post, and believe me ready to forego my wishes for yours, whenever and wherever I can.”

#### C. GODDARD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 24. Paris.—“I was honoured the day before yesterday with your Lordship’s kind note, and I, at the same time, received from Lord Yarmouth a note desiring me to come to Paris, and expressing his wish for my assistance. On my arrival he communicated to me the state of the negotiation. He acquainted me, at the same time, that I should be at liberty to return to England in a few days. I assured him that if he thought I could be of the smallest use to him, I should readily remain here till I could again hear from your lordship, provided the permission or rather promise which he had obtained from Talleyrand would hold good equally some time hence. He assured me that I should accompany him to England.

“Great as would be my pleasure in availing myself immediately of the permission in question, a week or ten days would at any rate be necessary to enable me to dispose of my effects at St. Germain; but, independently of this necessity, I readily embrace the opportunity of bringing myself, however indirectly, under the eyes of Mr. Fox, and of marking the sincere and earnest desire I have of being useful, and of obtaining at length some fixed and settled employment, such as your lordship’s kindness formerly designed in my favour, if my health had admitted of it. I need not say that my wishes in this respect are subordinate to any intentions of another nature which your lordship might, under the present circumstances, entertain in my favour; and I shall immediately obey any commands which you may think fit to give me, as I shall be thankful for any advice on the same subject.

“From what I have seen of Lord Yarmouth, I am inclined to believe that he possesses both the judgment and the temper requisite to succeed here, if indeed any success is to be expected. He has lodged me here in an hotel opposite that where he lives, and has proposed to me to dine to-day with Talleyrand. I am sensible that these attentions are the



consequence of the kind manner in which your lordship has written to him respecting me, and it is for that reason I mention them.

“I would not venture to write to Mr. Fox, or to state to him my public grounds for applying to him for employment without receiving your lordship’s permission to do it. Without some such statement he might perhaps think that I wish to begin the line with a secretaryship of legation; and tho’ I have certainly no claim to expect that my years of illness, and consequent inactivity, should be counted to me for service, I persuade myself that I might obtain, by your lordship’s kind recommendation, to be placed on the footing on which I stood at the time of quitting the Lisbon consulship, which, in its worst state, was fully equal to the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary.

VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1806, July 24. Admiralty.—“The comptroller of the navy has just been with me, to represent that all our Dantzick goods, of which we are in the greatest want for the navy, are stopped by the Swedish blockade. Will you consider of the speediest and most effectual means for obviating this distress.

“I have all at once got uneasy from the apprehension of Jerome’s pushing for Lisbon. If he should go in there with his six ships, he might even without troops take possession of the forts, and then the march of the army from Bayonne would make the thing certain. Might it not, therefore, be advisable to send immediately a squadron off the Tagus?”

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, July 25. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville feels the greatest concern in transmitting to your Majesty the inclosed dispatches from Lord Yarmouth, together with a copy of the treaty and secret articles signed by M. D’Oubril, and which Lord Grenville received to-day from Count Stroganoff. The unexampled disgrace of this transaction, together with the language of M. D’Oubril’s letters to M. de Stroganoff which the latter read to Lord Grenville to-day, inclines Lord Grenville to hope that some credit is due to Count Stroganoff’s strong assurances that M. D’Oubril’s conduct cannot have been authorised by his Court. And under the impression of the possibility of this, your Majesty’s servants have taken upon themselves, which they trust your Majesty will not disapprove, to send off this night a messenger by a fast sailing cutter to Petersburg, to direct your Majesty’s minister there to make strong and immediate representations against the ratification of the treaty.

“Your Majesty’s servants are inclined, after much and long discussion of the difficult situation which results from this

unfortunate event, and from Lord Yarmouth's precipitation in delivering his full powers without fresh orders, to think that the best course would be to send instructions to Lord Yarmouth to ask for passports for a person of more experience and authority to be joined with him in this commission; and to proceed to Paris in order to bring back the negotiation to the principles on which it first set out, and which, Lord Grenville is sorry to say, it appears to him that Lord Yarmouth has suffered to be a great deal too much lost sight of. And Lord Grenville hopes to be enabled to-morrow to submit to your Majesty some proper person for that purpose.

"Lord Grenville regrets exceedingly that the continuance of Mr. Fox's severe illness has thrown upon him the weight of a business to the detail of which, in addition to the current business of his own station, he feels himself so unequal; and he humbly solicits your Majesty's indulgence for any inaccuracy that may appear under these circumstances in the conduct of it." *Copy.*

#### LORD GRENVILLE to COUNT STROGANOFF.

1806, July 25. Downing Street.—"Nous avons résolu d'envoyer, sans perdre un instant, un courier, sur un cutter, avec la dépêche dont je vous envoie la copie.

"Un autre sera prêt pour partir demain avec les dépêches plus étendues que nous aurons respectivement à envoyer. Si vous voulez écrire quelques mots par ce premier cutter, je vous prierai seulement de ne pas le retarder, parceque dans ces circonstances la perte de quelques heures pourroit, par un changement de vent, amener celle de plusieurs jours."

#### THE SAME to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806, July 25. Downing Street.—"There has been some time a negotiation going on with the King of Sweden about his blockade, which is troublesome enough to us in various ways. I think you had best desire Walpole to write a fresh letter to Pierrepoint on the subject.

"The alarm you express about Jerome's possible appearance at Lisbon is certainly worth attending to in our arrangements, and I do not see what inconvenience there would be in a squadron off the Tagus, except the employment of so many ships which might be wanted elsewhere. In every other view the measure could not but be advantageous." *Copy.*

#### *Observations on Lord Yarmouth's despatches of the 20th and 21st of July* by LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 25.—"It is plain that Lord Yarmouth does not feel his own ground, and is much too prompt in committing us without authority by new expedients of his own.

"He ought not to have given in his full powers, his instructions forbidding it. In other respects I do not know that

this step was of much consequence ; but it shews too great a readiness to give way without orders.

“ I wish it were possible to join some other person with him, who might act more conformably to our ideas. If this cannot be, he must then be put more on his guard for the future.

“ I think he might be now enabled to bring the negotiation at once to a definitive issue.

“ 1st. The difficulty as to Sicily may, and in justice should, be thrown wholly on Russia. It is through Russia that we were bound to the King of Naples ; and as Russia has stipulated to obtain the consent of that sovereign to the proposed exchange, she should be left to do it, we engaging only that we will throw no obstacles in it, but will acquiesce whenever applied to for that purpose by his Sicilian Majesty.

“ 2ndly. If there is any question of Sardinia (which could be of no value to the King of Naples) it can only be by stipulating that, notwithstanding the general principle of *status quo*, yet considering the desire of Great Britain to provide some satisfactory arrangement for the King of Sardinia, we shall be at liberty to make such settlement on that point with him as we judge best, and can accomplish by mutual consent. This would best be done by a guaranty of Sardinia to the King of Sardinia, with a power to England to keep up a garrison there for its defence.

“ 3rdly. The addition of Corsica to the indemnities for Sicily seems hardly worth asking, and should not delay the negotiation.

“ 4thly. As to Tobago and St. Lucie we cannot, I think, listen for a single instant to any proposal of including them in any discussion of the terms of peace as between us and France.

“ But if France, in exchange for one or both of them, will obtain (not Cuba, which is absurd to ask), but something on the continent of South America to better the lot of the King of Naples, we might honourably agree to purchase such advantage for him by some sacrifice of our own interest.

“ It must, however, be remembered that St. Lucie and Tobago stand on very difficult grounds. The former is a French colony ; the latter is *bona fide* English, entirely settled and inhabited by English, tho' ceded to France in 1783, and restored to her in 1801.

“ The people of Tobago have repeatedly shewn a decided attachment to us, for which they would certainly suffer if restored to Bonaparte's government.

“ I have, indeed, been told that in 1803, a general confiscation of the whole English property (that is the whole property) in Tobago was on the point of taking place on an allegation of disloyalty. Should such a thing be done after a peace (for which their late conduct would afford fresh ground) we should either have to indemnify them, or to renew the war for their separate interests.

“ On this ground the inclination of my mind would be to retain Tobago at all events, and to give St. Lucie only in such exchange as is before stated.

“ 5thly. Lord Yarmouth says nothing of Surinam and Demerary. But these fall under the general principle, and must be insisted on. And in order to prevent affected delays, under the pretence of obtaining the consent of Bonaparte’s allies, our evacuation of Sicily must be made to depend on the execution of all other articles of the treaty.

“ 6thly. A guaranty of the *uti possidetis* (modified as above) is quite as necessary to be procured for Spain, as for Portugal, tho’ Lord Yarmouth expresses a doubt on this point.

“ 7thly. In whatever manner these points are shaped, Lord Yarmouth ought now to be told what our *ultimatum* is, and should be positively ordered either to obtain that or to come away. Our motive for temporizing ceased with the Russian peace; and delay now only gives ground against us, and impedes our resolutions for the case of war, if we must look to a prolongation of it.” *Draft. Holograph.*

#### GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 26. Windsor Castle.—“ The King has read with great concern the despatches from Lord Yarmouth, and the articles of the treaty signed by Monsieur d’Oubril; and under circumstances so difficult and unpleasant his Majesty cannot but entirely approve of the instructions sent to his minister at Petersburg, and of the proposal to send to Paris, as soon as possible, a person of more experience and authority than Lord Yarmouth who, his Majesty cannot forbear thinking, has not shown great judgment in his proceedings. The King desires Lord Grenville will be assured that he has entire confidence in his abilities and firmness towards extricating this country from the very embarrassing situation in which it would be placed unless the original principle, which his Majesty always thought conceded full enough, is most positively reverted to; and he trusts that nothing will in future lead to a departure from it, or to an abandonment of Sicily.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to the EARL OF YARMOUTH.

1806, July 26. Downing Street.—“ I have to return your lordship my best acknowledgments for your obliging letter respecting Mr. Goddard.

“ I am doubtful whether Mr. Fox’s health will allow of his writing to your lordship in this form to-night. And I therefore think it right to mention to your lordship that the Earl of Lauderdale is the person whom it is at present in the contemplation of the King’s ministers to join with your lordship in the commission for treating for peace. His name cannot yet be officially notified to your lordship, or through you to

the French government ; but there can be no objection to your expressing your belief that his lordship will be the person on whom this honourable choice will fall.

“The demand of passports in blank is by no means unusual in such a case, and I trust therefore that this circumstance will not, if no other cause does, create any fresh difficulty.

“It would, I am confident, be doing great injustice to your lordship’s good sense and zeal for the public service, if I entertained or expressed any doubt of the satisfaction with which you will receive the assistance of such a colleague in a business which requires all the experience, talents, and weight that can possibly be applied to it.” *Copy.*

#### LORD HOLLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 26. Stable Yard.—“Count Stahrenberg and Baron Jacobi both called here this morning, and as they had some business to transact with ministers, I took the liberty of saying that I was sure you would, in my uncle’s present state of health, receive their communications. I found, however, that the latter’s business was one too trifling to give you the trouble of a formal interview about it, and undertook to make the application, which was simply for permission to return to Hamburgh early in the ensuing month in a *packet boat*, an indulgence which he represents as a natural return for the permission granted to Mr. Jackson of having a packet boat at Hamburgh to convey him and his family. If such an order is not improper, a word to the Postmaster from you will, I suppose, be sufficient. My uncle is not worse.

*Postscript.*—“Count Stahrenberg, I suspect, is anxious to have it in his power to say in his dispatches that he has seen a minister, and I therefore ventured to assure him you would see him.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, July 27. Downing Street.—“I have carefully considered Mr. Stapleton’s petition which you put into my hands, and I find from it that he has established no more than that the barony of Beaumont is in abeyance, and that he is descended from one of the co-heirs ; but it does not appear from the petition who the representatives are of the other co-heirs.

“The determination of an abeyance in favour of one of the lines between which it rests is not, I believe, considered at all as a less distinguished mark of the king’s favour than the original grant of a peerage. In some respects it is even a greater object, on account of the superior rank which it conveys, and of the descent of such peerage to the daughters of the person to whom it is so determined.

“Under these circumstances, and with the great pressure which there is upon Government on the subject of peerages,

and with which I believe you are well acquainted, I fear I cannot undertake at this time to recommend to his Majesty a compliance with Mr. Stapleton's wishes." *Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 27. Stowe.—“I have received your note and am heartily sorry for this additional chapter to the history of national degradation in the instance of d’Onbril’s peace; and connecting it with Novosilkoff’s resignation, and the other events in Petersburg, I have no doubt with you but that it will be ratified. Of course any tone which we now hold in our negotiations at Paris will be considered by Bonaparte as too high for our insulated and unassisted situation, and will add to our difficulties. Nevertheless I think I see the advantage to Bonaparte so great in making any peace that is to disarm us from the state in which we now are, that I feel quite persuaded he will accede to such terms as will be ultimately ruinous to us, and yet such as even I should not dare to advise you to refuse.

“Your accounts of Fox are unfortunately but too strongly confirmed this morning, and from very accurate accounts I begin now to think it possible that a few days may close these doubts; but that, at all events, a month or six weeks is very much the outside of his term. I have, as you will believe, looked very much to all the various solutions, but I cannot satisfy my mind on any that have occurred to me. I have no doubt but that great exertions will be made by Fox’s friends to keep together as an efficient body, and *with you*; but that which it was fit for you to concede to Fox’s talents, situation and experience, does not stand on the same ground as with respect to any other person. My speculations are that Opposition will expect to alarm you with the prospects of their hanging together in a shape of active and united hostility, but that they will treat separately the moment that they see you determined to resist pretensions that would, in every shape, be ruinous to your character and situation.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1806, July 28. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to acquaint your Majesty that, on considering the despatches received this morning from Lord Yarmouth, it appeared to your Majesty’s servants indispensable that not a moment should be lost in sending him such explicit and positive directions as might restrain him from further committing your Majesty’s Government without instructions.

“It was with this view that the enclosed draft was prepared, and from the urgency of the circumstances, Lord Grenville has ventured to take upon himself to desire that it might immediately be despatched; although he had not

previously had the honour of receiving your Majesty's pleasure respecting the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale, whom your Majesty's servants beg leave to recommend to your Majesty to be sent to Paris as soon as the necessary passports shall arrive. Lord Grenville begs permission to add that he has conversed fully with Lord Lauderdale on the subject, and he has no doubt that he will go there with the fullest dispositions to execute punctually the intention of your Majesty's Government." *Copy.*

GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 29. Windsor Castle.—“The King entirely approves of Lord Grenville's not having delayed sending the answer to Lord Yarmouth's despatch received yesterday, and he acquiesces in the proposed appointment of Lord Lauderdale, trusting that under the instructions which he will receive from Lord Grenville, he will never encourage any proposal departing from the outline first established, nor disgrace this country by admitting even the discussion of points wholly inconsistent with her honour and her resources which, in his Majesty's opinion, will be much better applied in meeting even the present difficulties, than in effecting a precarious peace. From the tenor of Lord Yarmouth's conduct, which cannot make him appear a safe person to be joined in the present commission, his Majesty conceives that it would be much more advisable to entrust Lord Lauderdale solely with the further conduct of the negotiation.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, July 30. Dublin Castle.—“Newport arrived a few days ago. As it appears that the collectorship of Derry must be divided, I have proposed that the excise collection (which is most connected with the county) should be given to the Ponsonbys, and that the Hill's should have the port collection. J. Claudius Beresford has undertaken to sound Sir George Hill on this suggestion, and the Chancellor has written on the subject to Lord Ponsonby. It will be most essential to the success of the negotiation that we should have the *full weight of your authority*; and it will be very useful, if you will let the Lord Lieutenant have such a letter, as he may show to the *Chancellor*, expressing *your anxiety* that an arrangement should be made with the Beresfords.

“I shall not fail to apprise you, if any opportunity should occur for the purchase of seats. I am very anxious to secure Cashel, but I am afraid Pennefather looks to a seat either at the Board of Stamps, or at the Board of Accounts, for his son, and I at present see no prospect of a vacancy. However, means may present themselves previous to a general election, which I am glad to find is to be postponed to another year.

“I have not yet fixed any precise time for going to England. There are many points on which I am very desirous of conversing with you, and I hope to see you at Dropmore early in the autumn. I must also meet Lord Minto in London before his departure for India.”

THE EARL OF YARMOUTH TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 30. [Paris.]—“I had the honor of receiving your lordship’s letter on the 28th, and you have done justice to my zeal and good wishes when you anticipate the pleasure I shall feel at the co-operation of Lord Lauderdale, or any person his Majesty’s ministers may send with full instructions.

“Mr. Goddard, who is so good to take this letter, will explain everything that has passed to your lordship. It only remains for me to repeat to you the infinite obligations I feel for his goodness and attention to me.”

VISCOUNT HOWICK TO THE SAME.

1806, July 30. Admiralty.—“You have forgot the enclosure, so that I cannot judge of the grounds on which Lord Rosslyn’s opinion is formed. From all I have heard of the state of the Portuguese government and army, I cannot bring myself to believe it would be very difficult to get possession of the forts. If we are to calculate upon the force of the Portuguese army as equal to its numbers, and as likely to be vigorously opposed to us, then undoubtedly a large army prepared to undertake and to support a regular siege would be required. But of this I have no idea, and if we should be disappointed in the effort to be produced by a landing of 5 or 6,000 men, I should hope it would not be difficult to bring them off again without any considerable loss. There certainly would be some risk, but the question is whether the object is of sufficient importance, and the chances of success or security against any great loss so encouraging as to justify us in meeting it. Lord Rosslyn, I am afraid, is rather too cautious. It is possible that even without a land force we may by means of our fleet be able to save the Portuguese navy, or at least the greater part of it; but as to this I certainly am not very sanguine.

“I will endeavour to collect a sufficient force for Lord St. Vincent as soon as possible, but I think it would not be prudent, after the accounts received of what is said to have happened in Calabria, to delay sending both naval and military reinforcements to Sicily; and this rather embarrasses me, as I am very unwilling to leave any opening for Jerome.

“As to the instructions, I do not see why they should not be formed on our original ideas, as, of course, Lord Rosslyn would proceed only in the execution of them so far as might appear consistent with a reasonable prospect of success.”



## W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, July 30. [Pall Mall.]—"I have seen Mr. Gambier, who is perhaps as much too sanguine as Lord Rosslyn may be suspected of being too much the contrary. He is of opinion that three or four thousand French would march from one end of the kingdom to the other; and, therefore, has no doubt of three or four thousand British being sufficient for the other service. He thinks, however, that the leading persons in the Government would be much more hostile to the British than to the French. The ships, too, are in a state to require time for bringing them away; being in the state of what we call ships in ordinary. The forts, according to his notion, would be silenced, at least in the hands of the present possessors, by three or four ships of the line. The object is certainly considerable; twelve very fine seventy-four's, and about fourteen frigates, besides a number of Brazil men, capable of being immediately converted into vessels of war.

"I feel inclined to the attempt, and, what you will think very odd, should doubt whether, if it were finally resolved on, a fitter man could be found to carry it into execution than Tarleton. It is not that I have acquired any new admiration of his powers during the course of the late Parliamentary debates, or that I reckon him a great general; but I think the service in question is one of those that he is fit for, and probably more fit for than a better man. It is a service, not of combination, but of decision and enterprise, one in which a prompt determination is almost as important as a right one. It is possible that, in the course of time, Tarleton may have lost even the qualities which I am here supporting; but if he is what he was formerly, I should question whether he was not as proper a choice as could be made. It may be said, and perhaps with some truth, that one must have but a bad opinion of the service for which he could be the properest person.

"One of the worst circumstances that occurs is, that the most efficient regiment which their service contains is commanded by a Frenchman, who, though a man of good principles, can hardly, in such a crisis, be expected to lean to counsels adverse to the French; and who, if he is to act on that side, will bring against us not only French activity, but French activity exerted probably to the utmost, with a view of making his peace with the conquerors. This corps is only a regiment; but a regiment is something where the total inefficiency of the enemy's means must be the great basis of our hopes. I feel inclined to talk again to Stuart; but, in that case, one must open one's views to him more distinctly. There must be a communication also with the navy people, for which purpose I will call to-morrow upon Lord Howick."

## W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, July 31. [Pall Mall.]—"Let me correct a mistake without delay which could make me be supposed to have thought of Tarleton for any purpose of negotiation. My idea was, in the case of Tarleton being employed, to separate the functions, and to leave to him nothing but the execution of the service when the person sent forward to Lisbon should give, as it were, the signal. It must be, I think, in that way that the service would best be executed, whoever should be the person employed.

"An officer low in rank involves the inconvenience which occurred in the case of Craufurd lately, and which makes the only impediment to the employing him now. There is no one to whom such a service could be better confided in all its parts: but it would be impossible almost to find 4,000 men among whom there should not be found officers senior to him, and who would, of consequence, object to serving under his command."

## MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1806, July [31.]—"By an accident I was prevented from seeing Canning until a late hour this night. I find, as I expected, that the limited proposition, as stated by you, is not likely to succeed; and I think it would be desirable to terminate the discussion as soon as possible. I should be glad to call upon you to-morrow at any hour when I could hope to find you at leisure; I will take my chance at twelve; and if you cannot see me at that time, I wish you would leave directions with your porter respecting the time when you are likely to be disengaged."

## LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, August 1. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to submit to your Majesty the inclosed draft, which was read this evening at the meeting of your Majesty's confidential servants.

"Mr. Goddard, who was the bearer of Lord Yarmouth's despatch, has brought with him the enclosed notes of a project which Monsieur Talleyrand and General Clarke read to Lord Yarmouth, but which Lord Yarmouth refused to accept or to transmit officially.

"These notes were taken by Mr. Goddard at the desire of Monsieur Talleyrand and Lord Yarmouth, and in their presence, but it was understood that they were not to be considered as official communications.

"Your Majesty will perceive that they are wholly inadmissible, differing hardly at all from the terms stated in Lord Yarmouth's last despatch.

"Under these circumstances, the probability of a successful issue to the negotiation must be considered as being very small

indeed. But it appeared to your Majesty's servants that if, after having asked for passports for Lord Lauderdale, there had been any delay in his proceeding to Paris, that circumstance would have afforded to the enemy a specious ground for invidious comments. He will, therefore, if your Majesty approves it, set off to-morrow." *Copy.*

*Private.* THE SAME to W. ELLIOT.

1806, August 1. Downing Street.—“I have received a letter from Newport urging (and I think with reason) the necessity of framing a code of instructions for the two new Revenue Boards, by which they are to be confined strictly within the limits of their duty, and prohibited from assuming any discretion or latitude in points which, according to the practice of this country, ought to be left to the Board of Treasury, under whose orders they must always consider themselves as acting. This suggestion appears to me quite right, and I have directed a search to be made here to find whether *we* have any code of standing instructions for those Boards; and if we have, copies will be sent to you in order that you may direct a draft to be framed on that model, *mutatis mutandis*. If there is no such precedent, still the thing is right, and you will be at no loss in framing one. I should wish to see it before it be finally adopted.

“We had some conversation last night about the possibility of raising Catholic regiments in Ireland for service in Sicily, Malta, and Portugal. Pray let me have your opinion on this subject, and beg the Lord Lieutenant to turn it in his mind. Would it be best to try independent companies, or battalions? We could, as you know, give temporary rank and half-pay after the war; and the subalterns so brought into the army would be capable of receiving, and would be recommended for promotion in other corps.

“If the Catholic body could really be interested as a body in the success of this measure, its advantages might be infinite.” *Copy.*

COUNT STROGANOFF to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 1. Upper Grosvenor Street.—“Le Comte Stroganoff a l'honneur de présenter ses hommages à my lord Grenville, et celui de le prier de vouloir bien lui accorder un moment d'entretien dans le courant de la journée de demain.

“Le Comte Stroganoff ayant prévalû sur le Prince de Castelecala de déferer le départ de son courier pour St. Petersburg jusqu'à demain, a pris sur lui d'obtenir du ministère du Roi un bâtiment pour le transport du courier Napolitain nommé François Riggio jusqu' à Gottenbourg; il supplie en conséquence my lord Grenville de vouloir bien faire en sorte que les ordres soient envoyés à cet effet de bonne heure, soit à Harwich soit à Yarmouth.

“ Il prie son excellence d'agréer ses excuses de la liberté qu' il prend, et de croire, en même tems, qu'il lui aura une obligation particulière, si elle voudroit bien complaire à sa demande.”

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL SPENCER.

1806, August 1. Downing Street.—“ I have read the letter from Lord Pembroke which you left with me. I am myself very desirous that the public should treat with him for the medals, and I think there cannot be a fairer proposal than his, provided that it be understood that as he will not be bound to sell at the valued price, so neither should we be bound to buy. But that, if the purchase *is* made, the *price* shall be that which shall have been so fixed.” *Copy.*

GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 2 [1]. Windsor Castle.—“ The King approves of Lord Lauderdale's setting out to Paris to-morrow, upon the grounds stated in Lord Grenville's letter; and also of the instructions which he will receive; but his Majesty entirely agrees with Lord Grenville that there is very small probability of a successful issue to a negotiation in which terms are proposed which, his Majesty trusts, will at no time, and under no circumstances, be considered by his Government otherwise than dishonourable, and therefore inadmissible.”

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, August 2. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville has the honour to transmit to your Majesty a narrative which Mr. Goddard drew up by Lord Grenville's desire of the circumstances attending the notes of the project which he brought over. Lord Lauderdale left town this morning.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to the EARL OF YARMOUTH.

1806, August 2. Downing Street.—“ I was unwilling to detain Lord Lauderdale for the purpose of replying particularly to the unfounded allegations of M. Talleyrand which you have recapitulated in your despatch of the 30th instant. But some points are there mentioned which cannot be left without an answer, such as I trust indeed your lordship has already given to them.

“ It is true, as stated by that minister, that when the demand was made for Lord Lauderdale's passport, there still remained here a blank passport, one of the two sent here some time before your lordship's arrival, when it had been proposed to us to treat separately from Russia. That proposal having fallen to the ground, the circumstance of our being still in possession of the passport was overlooked; but even if it had

occurred, some doubt would probably have arisen how far it might be proper in so different a state of things to make use of it for Lord Lauderdale, without some previous communication of such an intention.

"This whole matter is, however, very immaterial. The principal point to which I feel it necessary to advert is that part of M. de Talleyrand's language which imputes to this country needless delays in the negotiation, and attributes to that cause the unjustifiable measures pursued by France in Germany and elsewhere.

"In the instructions given to Lord Lauderdale the repeated tergiversations of France during the negotiation are detailed. It is from these alone that delay has arisen.

"Your lordship truly states that the offers made through yourself were so clearly and unequivocally expressed that the intention of the French government could not be doubted. But they were no sooner made than departed from. In the first conference after your lordship's return to France, Sicily was demanded. In the former offers, it had been distinctly disclaimed: '*vous l'avez, nous [ne] vous le demandons pas. Si nous la possedions, elle pourrait augmenter de beaucoup les difficultés.*'

"This demand therefore could not have been foreseen, being in contradiction to their own assurances, and your Lordship could only take it *ad referendum*. This produced a delay attributable solely to France. Our answer was immediate and distinct. The new demand was declared to be a breach of the proposed basis in its most essential part. To obviate a cavil on the subject of full powers, they were not sent to you but with an express injunction not to use them, nor even to produce them formally, till the French government should return to its former ground respecting Sicily. Your lordship stated this to M. de Talleyrand, and you received in return a proposal of giving to his Majesty or to the King of Naples the Hans towns in lieu of Sicily. This being again a proposition entirely new, could only be referred for his Majesty's consideration. On the very next day after it arrived, it was decidedly rejected here; and so little were we disposed to delay, that the same despatch conveyed to you his Majesty's orders, if the demand of Sicily should still be persisted in, to desire your passports and return to England.

"Of this order your lordship informed M. de Talleyrand, and its execution was delayed only by a fresh proposal of exchanges, and this brought forward by France and supported by the Russian minister, as the means by which his Majesty might prevent, amongst other things, the changes meditated in Germany. M. de Talleyrand, it appears, now represents this communication in the following terms: '*We told you that if you had powers, or would enter into negotiation, we would not sign the arrangement in Germany.*'

“ But M. de Talleyrand’s real communication is to be found in your lordship’s despatch of the 9th of July, in which he says that those changes ‘*were determined upon, but should not be published if peace took place.*’

“ That despatch was received here on the 12th, and on the 17th, in direct violation of these assurances in whichever form they were conveyed, the German treaties were actually signed and published at Paris. They must have been prepared before. What M. de Talleyrand therefore calls a reasonable time allowed to your lordship to consult your Government was less than 24 hours, even supposing the utmost possible expedition, and no accident or delay either by land or sea.

“ These dates will undoubtedly not have escaped your lordship, and will have enabled you to refute in the most decisive manner the unfounded pretences by which the French government seeks to attribute to delays on our part the results of its own injustice and manifest breach of promise.

“ The whole of our intercourse with France bears indeed so different a character from that of delay, and the whole of the King’s conduct in this, as in every other instance, is marked by so many striking proofs of his desire to avert, even by the greatest sacrifice, such calamities as he is now accused of producing, that your lordship may perhaps have felt it less necessary to enter into a particular refutation of such a charge.

“ But in treating with such a Government as that of France, it is of the highest consequence not to suffer such imputations to pass unnoticed, and by disregard, to acquire strength and currency.” *Draft. Holograph.*

LORD GRENVILLE to the EARL OF YARMOUTH.

1806, August 2. Downing Street.—“ Mr. Goddard will return to-morrow, thinking himself under some degree of engagement to M. de Talleyrand to do so. There seems so little probability of a successful issue of the negotiation in the present temper of the French government, that I feel very anxious for his sake that he may be sent back as soon as possible, and without any restriction as to his return.

“ I beg to return your lordship my best thanks for your obliging attention to him.” *Copy.*

GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 3. Windsor Castle.—“ The King returns thanks to Lord Grenville for his communication of Mr. Goddard’s narrative, of which the contents, in his Majesty’s opinion, tend to confirm the impression that there can be no hopes of peace with such a Government as that at present existing in France.”

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1806, August 3. Hastings.—“ I received your note here this moment, having come to this place upon a visit to Arthur.

He will attend you whenever you choose to summon him ; you will send to him either by express or by post, as you may judge necessary.

“ I thought it most advisable to send this by express.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, August 4. Downing Street.—“ It is a great mortification to me and, I am convinced, a real loss to the public service, that a difficulty about etiquette, and the necessity of sending out an officer who could not serve *under* your brother must deprive us of the benefit of his services in the business in view.

“ He will, of course, therefore say nothing of what has passed, and will, I hope, believe how much I regret that what was in contemplation cannot be.” *Copy.*

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 6. Phoenix Park.—“ By the death of Lord Landaff a vacancy occurs in the representation of the county of Tipperary, and I merely write these lines to say that it appears to us here that Mr. Pritty, son-in-law to the Chancellor, and a gentleman of respectable fortune and character in the county, is the most proper person to succeed to the vacancy. As it is very possible that your lordship may have applications for the support of Government from Lord Landaff’s family in favour of Colonel Mathew (who would by no means be acceptable to the county) I have thought it right to put you upon your guard.

“ The most attentive consideration shall be given to the measure suggested by your lordship in your letter to Mr. Elliot respecting the raising Roman Catholic corps in Ireland for foreign service ; and the result of our enquiries and deliberations will be conveyed to your lordship by Mr. Elliot when he goes to England.”

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK TO THE SAME.

1806, August 6. Admiralty.—“ I am very sorry for Graham’s refusal, as I do not know any other person whom I think altogether so well qualified for this mission.

“ Whitbread certainly would do extremely well, but the state of my sister’s health is such, that I am sure he would not on any account leave England.

“ The only doubt I have about Tierney is that which I before expressed to you. But with the instructions he will receive, and Lord St. Vincent to keep him up, I think we shall run no great risk in trusting him. In every other respect he certainly is well qualified, except that he may want some of the facilities which are only acquired by living abroad, or by intercourse with foreigners. I should mention to you that before Lord Rosslyn was named, Fox expressed a wish that

Lord St. John might be sent. I confess he never would have occurred to me as an eligible person ; but I am not sufficiently qualified by any very intimate acquaintance with him, to judge of his fitness for such a trust. If you should decide upon Tierney, you may have him at a few hours notice, as he is at Wimbledon ; and if you wish me to speak to him first, I will send for him."

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 6. Dublin Castle.—“ The official recommendation of the commissioners of the two Boards of Revenue will be despatched to-morrow, and you will render us a material service, if you will direct the King’s letters to be transmitted hither, so soon as the forms of the Treasury will permit. As the two commissioners next in seniority to Lord Castle-Coote are Vandeleur and Townsend, the Lord Lieutenant has named them for the second chairs. Townsend formerly practised at the Bar, and is still qualified for the deputy-chair at the Excise Board. Newport has stated to you his ideas with regard to the division of some of the large collectorships, and I therefore need not trouble you on that subject.

“ Lord Granard’s brother is, I understand, to offer himself for the county of Longford at the general election, and, I take it for granted, is to be supported. At least Lord Rosse informed me that he had been induced to promise Mr. Forbes his interest at the request of some of the ministers.

“ Newport, I presume, is to have all the aid we can give him at Waterford, as he tells me that Lord Waterford is under an engagement to Mr. Aleoek.”

*Private.* THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, August 6. Dublin Castle.—“ Your suggestion with regard to Catholic levies comprises a topic which I had reserved for discussion with you and Windham, when I go to London. It is a subject on which I do not yet feel prepared to form an opinion, but I hope to be able to furnish you with information on it by the time I see you, which, I trust, will be in the course of a very few weeks. Whether it would be practicable to interest the Catholics, *as a body*, in the measure, I much doubt ; but you might, nevertheless, perhaps be able to raise a few battalions by giving the command of them to Catholics of estimation and influence in the country. However, if you were to form any corps for rank, the most *rigid* regulations must be established in respect to bounty, otherwise you will revive the evil of competition.

“ Lord Belmore, who professes a firm and zealous adherence to the present Government, is anxious to be considered as the leading interest in the county of Tyrone. He, I find, supports Knox, and he states that Knox will follow his politics. It is said too that Lord Abercorn has promised Knox his aid,



in which case Sir John Stuart will of course withdraw his pretensions, and Knox and James Stewart must come in without opposition. As Lord Abercorn seems to be in implacable hostility to you in Parliament, it may (if you approve of it) be worth while to cultivate Lord Belmore, who has a large property in the county of Tyrone.

*Postscript.*—"I have had another interview with J. Claudius Beresford, and I have reason to believe that Lord Waterford will be satisfied if Sir George Hill's brother has the port collection in Londonderry.

"As Judge Johnson is still soliciting a *noli prosequi*, I wish some decision could be formed on it."

#### H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE SAME.

1806, August 7. Carlton House.—"I arrived in town this day, and am very desirous of having the pleasure of a few minutes conversation with you. May I therefore request of you to call upon me at twelve o'clock, or at any time before that hour to-morrow, having many subjects to talk over with you, and some matters which have come to my knowledge, and which I consider it as very necessary should be imparted to you. I hope you will forgive me for troubling you with this note."

#### LORD HENRY PETTY TO THE SAME.

1806, August 7.—"I am sure you will be glad to hear that the operation has been performed upon Fox as successfully as it was possible; his pulse did not sink during the whole time, and, upon examining since, the physicians agree in opinion that there is no enlargement of the liver which was what they most dreaded. This is more favourable than any of us could have expected."

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK TO THE SAME.

1806, August 7. Admiralty.—"I have just seen Lord Holland and am happy to tell you that he is willing to undertake the business about which I spoke to him yesterday. He wishes to devote to-morrow to his uncle, as he is allowed to see no other person except Mrs. Fox; but will wait upon you at any time afterwards that you will fix, to receive your instructions.

"The more I think of this expedition to Portugal the more I am convinced that every thing depends upon time, and that it would be better to risk a failure in an attempt at a *coup de main*, than to make a failure almost certain by delay. The most sanguine calculation will not allow us to expect that the troops can be off the Tagus before the 21st. If the French army is, therefore, in the state of readiness we are taught to believe, what time would there be for a siege? But if we are to wait for ordnance stores to any considerable amount,

you must I am sure allow another fortnight at least ; and then, in addition to the time given to the enemy, it must be considered that you will be approaching to a season when it may be difficult for the fleet to maintain a certain communication with the shore."

MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 7. Wotton.—“ Nothing can be kinder than all your obliging attentions to my wishes, not only where your own judgment agrees with me, but where it even differs. I have seen Simecoe, who left me this morning entirely disposed to embark for India, with nothing but his *aides de camp*, and his writing man, and ready to meet, *du meilleur de son cœur*, any idea such as your note intimates to me of a *short* command. I have discussed very fully with him the idea of raising troops in India for West Indian service, which his command at St. Domingo enables him to judge of ; and he is most sanguine in that object, which, whether we have peace or war, is most essential. Nugent will be most happy, for this is the very object which at his request I threw out to you, but upon which there was no opening. I have written to him to desire him to go to town (from Cheltenham) to thank you, and to receive his western lessons from Simcoe.

“ I am delighted that we have caught one of the four West Indian frigates, and trust that Harvey may fall in with the others. It is essential that these squadrons should be checked, and the public opinion on their success put down ; for the good fortune of the Rochfort squadron, for eleven months, had produced an awkward effect.

“ I have received from the Duke of Northumberland a letter on the subject of Lord Percy, expressing in the most eager terms ‘ his obligations to you and to me, and his anxiety that Lord Percy should commence his political career under the guidance of those, with whom he has the honour to be so nearly allied in blood, and whose public opinions he respects so highly.’

“ The election comes on, on Monday, and I shall return hither on Tuesday, for the hopes of tempting Tom and you to join our Wotton party, even for twenty-four hours, in the course of next week. We shall not return to Stowe till Monday week, and would defer it for the hopes of one day’s union here, if you could encourage us to hope for it.

“ By my calculation Lord Lauderdale’s first courier will be with you about Sunday, and he will—unless sent to the Temple—have been kicked out of Paris, so as to arrive in London about Tuesday or Wednesday ; and you will then be at liberty with Tom to come to Aylesbury, where my horses shall meet you, and bring you here on Saturday evening, to pass Sunday here, and to return on Monday, if you cannot make longer holidays. See how I arrange all this for you, and I do so, because much as I love my brothers, I love them best of all at Wotton.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, August 8. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to submit to your Majesty for your Majesty’s royal signature credentials and full powers for the Earl of St. Vincent, Lieutenant-General Simecoe, and the Earl of Rosslyn, whom your Majesty’s servants beg leave to recommend to be joined with the two former, and to be specially charged with the negotiation at Lisbon. Lord St. Vincent is probably already there, and if your Majesty is graciously pleased to approve it, Lord Rosslyn and General Simecoe will set out to-morrow to proceed there on board of a frigate.

“ Lord Grenville has also the honour to transmit the copies which he has received to-day from Count Stroganoff of despatches to that minister from Baron Budberg of as late date as the 10th of last month, in which there is no appearance of any change of system as to peace with France ; and which, consequently, seem to confirm Count Stroganoff’s hopes that Monsieur d’Oubril’s treaty will not be ratified. Lord Grenville judged these papers so important that he has taken upon himself to send a messenger to the Earl of Lauderdale with copies of them.

“ Lord Grenville begs leave to mention to your Majesty that the operation of tapping was performed yesterday on Mr. Fox with entire success ; and that the medical people report the present appearances of his case to be more favourable than they had before supposed, though it must still, of course, be considered as doubtful in the issue.” *Copy.*

*Private.* THE SAME to W. ELLIOT.

1806, August 8. Downing Street.—“ I will take care to expedite the King’s letters as you desire. The collectorship of Derry seems as well settled as it can be. Lord Ponsonby’s dangerous illness prevents my being able to have any communication with him upon the subject.

“ What is your opinion as to the propriety of accelerating the Waterford and Limerick superannuations in order to carry the division into effect there ? I doubt it.

“ I have heard nothing about the county of Longford, except generally that Lord Forbes is to stand. Who are his opponents, and how connected and disposed ?

“ Newport must, of course, be assisted all we can at Waterford.

“ In a few days, a very few I think, we shall know, war or peace. I think the former ; and in that expectation I am beyond measure anxious to give some practicable shape to the raising Catholic regiments in Ireland. If it can be done in no better shape, I should think it might even be worth while to raise fencibles, with power to recruit them for general service ; but you know all the objections we feel to that measure, and how infinitely preferable we should think it to

raise regiments for general service at once, or to raise independent companies with power to attach them to such battalions as we should judge fit.

“Pray mention this subject to the Lord Lieutenant, and say how much we should all feel indebted to him if he can give any practicable form to any plan for this purpose.

“The account of Fox to-day is as favourable as it could be.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

1806, August 8. Downing Street.—“You will hear with pleasure that the operation was performed yesterday on Mr. Fox with perfect success, and that the report of the medical people is as favourable as it could possibly be. I saw Vaughan immediately after. He told me that all the circumstances and appearances were exactly such as he would have most wished to find them. His strength appeared greater than they expected. He did not faint at all, and to-day appears, as they say, very much relieved. But what is most material is that they have, satisfactorily as they think, ascertained that there is no enlargement of the liver, which they had before thought there was. Vaughan says that this does not alter his opinion that the seat of the disorder is there, but he considers it as less formidable than he had supposed. The danger of mortification from the wound will not, as they say, be over till to-morrow night, but hitherto there has been no appearance to give them any alarm on that point. All this is certainly much more encouraging than one could have hoped; though undoubtedly there is still much to be done before one can allow oneself to look to a favourable issue.

“Budberg’s despatches do certainly indicate more adherence to the former system than we expected; and I do think, after writing in such a style, they can hardly be prepared in three weeks after to ratify such a treaty as Oubril’s.

“I think you mentioned to me how desirable it was that you should take the opportunity of your residence at Paris to forward some money to the English prisoners of all descriptions. I trust you will have the means of doing this. There is an institution I understand for the education of some of the poorer children of the *détenus*, which is in great want of funds, and to which you might convey some. You will of course use your own discretion in these points, and you may be very sure that any acts of charity of that description will be entirely agreeable here.

“If discussions should proceed, pray do not overlook the slave trade. I think it appears clearly that Bonaparte is not much influenced by the motives of justice or humanity on which we act, and indeed how should he? But I really think we might shame him by an official note so as to make it very difficult for him to refuse his concurrence, supposing other things adjusted.” *Copy.*

## THE SAME to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, August 8. Downing Street.—“The two American commissioners Monroe and Pinckney are very pressing that their negotiation should be entered upon; and, indeed, I do not think it at all desirable that the thing should be any longer delayed. It is, however, quite impossible that Mr. Fox should just now enter into these discussions, nor is it more possible that they should be carried on by any of our colleagues who are all quite new to the business, or by myself, who, God knows, have more than enough upon my shoulders already.

“I therefore suggested on Wednesday to the King the idea, which he approved of, authorising two persons by special commission to treat on this business; and I have proposed to Lord Holland to undertake it with you, which he is ready to do, if you have no objection. I need not dwell on the motives of the choice, which are obvious enough in both instances; but I earnestly hope you will not be unwilling to undertake this service, in which you may on every account be more useful than any other person could.

“If you will only authorise me to direct that your acceptance should be signified to these two Americans, the preparation of the commission and instructions may then take a little time, before the expiration of which I may hope to be able to converse with you on the whole subject.” *Copy.*

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 8. Eden Farm.—“My answer to your proposition is obvious and direct. Wishing to render to the King’s Government every service in my power, I am ready to receive his Majesty’s commands to undertake (within this island) any duty of which I may be thought capable. And when the difficult service in question is to be by commissioners, I am happy to be associated with Lord Holland, whose abilities I know and respect, and whose temper and turn of mind are peculiarly agreeable to me. So far, therefore, as I am concerned, any communication may be made to Messieurs Pinckney and Morris [Monroe?] as immediately as may be thought expedient. And I will appropriate to their negotiation every hour that can be spared without injury to more urgent businesses.”

*Private.* THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, August 8. Eden Farm.—“If I could have felt any hesitation as to the decision to which my separate letter relates, it would have arisen from a feeling that I have already as much to do as I am able to execute with credit to myself or safety to your Government. The current businesses of Whitehall, including a great proportion of those belonging to the Council, are become from various causes very numerous, very important, and sometimes very difficult. And this morning, for example, though I am supposed to be idling at this place,

I was fully occupied in writing official minutes and directions from half-past six till two o'clock. I have in truth been working some time to secure a three or four weeks' recess, as we had arranged a plan for visiting several of our daughters and their husbands from the 22nd September to the 28th October. We shall be sorry to abandon that plan, but it is a secondary consideration.

"Whilst I was writing my separate letter the idea occurred to me that my eldest son (now travelling in the Highlands) would be a good secretary in such a commission. He is not new in business; his natural talents are certainly of a superior class, he is well known to Lord Holland, and has been honoured by his friendly notice. But I would not hurt the grace of my acceptance by a personal suggestion which possibly may not be practicable; and, indeed, if it were practicable it would be infinitely better to be proposed by Lord Holland."

#### W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 8. [Pall Mall.]—"I have seen Simcoe, who feels no objection to the appointment in question, whether with a view to the civil or military functions. In the latter view he conceived it so eligible as to reckon among its recommendations that, in the event of his own retiring when the time should come for his going to India, the command would thus devolve upon a proper successor.

"The only circumstance to create a doubt to those who may not be of that opinion is, that Simcoe does not wish altogether to give up his prospects in India, though preferring European service should there be a prospect of its being such as he would like. I should be very glad if, in that view, we could offer him the command in the Mediterranean; but that opportunity was, I think, lost past recovery when Moore was sent out second; and the only way now of restoring it would be by an exchange, should it be thought advisable to send Moore to India, and should the service in the Mediterranean assume the shape which it possibly may do."

#### GEORGE III to THE SAME.

1806, August 9. Windsor Castle.—"The King has received with much satisfaction the communications from Count Strogonoff, and approves of Lord Grenville's having immediately sent copies of them to Lord Lauderdale. His Majesty also entirely approves of the instructions prepared for the Earl of St. Vincent, Lieutenant-General Simeoe, and the Earl of Rosslyn, in whose appointment, conjointly with the two first-named, he acquiesces.

"The King is sensible of Lord Grenville's attention in informing him of the result of the operation performed on Thursday on Mr. Fox, and is well aware that in such a case, Lord Grenville cannot possibly speak with confidence as to the issue."

## LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, August 9. Downing Street.—“ I rejoice very much in your kind and ready acceptance of the additional trouble of the American negotiation—a work, I fear, of no light labour or difficulty. I have asked the two American ministers to dine with me on Wednesday, and have ordered a card to be sent to you, though I know you do not like great dinners, and particularly dinners in town at this season of the year.

“ I am not aware that there can be the least difficulty in so natural a wish as the having your son named secretary to the committee. It may, however, be best not to decide this till I can talk to Lord Holland about it, lest it should occasion any jealousy or uncasiness there, which would be very adverse to the good success of the business.” *Copy.*

## THE SAME to LORD HOLLAND.

1806, August 9. Downing Street.—“ I am extremely happy in your acceptance of the commission which Lord Howick mentioned to you, and I also learn from Lord Auckland that he is equally ready to undertake it.

“ If it is possible, I wish to get twenty-four hours in the country this evening and to-morrow, but I shall certainly be back on Monday, and shall be happy to see you that day at any hour that suits you.

“ I really hope one may, without being sanguine, find a good deal of favourable expectation on the accounts of the medical people within these last two days.

“ The great thing will be to see what ground can be gained as to preventing fresh accumulation of water.” *Copy.*

## LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 9.—“ I am at your orders any time from eleven to seven o'clock on Monday, and will thank you to let me know when I shall call upon you by a note directed to my uncle's, Stable Yard. My uncle has been very weak both to-day and yesterday, but he has many favourable symptoms, and the physicians think that he has no organic disease that has made any progress, and that, since the operation, many symptoms favourable to the cure have occurred. This is encouraging, though I cannot conceal from myself that there are some counterbalancing appearances which one is less disposed to dwell upon.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, August 10. Eden Farm.—“ I know nothing yet of the Sierra Leone application: but I presume that the parties, finding themselves involved in an expensive and embarrassing project, would be glad to transfer that concern to the broader shoulders of the public.

“I have not been inattentive to the proposed order of council for regulating the West India intercourse; but the Act of Parliament was not printed till Thursday last. I have now received it, and will prepare a draft of an order to be referred on Wednesday next to the Attorney and Solicitor General for their correction and concurrence. And perhaps they will attend at the committee; I have written to them with that view.

“Sir Joseph Bankes has written a long and ingenious paper (in consequence of your suggestion) ‘on the means of recording on the reverse of coins and tokens the principal events which take place in the British Empire.’ I reserve it for your perusal till you shall be somewhat less overwhelmed by business.

“I understand that our St. Domingo commerce has found notice in the newspapers; and it is stated that ‘this trade with a *black* emperor is a *fair* trade.’

“I hope that you will before Wednesday, and even tomorrow if convenient, return the Papenburg minute, with your corrections, either to me or to Sir Stephen Cotterel. I am sorry for the innocent individuals, who are personally very importunate; but I submit to you that, with respect to the blockade, and the general impression wished to be maintained, and, indeed, in respect also to the character and consistency of Government, it is expedient to give the negative implied in the proposed minute.

“I will not fail to meet Mr. Monro and Mr. Pinckney at your dinner on Wednesday next, though it is at this season and distance a complaisance which Lady Grenville and you will not be induced to reciprocate if I should propose to you to meet them (and Mrs. Monro) at this place. *Confidentially* speaking, the tone and tendencies of that negotiation seem to me to depend a little on the probabilities of a general peace. In the meantime, it certainly is desirable to show any ostensible and respectful attention to the discussion. If the American gentlemen have full powers, our commission should make us also plenipotentiaries, and in that case Lord Holland and I ought to kiss hands. If that be so, I should be glad to have notice; it will be an additional annoyance at this season. *Query* also, whether it should not be right, and also an acceptable attention to Lord Holland, that he should be of the Privy Council, and also of the Committee of Trade to which, if the discussion should go forwards, several incidental questions must be referred.

“I will not say anything to my son about the secretaryship to the commission, until you shall have found that it would be quite acceptable to Lord Holland; *but the sooner that can be done the better*. I will write three or four lines of more general politeness to Lord Holland.

“The reports of the wheat harvest are various; in this district the grain is abundant and quite clean. But in many parts of the kingdom there has been a partial blight.



“I annex a paper on the linen yarn business. The parties came with it on this fine Sunday morning, and insisted on a long audience.”

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 10. Phoenix Park.—“I feel most anxious to learn whether your lordship has come to any determination as to the collectorship of Derry. I understand that Mr. George Ponsonby has received an impression, from a conversation he had with your lordship on the subject, that your wishes were in favour of the Ponsonby family recommending to the present vacancy. I cannot help thinking that he must have misunderstood your sentiments; but, at all events, to avoid the embarrassment which must necessarily result from so long a state of uncertainty, I feel it essential to have them distinctly recorded, and in a mode which may be communicated either to the Chancellor or Lord Waterford.

“It is probable that the new Boards of Revenue may recommend that the collection should be divided under the separate heads of excise and customs, in which case I understand Lord Waterford and Sir George Hill would be satisfied with the nomination to the collectorship of customs, which would embrace the patronage of the town; and it appears but reasonable that the Ponsonbys should be equally so with the collectorship of excise, which must be all that can be desired for county purposes.”

EARL TEMPLE to THE SAME.

1806, August 10. Avington.—“I enclose you a letter I received from General Porter; I do not know whether you know him. In the days of Fox’s old opposition, in those of Addington’s first administration, and of the subsequent opposition, he was the person chiefly entrusted with keeping the party in the House of Commons in order. His services were invaluable. I can assure you there is no one in the House whose assistance would be so important in that line as his. His knowledge of the House is every thing that can be wished, and to the manager of the House of Commons he would be of the greatest use. He is now, as you see, well inclined (as he has often before told me he was) to attach himself to you. I have written to him to say *that he cannot be Secretary of the Treasury*, but that I shall be very happy to assist his views as far as I can. This I have said merely from a conviction that he can be of the greatest use to you, as I certainly have individually no object in serving General Porter. Pray take the letter into consideration, and let me know whether I can hold out any hopes of his attaining any object he may have in view, compatible with your engagements. Direct to me at Exmouth, Devon, for which place I set out on Wednesday.”

## C. GODDARD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 11. Paris.—“ We are here in a state of great uncertainty. Though Lord Lauderdale, who is a perfect man of business, and has besides a clear head and a correct judgment, will have informed your lordship of every particular worth your knowing, I cannot help recapitulating shortly what has passed. It may be sometimes useful to receive different impressions of persons very unequal in point of judgment and ability, and it is assuredly in this view only that I present to your lordship those which I have received from what is passing here. On the day after my arrival here Lord Lauderdale, who had, in the mean time, shewn his powers, presented the note which is enclosed in his despatch. I was sorry not to have been here sooner, in order to have seen it the day before. He communicated it to me the day he sent it, but as he did not express any doubt with respect to the *French*, I did not think myself at liberty to offer my opinion. Since that time he has allowed me to put his ideas into French ; but I regret that, in his first paper, more justice was not done to the matter. We had been forty-eight hours without any answer to the demand of passports, both for a courier and for Lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale, when the note of this evening was received from the two French Plenipotentiaries. It is very remarkable that in that note two of the most important words are written upon a part of the paper from which there has been an *erasure* ; that the words substituted are written in *another hand*, and evidently with a gold or silver pen. Now Bonaparte writes with a gold one, and the hand is perfectly resembling. The words are *adopte* and *trouve*, and are in the 3rd page. Talleyrand, Clarke, and Champagny have been constantly at St. Cloud for the last three days. Clarke is known to write constantly under the Emperor's dictating.

“ I had written thus far when letters were received from M. Talleyrand ; the one official, which your lordship will see, the other private, rejoicing with Lord Lauderdale in the news of Mr. Fox's amendment. Though Lords Lauderdale and Yarmouth have made two applications to M. Talleyrand, the one for a passport for me to return with them to England, the other for an assurance from him that, if I should have an official appointment here from England, my liberty would be granted me, and my *parole* returned, they have been able to obtain no answer from him. He has assured me, however, in the most solemn manner that the moment I am able to produce him an official appointment from the King as Secretary to the mission, on the usual footing such as Mr. Merry had it, he will instantly release me from my *parole*, as he did Lord Yarmouth. I need not, after this, request your lordship to send me such an appointment. Lord Cornwallis's mission was like this, a special one ; it is named so at least in the Treasury letter ; and Mr. Merry is there called ‘ his Majesty's Secretary to his Extraordinary Embassy ’ at Paris. But even if there

should be any difference, which I may not be aware of, in the nature of the present mission, it is essential, I beg leave to observe, that the appointment should be an official one from the King, on the *footing* of a Secretary of Embassy, without which it will not gain me my liberty; and also that, like Mr. Merry's, it should contain the clause giving full powers in case of the absence of the Plenipotentiaries, without which the appointment would, in truth, be no object to me. For in point of emolument, the 2*l.* a day is less than my pension, which I forfeit during the interval, not to mention the fees on the appointment; and the only prospect I could look to, though assuredly a very temporary one, would be that of the being alone here during the time, long or short, between the departing of the present Plenipotentiaries, and the arrival of an Ambassador. This on the supposition of peace. But doubtful as it is, the object of relieving me from my *parole* is sufficient to make me anxious that, *at all events*, the appointment in due form may arrive with all possible speed. I know your lordship will enter into my feelings on this head. You may depend, however, on my not shewing it to Talleyrand without Lord Lauderdale previously receiving a formal assurance that, on its being shewn, the object shall be instantly obtained.

"I doubt not that applications will be made from the Office for some one to come out to us here as a sort of assistant secretary. Your lordship will see by the despatches how doubtful it is whether any secretary will long be wanted here; but, in any case, with the people who surround us here, it might be very mischievous to have any young or imprudent person here; in a country where every thing is sold, every thing is attempted to be bought. If our situation was fixed here, I would propose Broughton as a sober, careful, trusty person; but the truth is, no one will be wanted. It is not that I have much assistance from Lord Lauderdale's friends whom he brought with him; for your lordship knows how much depends on habit in business, and how much easier it is, nine times in ten, to do the thing oneself than to direct others. The only thing that fatigues me is the mechanical part of writing, long continued; which since my illness costs me a great deal; but I think we may get through this affair, even if it should be pursued to the end, without further assistance. At least I will do my best.

"M. Talleyrand's excuses for not sending the passports appeared to Lord Lauderdale as futile as to myself, especially the courier's; but he judged that the repetition of his complaint, at the beginning of his note this evening, would be sufficient; at least that he could not on that account forbear answering the questions relative to the basis, and once more putting it on its true footing.

"It was not intended to send *Basilico* to-night, but M. Talleyrand has thought proper, contrary to his former

usage, to put the courier's name in the passport, and to fix on Basilico. He takes your lordship's maps and books, and the china for Lady Grenville."

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, August 11. Dropmore.—“I have this morning received your grace's letter respecting the vacancy in Tipperary. If any application is made to me on the subject, I will certainly explain that the Government interest is given to Mr. Pritty.

“We are in hourly expectation of our messenger from Paris. If he does not bring peace, and I do not expect he will, we shall be extremely anxious to pursue any practicable plan for Catholic levies in Ireland. If the command should be given, as will probably be desirable, to Catholic gentlemen or noblemen, the best course would then probably be to make the regiments fencibles, with service limited to the British islands, and with a power to the men of volunteering for general service at stated periods of the year, and at a fixed bounty; but on this subject I shall be most anxious to know your ideas.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, August 11. Dropmore.—“I see no possible objection to the minute on the Papenburgh claim.

“I do not see any objection to grant what is now asked about the German yarn; that is to give notice that no more will be admitted, and to admit this only on giving security for the payment of duties within six months, unless previously relieved by Act of Parliament.

“But in what manner can this be legally done? Who has the power to do this—the Privy Council or the Treasury? If neither, I certainly should not approve of considering this as a case for breaking the law on indemnity.

“I shall be in town to-morrow, if anything further occurs to you on the subject.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to EARL TEMPLE.

1806, August 11. Downing Street.—“King mentioned to me General Porter's application, and I desired him to express in return that I wished much to avail myself of his assistance, and only desired him to point out in what way I could assist his wishes; and that if it is in my power, consistently with other engagements, I shall be glad to do it. Something of that sort it might be well for you to write him.” *Copy.*

THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 12. Paris.—“In relation to the army said to be formed at Bayonne, it is my opinion that, in Lord Yarmouth's despatch, the French government is represented

as in a greater state of forwardness in point of preparation than I really believe to be the truth. I had this day a conversation with Lima, who I take to be perfectly under the dominion of M. Talleyrand. He began by stating to me that an army was formed to march through Spain for the purposes stated to your lordship by Lord Yarmouth; but on pressing him to name the regiments and the commanders, he very soon drew back, and then said that he knew there was preparation for the provisions and contracts for hospitals for an army of 20,000 men, but he could only name one regiment that he believed to be under orders for Bayonne. The American minister, whom I saw this morning, seemed to think that it was in agitation to form an army there, but that no great number of troops was hitherto collected together.

"I have got a gentleman who has been connected in some money transactions with Mr. Hervas, whose connection with Spain your lordship must know, to undertake to find out from him what is the real situation of the Bayonne army, in the course of the day."

8 o'clock p.m. "The report I have received of Mr. Hervas's conversation is, that he holds the idea of an invasion of Spain, for the purpose of marching to Portugal, perfectly cheap."

1806, August 14. Paris. "This morning I received the information contained in the enclosure (A). It is from the American resident at Madrid, who, I am told, is a very intelligent man. I read his whole letter, and made this extract, which contains the only valuable information.

"The enclosure (B) is an anonymous letter which your lordship may like to read.

"I do believe that in the evening of Thursday the 7th, the day I delivered my first note to General Clarke, a Colonel Swaine of the Artillery, for whom Lord Yarmouth had procured a passport, was sent to England by way of Antwerp or Rotterdam. Your lordship will see a paragraph in the enclosed newspaper which I suppose alludes to him."

*One paper (B) enclosed.*

*Enclosure (B).*

A FRIEND TO HIS COUNTRY to the EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

1806, August 12. Paris.—"Were it in my power to add my name to these lines, I flatter myself it would but increase their importance, and contribute to convince your lordship that the motives which dictate them are honorable, and the assertions they contain perfectly correct.

"These assertions, founded on circumstances with which your lordship is far better acquainted than I can be, prove their own veracity, and bear with themselves the stamp of truth.

"In the outset of the present negotiation, *Lord Yarmouth*, who, I have reason to believe, first received the idea of entering into it from the person I shall shortly have occasion to name,

made an agreement with that person (Monsieur De Montron) to operate, as circumstances might direct, in the public funds of the two countries. For that purpose they appointed in London an agent with whose name and with the particulars of whose cooperation I am not sufficiently acquainted to enter into any further details respecting them. On this side, as *De Montron* was not a man of character and responsibility such as were requisite to carry on an operation of the nature and importance of that which they were to embark in, they, or rather *De Montron*, resolved upon associating in the concern a jobber of large capital and credit here, of the name of *De Tillière*. With *him*, and with *De Montron*, the SECRET OF NEGOTIATION HAS RESTED EVER SINCE THE OUTSET; nay more, *Lord Yarmouth* has ever since that period been open to the insinuations, and to the *surveillance* if I may so call it, of *De Montron*, who is known to be an *intelligent diplomatic spy*, the *active and dangerous agent* of *M. de Talleyrand*.

"These facts are well known to others, and *De Montron's* connection with *Lord Yarmouth* and his family is, unfortunately for his lordship, and indeed for the country he in some measure, represents, the common talk of the town.

"A very late circumstance will fully prove these assertions, and will the more particularly strike your lordship, as it is quite recent.

"*Yesterday morning at nine o'clock*, on the arrival of the messenger (Mr. Godard I believe) your lordship sent for *Lord Yarmouth*, who, after remaining with your lordship about three quarters of an hour, returned home, *went immediately over the way to De Montron* who lives at the *Hotel Cerutti*, and sent him at *eleven o'clock* with the *secret of negotiation to De Tillière the jobbing partner*. *Lord Yarmouth* is perhaps not aware that it afterwards immediately went to *M. de Talleyrand* who was thereby fully prepared to confer on the subject to the greatest possible advantage.

"I need not enter into any further details to convince your lordship what a source of disgrace and detriment to the country such low, unguarded, infamy must be.

"I entrust the present communication to your lordship's sagacity and discernment."

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 12. [Pall Mall.]—"Should not something be said to Souza? *Lord Howick* has mentioned to him that *Lord Rosslyn* was gone; as it seemed necessary to do when circumstances placed him in the situation of either stating the fact, or of appearing studiously to conceal it. It would, I should think, not yet be desirable to tell him all that was intended.

"I have settled with *Sir Francis Vincent* not to let the *Lisbon packet* go without adopting means to prevent its arrival, previously to its having spoken with *Lord St. Vincent*."

## LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, August 14. Downing Street.—“On the fullest consideration of the question respecting the collectorship of Derry it appears to me that the best mode of combining what is due to the interests of Government and to the just claims of our friends and supporters, will be that the collectorship of customs should be separated from that of excise; a measure extremely desirable in itself, and corresponding with the system now adopted for the general management of the revenue; and that in making such a division, the collectorship of the customs, as most connected with the town of Derry should be given to the recommendation of Sir George Hill, and the collectorship of excise as more naturally attaching to county interests, to that of Lord Ponsonby. If your Grace approves of this proposal, it certainly is that which seems to me the most equitable in a case where the Government is under the painful necessity of deciding between the claims of persons from whom it receives so friendly and liberal a support.” *Copy.*

## MEMORANDUM by LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 14. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville has thought the subject of Lord Lauderdale’s private letters to him so important, and the necessity of acting upon them so urgent, that he has not felt himself at liberty, notwithstanding the delicacy of their contents, to withhold them from the King’s ministers.”

[*Endorsed.*] “Note with which I sent the enclosed private letters of Lord Lauderdale in circulation to all the King’s ministers.

“Lord Yarmouth was *instantly* recalled.”

*Five Enclosures.*

*Enclosure (1).*

*Most private.* THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE to THE SAME.

1806, August 7. Paris.—“I am placed here in many respects in a situation in which there is no inconsiderable difficulty in deciding how I should conduct myself. There is one thing, however, in which I have no difficulty, and that is in stating to your lordship that you should not lose a moment in recalling Lord Yarmouth from this country.

“I suspect that the general opinion which prevails here, that throughout this business he has had connections with persons engaged in very extensive speculations in the funds in both countries, is unfortunately not unfounded; but even were the case otherwise, I am sure your lordship will agree with me that the universal belief which is here entertained on the subject is sufficient to decide your lordship in the measure to be adopted.

“Many believe that his being selected as the bearer of the message to Mr. Fox was concerted with a view to secure the appointment which ensued, and by that means to have the whole negotiation placed in hands that might render it subservient to the disgraceful purposes of those concerned in the project.

“Since I arrived here, I have hardly seen a single person who did not exhibit some apprehension of this sort by a smile or some other significant expression of the countenance; and the number of people no way connected or acquainted with one another that have stated the thing directly to me leaves no doubt of the general impression which prevails.

“A few hours after my arrival I called upon a lady who, I am certain, would on no account deceive me. There was a number of people in the room just going to dinner. My visit was of course short and the conversation trifling; but she contrived to follow me into the antichamber and in a whisper stated the general opinion, and warned me of what she called my danger.

“The next morning (Wednesday the 6th) I saw several English gentlemen who all began with vague and distant insinuations, but, after a little pressing on my part, and anxious entreaties of secrecy on theirs, ended in telling me the same story.

“Among others, Paul Benfield called, who gave me the greatest number of details, and mentioned a variety of authorities in support of them.

“Lord Howick will recollect a Mr. Devereux, an Irish gentleman who lived some years ago a good deal at Brooke’s. He is not remarkable for talent or discernment, but he mixes much in society; and the variety of characters unconnected with one another who concur in the same statement is the best evidence that it forms matter of very general belief.

“Before dinner I saw a Mr. Lattin [Laffin?], an Irish Catholic gentleman whom I have known many years; a man that has passed the greatest part of his life in France, and who possesses very considerable abilities. He stated in like manner that he thought it a duty he owed to his country and to me to mention the prevailing suspicion, and the certainty that much had been done in the funds here.

“In the course of the same forenoon, a French gentleman who has access to the best information, and with whom I have been long connected in friendship, took an opportunity of assuring me very seriously that he believed the message to England and the whole transaction to be subservient to the purposes which have been already alluded to.

“The people in the Government of this country are acquitted by those I have conversed with of any direct participation in these stock jobbing speculations on their own private account. It is the creatures around them who are the great objects of suspicion; and the motive of Government for winking



at the thing, and even encouraging it, is to secure the influence which self-interest could not fail to give it over a person so circumstanced in the conduct of a negotiation.

“After having read these details, your lordship will, I think, approve of my conduct when I inform you that I have thought it right not to communicate any part of my instructions to Lord Yarmouth. I have kept him in good humour by consulting him how to get different people leave to go to England, and by shewing him part of the Russian treaty which he was anxious to see.

“But it is my determination not to communicate to him the paper I intend this morning to deliver to General Clarke, ’till just before we go to his Excellency’s, and not to lose sight of him after he has read it ’till it is given in.

“Your lordship cannot easily conceive how much I feel the disagreeable duty of making this private communication. I am extremely desirous that it should not be made more public than is necessary, and that your lordship would manage the recall of Lord Yarmouth in such a manner that no suspicion should arise of it’s being suggested by me; because, if I am to remain here, and if the business I am sent upon is to have a chance of succeeding, it would be unwise to provoke the resentment of any individuals who might eventually be useful. But this is probably a needless caution, as I think it highly unlikely that the supposition should take place on which it proceeds.”

1806, August 8, Friday morning.—“Since writing the above, I find some difficulty may arise in recalling Lord Yarmouth from the circumstance of the Emperor’s having thought proper to appoint another Plenipotentiary; thinking it right on his part to follow his Majesty’s example in nominating two. Clarke has already stated to me that my being added formed an interruption to the progress of the negotiation; and they might affect to consider the recall in the same light.

“Of this it is for your lordship to judge. I have no dread of his interfering, for I have him in complete subjection. He can do no harm, except by his character; and in so far as he may have it in his power to communicate what is going on.”

*Enclosure (2).*

*Most private.* The EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 8. Paris.—“Referring your lordship to what I have thought it necessary to communicate in my private letter marked on the outside *Most private, No. 1.* I have now further to add that I am more and more convinced that the general impression existing here makes the recall of Lord Yarmouth highly desirable.

“In writing to your lordship I feel that I ought to have no reserve. I must, therefore, inform you that the received

opinion here that Lady Yarmouth intrigues with Montrou, the creature and tool of Talleyrand, adds to the disgusting reports everywhere circulated.

“As a means of doing this quietly I beg leave to suggest to your lordship that the paragraph I have put into the public despatch of this date seems calculated to furnish you with plausible grounds to put an end at once to Lord Yarmouth’s mission.

“I have there said that General Clarke, affecting to think that his Majesty has taken advantage by nominating two Plenipotentiaries, had announced the Emperor’s intention of doing the same. It appears to me that your lordship might affect indignation at this insinuation, and withdraw Lord Yarmouth in order to give clear proof of it’s being unfounded, instructing me at the same time to make no objection to the continuance of the two Plenipotentiaries, if the Emperor chooses it.

“I am exceedingly pleased with Mr. Goddard, and feel that his presence here will be a real advantage to me.”

*Enclosure (3).*

*Most private.* THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 9. Paris.—“I thought it proper to send you my private letters No. 1 and 2, though, from the public despatch, you will see that there is no longer any prospect that you will have an opportunity of adopting the suggestion they contain. They will give your lordship, however, some idea of the difficulty of the situation in which I have been placed. I can assure you I suffered this morning more than I perhaps ever experienced on any other occasion of my life, from real dread that I should not get my colleague pushed on to sign what I thought quite necessary. As it is, I think it will do.

“Nothing that I can possibly foresee will make me remain here. I now write at half past one in the morning, when I have not yet got an answer to the letter I wrote demanding passports for Lord Yarmouth and myself. Indeed they have not sent an answer to a letter which was delivered at an earlier hour, requiring a passport for a courier.”

*Enclosure (4).*

*Most private.* THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1806, August 11. Paris, 11 o’clock at night.—“You will see from my last public despatch that it is just possible, though highly improbable, that I should remain here. I have only to say that every hour it appears to me more and more necessary, if that should happen, that Lord Yarmouth should be recalled. In the present situation of things, he and Lady Yarmouth passed the whole of yesterday at M. de Talleyrand’s house, and Lady Yarmouth exhibited all this

night at a great concert with Madame Talleyrand. It is really my opinion they know everything I allow him to know within half an hour.

"Your lordship may enclose to me the recall, which I will keep back if we have quitted Paris.

"I really have not time to detail all the circumstances which lead me to press this step as necessary; but I do assure your lordship I never had a more clear conviction upon any subject in my life.

"In consequence of the letter I received from your lordship enclosing a letter to me from Messrs. Gordon and Murphy, I this day found out the residence of Mr. Pallyat in the Rue St. Honoré. His relation, with whom he lodged, said he had gone to the country three days ago; but Messrs. Thornton and Power the bankers are of opinion that he has proceeded through Holland on his way to England. He had a credit upon them for two hundred pounds sterling, all of which he has drawn out.

"Previous to the receipt of your lordship's letter mentioning the disposition of Government to relieve the poor English prisoners, I had received a letter from Lord Howick on the subject, and had taken steps to ascertain the expenditure of the committee for two or three years past, with an intention to place in the hands of two confidential persons a sum equal to the amount of what had been expended during the last year on the schools and infirmaries. Though I had not proceeded in my enquiry sufficiently to ascertain the whole of the expence, I saw enough to learn that the subscriptions have been to an extent highly honorable to the British nation; and imagining that I should be under the necessity of immediately proceeding to England, I yesterday placed one thousand pounds in the names of the Rev. Mr. Lee and Captain Gerrard for these purposes. The former was recommended to me by the character he universally possesses in this country by his management of those concerns; the latter was known to me as a man of great integrity, from his having had the management of my brother-in-law the Marquis of Tweeddale's concerns when he died in this country.

"Every thing in my power will be done in the event of our leaving France to bring Mr. Goddard along with me; but, if there was no other reason for the measure, I must request of your lordship, instantly to send a courier with an appointment for him as Secretary, in which case the faith of M. de Talleyrand is pledged to relieve him from his *parole*. Even if the courier should meet me upon the road, by writing back to Paris, and enclosing the appointment, I know it will have it's effect.

"I am in a situation perhaps full of difficulty, but in which I should feel completely at my ease if it were not for my colleague; but your lordship may trust to me that every public document he signs shall be consistent with what the honor of the country requires.

“It is my own opinion that the Emperor wishes to keep me 'till after the *fete* of the 15th, but, unless the Government come to proper terms, they shall have hard work for it.”

*Enclosure (5).*

*Most private.* The EARL OF LAUDERDALE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 11. Paris, 12 o'clock at night.—“In despatch No. 4, you will see Lord Yarmouth has made an addition. I have just time to say that I have had the greatest difficulty to get him to sign the last note.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

1806, August 14. Downing Street.—“Although it cannot, I trust, be necessary to add any thing to what is said in the public despatch of the entire satisfaction which your conduct has given here, yet I cannot help just repeating here acknowledgments to you for it, and expressing how much we all feel relieved by it from the very unpleasant situation in which the business had been placed before your arrival.

“I thank you also for the explicit manner in which you have stated the impressions you have found prevalent on the subject of Lord Yarmouth. Under those circumstances there could not be a moment's hesitation as to the line to be taken; the thing itself was indispensable, and in the mode of doing it I have adopted your suggestion.

“I have desired Sir Francis to enclose under cover to you separately the despatch containing Lord Yarmouth's recall. If it meets you both on the road, or finds you packing up, there will, of course, be no need of delivering it; but if any thing remains in which you think his continuance can put you to inconvenience, or afford the opportunity for practices such as are in question, you will I hope make no scruple of using it.

“I trust you will be able to bring us something tolerably certain about the plans relative to Portugal. We know no more of Russia. I should think Oubril's treaty will not be ratified purely and simply, but I am not sanguine in my expectations of much vigour in that quarter.

“The accounts of Fox are in the highest degree favourable, and there really seems room for considerable hope of a permanent cure. Goddard is very sensible of your goodness to him. I know I need not recommend him to your best offices in the event of your coming away. His appointment, which I send herewith, is not quite regular according to our forms, without a commission under the Great Seal; but I should hope it is enough so far for the object in question.”

## VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 14. Admiralty.—“ I think the subject of Lord Lauderdale’s private letters so important, and the necessity of acting on it so immediate, that you cannot with propriety withhold the communication of it from the rest of our colleagues.

“ We have just received despatches from Lord Collingwood, but I have not yet had time to open them.”

## LORD HOLLAND to THE SAME.

1806, August 14. Holland House.—“ As I concluded you must be very busy, I did not like to interrupt you when I was at the Secretary of State’s Office to-day ; but prefer writing to you on a trifling circumstance relating to the commissioner for American negotiation. It is not, I believe, very usual for peers to be employed in a diplomatic character without being Privy Councillors ; and in this instance, it will make a difference in titles and ranks between me and my colleague which, I confess, makes me more anxious about it than I otherwise should be. If, therefore, before the powers are signed, I could be made a Privy Councillor, it would remove this awkward distinction between us. With respect to the other point on which I was anxious, I learn from the Office that it is not unusual on such occasions for each commission to have a secretary, and I am very desirous for Mr. Allen’s sake, and more for my own, that he should be included.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to LORD HOLLAND.

1806, August 14. Downing Street.—“ I had thought of mentioning to you this very thing about the Privy Council yesterday, but it escaped my memory. You cannot be sworn of the Privy Council till Wednesday sevensnight, because the King does not come to town earlier ; but I will take care of it for that day, and you should also, I think, be then added to the Committee of Trade.

“ If you recollect it when you see Sir Francis Vincent, I wish you would desire him to delay the warrant for the commission till after that day. No inconvenience will arise from the delay because your intended appointment has already been notified unofficially to the American ministers, and may be so officially ; and you may be conversing generally with them, and applying yourselves to the examination of the different points likely to come in question.”

*Postscript.*—“ Whatever we can find a precedent for with respect to Mr. Allen, I need not say I shall be quite ready to think right. I send you enclosed a letter I received yesterday. I have no faith in such medicines, nor in the proposers of them ; but I did not like to take it upon myself in this case to treat the letter with as little attention as I should in my own.” *Copy.*

## LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 14.—“ I wrote in a hurry last night and forgot to answer one part of your note relating to a place at the Board of Trade. As I declined it some time ago when my uncle mentioned it to me, unless any object of Government was answered by my acceptance of it, which I do not conceive can be the case, I had rather decline it; and, at any rate, will thank you not to mention it to Lord A[ucklan]d till I have the pleasure of seeing you. I have written to the Office to put off making out the warrant till after Wednesday.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, August 14. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville thinks it his duty humbly to acquaint your Majesty that the messenger from Paris arrived early this morning. Lord Lauderdale had insisted peremptorily on the original basis of the negotiation, which had been refused by the French government, and Lord Lauderdale and Lord Yarmouth had demanded their passports, and also a passport for the messenger.

“ No answer had been given to this demand for two days, though repeatedly renewed. At length, on Monday, the passport for Basilico was sent, with a note which left it just possible, though very little probable, that the negotiation might be established on the footing insisted on by Lord Lauderdale. In this situation the messenger Basilico was despatched late on Monday night with these particulars, and the next day an answer was to be returned to the French note, stating, in the most explicit terms, the only footing on which your Majesty's Plenipotentiaries were authorised to treat. Lord Grenville trusts that when your Majesty reads the despatches which will be sent at the usual hour to-morrow, your Majesty will be satisfied with the tone and spirit which the negotiation on your Majesty's part has at last assumed.

“ Lord Grenville presumes to add to this note a matter of private concern, but in which the long experience he has had of your Majesty's benevolence and goodness leads him to hope that your Majesty will take sufficient interest to pardon his presumption.

“ He has received by this messenger a private letter from Mr. Goddard, acquainting him that Monsieur Talleyrand, being applied to in order that Mr. Goddard may be released from his *parole*, has answered that this can only be done by Mr. Goddard's being appointed your Majesty's Secretary to the mission at Paris; but that, if such an appointment shall be received even after Lord Lauderdale shall have quitted Paris, Mr. Goddard shall immediately be released from his *parole*, and allowed to follow Lord Lauderdale, provided the latter shall not actually have left France. This last condition makes the thing so urgent in point of time that Lord Grenville has ventured to send herewith such an appointment for your

Majesty's signature, requesting Colonel Taylor to take such time for laying it before your Majesty in the course of this day, as he shall judge will be least inconvenient to your Majesty, as a few hours sooner or later may decide the question of Mr. Goddard's remaining several years more in the wretched captivity to which he has now so long been subject; and Lord Grenville cannot help flattering himself that your Majesty will pardon this intrusion." *Copy.*

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1806, August 14. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to transmit to your Majesty two drafts to Lord Lauderdale and Lord Yarmouth, which were this [day] read at the meeting of your Majesty's confidential servants, and which Lord Grenville has ventured to take upon himself to direct to be despatched this evening; as it seemed desirable that no delay should take place with respect to Lord Yarmouth's return to England.

“Lord Grenville has seen to-day Lord Granville Leveson, who is just arrived from Petersburg. Judging from the language held to him by the Emperor when he had his audience of leave, Lord Granville Leveson expresses a strong persuasion that Monsieur d'Oubril's treaty will not be ratified. He met the English messenger at Elsineur on the 2nd of August, and as the wind was quite favourable, he has no doubt that the despatches from hence would arrive as soon as Monsieur d'Oubril, if not sooner.

“Lord Granville Leveson will wait your Majesty's orders as to paying his duty to your Majesty at Windsor, or waiting till your Majesty is next in town.” *Copy.*

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. TAYLOR TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 14. Windsor.—“Immediately upon receiving the box for the King, and the accompanying letter from your lordship, I went to his Majesty and read to him the contents, and I have been honoured with his Majesty's commands to return your lordship's thanks for the communication, and to express to you his satisfaction at learning that the negotiation at Paris has assumed the proper tone and spirit, from which, his Majesty charged me to add, that he is confident your further instructions to Lord Lauderdale and Lord Yarmouth will in no instance admit of a departure.

“The King has also signed with much pleasure the appointment for Mr. Goddard, and hopes it will reach Paris in sufficient time to relieve from captivity a person in whose welfare you express so strong an interest.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO THE SAME.

1806, August 15. Dublin Castle.—“On consulting some of the best military authorities here on the subject of new

levies, I find them very apprehensive that the immediate adoption of such a measure would materially obstruct the beneficial influence, which the arrangements of the last session are expected to have on the ordinary recruiting. I must add, too, that all the information which I have been able to procure from those who have the means of forming the best judgment on this point, induces me to think we could not gain the aid from the Catholics *as a body*, to which you seem to look. If, however, you should decide to make the experiment, I believe regiments would be in many respects preferable to independent companies, and I will endeavour to get a plan of a levy of this nature put a little into shape, so as to be enabled to submit it to your consideration. At the same time I confess myself to be among those who feel most anxious that the ordinary recruiting under the present system should, for a moderate interval at least, have a fair trial.

“I enclose the copy of a letter, which I have received from J. Claudius Beresford. You will also have a letter from the Chancellor, who does not seem to acquiesce in our suggestion of giving the port collection to the Beresfords. Your answer will, I trust, decide the question one way or the other; as it will be impossible to protract the negotiations with the Beresfords much longer. If the latter have not the port collection, I conclude they will entirely break with us.

“The present members for the county of Longford are Sir Thomas Fetherston and Mr. Newcomen. Newcomen has been of late prevented from attending Parliament by ill health, but I have no reason to suppose he is unfriendly to us. Mr. Forbes (Lord Granard’s brother) is, I am told, to be the new candidate, and Lord Rosse was reluctantly (as he informed me) prevailed upon by some of the ministers to promise Lord Granard his interest, which, I imagine, will afford Mr. Forbes a good chance of success. Forbes will, I take it for granted, vote with Government, and if he had not its support, I suppose Lord Moira would be heinously offended. I really understood Lord Rosse that you were one of the ministers who had canvassed him for Mr. Forbes.

“Newport will probably return to Dublin in the course of a few days. I am very glad to find I have your sanction for doubting the prudence for accelerating the superannuation of the collectors. The term of service prescribed by the vote of the House of Commons has never hitherto been dispensed with; and if we were now to deviate from the regulation without the intervention of Parliament, we should, I am afraid, expose ourselves to much animadversion.

“As soon as our new revenue arrangement is set in motion, I propose going to England.”

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 15. Oxford Street.—“I send you a letter which I received to-day. I should be glad of an early



opportunity of talking over this matter with you, and of closing it, if you think fit; I confess that I still entertain a hope that something might be done.

“I also wish to talk to you on some other points.”

*Enclosure.*

*Private.* GEORGE CANNING to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, August 14. South Hill.—“I think it right to mention to you that a communication has come to me through the Bishop of Lincoln, very much of the same tenor with that which I received from you first, about two months ago. The Bishop has not yet written to me (tho’ I understand he intends doing so): but, very luckily, to a person—and the only person—with whom I had talked very fully upon the whole subject. Had he happened to select any other channel, it might have led to mistake and confusion.

“The good bishop is in a great bustle, and talks of coming up to town; and going down to Lord G[renville] and so forth; I know not upon what degree of encouragement from Lord Carysfort, whom I understand to be the person from whom he heard whatever it is that has put him in motion.

“I mention this to you only that such means may be taken, the most effectual and the least offensive to the bishop or to Lord Carysfort, as may put a stop to this mode of discussing matters, which would infallibly give the discussion a publicity equally inconvenient whether it should be to proceed farther, or should already be to be considered as terminated.

“As far as depends upon me I have endeavoured to check the bishop’s ardour: but, as I could not tell the extent of my reasons for wishing to do so, perhaps I may not succeed unless I am aided on the side of Lord Carysfort.”

*Private.* The EARL OF LAUDERDALE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 16. Paris, 9 p.m.—“About half-past six o’clock I received the despatches from England by the courier Basilico. I had antecedently resolved, as your lordship will see by the public despatch, to send a courier this night. I have nothing now to add to what I have already communicated, except that I have this night seen Hervas’s assignee, who tells me that, this morning in conversation, he held the attempt on Spain by a French army cheap, and said he did not believe it.

“I have delivered the despatch to Lord Yarmouth, who took the thing perfectly well, and declared that his conduct should be completely guided by my advice.

“In a private letter from Lord Howick there are some things your lordship would like to see.

“I enclose your lordship a note I have this moment received. It is written by M. Narbonne after dining with Talleyrand. It sufficiently shews the spirit of the French government.

“It is needless for me to mention how much I am flattered by the marked approbation of my conduct, as well as by the handsome manner in which your lordship has conveyed it.”

*Enclosure.*

M. DE NARBONNE to the EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

“Le plaisir que j’ai eu de vous voir a pensé me couter l’exil. J’en suis quitte, sous la condition que je ne vous reverrai que lorsque nous serons un peu plus rapprochés les uns des autres. On m’a dit, en même temps, que le télégraphe avait annoncé un courrier pour vous. Peux-je espérer qu’il vous apporte quelques bonnes nouvelles qui me permettent l’espérance de vous revoir. Je ne sais rien que je désire autant, et vous me feriez un vrai bonheur de me faire dire quelque chose sur les nouvelles que vous avez reçues. Jamais, je vous jure, je n’ai été plus attaché à un ennemi.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 16. Eden Farm.—“Mr. Windham has intimated that he will be present at the Office for Trade at one o’clock next Wednesday, chiefly, I believe, on the subject of Prince Edward’s Island, which, you possibly may recollect, was not included in our late measure for opening the location of lands in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. I have accordingly desired General Fanning, Mr. Knox, and Mr. Stuart to be forthcoming at the meeting. I do not suppose that it will be possible to obtain your aid even for ten minutes; but Mr. Windham also desires to know what we wish, or mean to do, as to South Wales, as he is sending despatches to the Governor. You approved of our preparing a bill to put that ‘rising [*illegible word*] in a new world,’ on the footing of a British colony; and a short bill is proposed accordingly: but the question is connected with many considerations respecting Chinese trade, American intercourse, whale fishery, ship building, East India privileges; and I find neither time nor abilities to bring it to any sudden shape or conclusion.

“Mr. Windham has sent to me some very interesting and well written communications from Mr. Alexander Bell, on a reference which I had requested him to make respecting the free port at Malta as actually existing. His papers strongly encourage the idea that we all entertain that Malta may be made, both commercially and politically, a possession of incalculable value and importance. But the measure for that purpose must not be taken merely from the Office for Trade, but with the accompanying weight of your whole Government, and, in some respects, with the aid and concurrence of Parliament.

“The importers of figs, raisins, almonds, and cork are very urgent to be permitted to bring some cargoes from Faro in neutral ships. I really do not think that for so trivial an object we should break the law, and offend the shipping

interests; and I mean to maintain a negative, unless you express doubts. Their ground is (and I believe with truth) that they cannot get convoy for British ships from Faro.

“I have taken some pains to put the draft of the new Order in Council for American intercourse into a right shape, and hope upon Wednesday next to hear the report of the Attorney and Solicitor-General thereon. But it will be impossible to consider it as settled till several considerations connected with it shall have been mentioned to you; and even afterwards it will be found that some expressions were admitted into the bill in the House of Commons, of great eventual inconvenience to the necessary supply of the islands.

“I am not sorry that the American negotiation will force forward every part of that business into a new discussion; it certainly was not well understood in the House of Commons in the last session.

“I shall write to day to Mr. Monro and Mr. Pinckney to propose to them to pass a day with their families at this place. In the mean time the commission will probably have passed the Great Seal, and should be noticed in the *Gazette*; but it may be very material to engage the attention and suggestions of the intelligent part of our American merchants, and to carry them with us in the whole transaction. I have remanded William from his Highland tour, and, whatever may be the difficulties or result of the business, it will be a creditable *debut* for him, and may lead him to a competent knowledge both of the rights and claims of neutral nations, and of the nature and bearings of our commercial interests.”

*Confidential.* “The most material of all objects for your early consideration will be the means of conducting the businesses of Government in the House of Commons in some mode less loose and desultory than it was in the last session, from various untoward circumstances.”

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK TO THE SAME.

1806, August 17. Admiralty.—“I think it will be satisfactory to you to know that the vessel with our messenger for Petersburg arrived at Elsinore on the 3rd, and sailed immediately, so that there is every probability of his arriving before d'Oubril, who left Berlin on the 21st ultimo.

“The *Rosario*, a sloop sent to reconnoitre Bayonne, Bilbao, and adjacent towns, is returned after having made a very accurate inspection of those ports. The captain reports that there are no vessels collected in any of them capable of conveying any considerable body of men. He confirms the accounts of an army being at Bayonne, and ready to march for the purpose of attacking Portugal; and adds, what I wish may be true, that the Spaniards were preparing to resist them. The intelligence is sent round in circulation.”

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 17. Wentworth.—“I am sorry to trouble you with a letter about such a business as a warehouse keeper’s place, but as I am going to York races to-morrow, I am sure to find myself in the awkward predicament of having questions put to me by people from Hull, with respect to that place in their custom house, and of being unable to give them any decisive answer upon the subject. I hope you will give it to the person I recommended, or I fear I shall have difficulty in obtaining credit at Hull for having made a sincere application. The gentlemen who have made this supplication through me would not have chosen me as the solicitor of their wishes had they thought that, by immutable usage, the members had the disposal of the whole patronage of Government to the exclusion of its other friends.

“I collect from the newspapers that Basilico is at last returned, but I have heard nothing of the tenor of the despatches he brought.

“The accounts I receive of Fox are encouraging beyond my expectation; nevertheless one cannot help trembling. The nature of the disorder is frightful.”

*Confidential.* LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, August 17. Eden Farm.—“I beg leave to confide to you the enclosure, No. 1. I am a little electrified by the expression which I have marked with a pencil. But I am willing to believe that the word ‘joint’ means ‘sub’ or ‘assistant,’ or possibly from the context that it points indefinitely to some beneficial situation for the gentleman who is mentioned. A joint secretaryship to a diplomatic and confidential commission would be both novel and objectionable; but I could not, at any rate, expect my son to accept an appointment so divested of all distinguishing credit, and that too with a co-partner who is (I make no doubt) respectable and intelligent, but who happens to be quite unknown to all of us.

“Feeling the importance of going through the transaction in question with entire cordiality, both apparent and real, I have thought it best not to ask any explanation, but to put you in possession of the incident; and you will best have it in your power to divert any result that might give a moment’s uneasiness.”

*Enclosure.*

LORD HOLLAND to LORD AUCKLAND.

“It gives me real satisfaction to find that you think the employment which this business will give Mr. Eden so useful to him. The warrant is not to be signed till Thursday, nor till next week shall I be able to ascertain whether there is any joint secretaryship or office which will suit my friend Mr. Allen, whom I shall be happy to introduce to you, and whose

knowledge and talents will be of great service to us. Lord Grenville has lent me the American remembrancer which contains all the papers published for and against the treaty of '94 in America. When I have seen through it I will send it to you; but I know of no other pamphlets which are necessary to be read, as those on the neutral questions generally turn on those points where they will be least difference of opinion between us and the United States. I shall be much obliged to you for any papers and accounts."

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 18. Phoenix Park.—"This morning's mail has brought me your lordship's letter (marked private) of the 14th instant, on the subject of the vacant collectorship of Derry. Since I last wrote to you on this business I have had a long conversation with the Chancellor upon it; but, I am sorry to add, not a very satisfactory one.

"I foresee but little prospect of this and the other points in discussion between the Ponsonbys and Lord Waterford being brought to an amicable termination; but the Chancellor promised me that he would write to your lordship fully on the subject, which renders it unnecessary for me to enter into any detail of the objections he has urged to the collection of excise being considered as an adequate object to secure or promote the county interests of his family. Much as the Beresfords complain of delay (and I cannot help thinking with some degree of reason on their sides) I shall still think it my duty to defer coming to any determination till I am apprized of what your lordship's sentiments may be, after you have received the Chancellor's letter."

*Private.* LORD SPENCER TO THE SAME.

1806, August 18.—"I saw Dumouriez and his friend Fauche-Borel again on Saturday, and the former gave me the drafts of the letters he proposed to send. I took the whole matter *ad referendum*, and it will be time enough when you come to town to show you the papers.

"I saw Prince Casteleicala yesterday, who quoted some correspondence between Fôx and Woronzow, from whom he says it will appear that the transfer of that part of the Russian subsidy which applied to the troops employed in the kingdom of Naples, to the Court of Naples, had been agreed upon. I promised to look at the correspondence, which I have desired Sir F. Vincent to look out for me; and I have also desired he would procure an account of the present state of that business at the Treasury; and when I am in possession of these points I am to see Casteleicala again."

LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, August 19. Dropmore.—"If I hear nothing from Lord Lauderdale to-day, I shall be inclined to prolong my

holidays for another day, and make the most of them while I can. If I am in town to-morrow, I will send to the Council Office in hopes of seeing you between 12 and 1.

"I continue very anxious that we should have our business, all but the Budget, in a state to be brought forward and carried through before Christmas. The necessity of giving so much of my attention to the business of the Foreign Office is a great drawback upon this.

"No doubt the conduct of the business in the House of Commons must be put into a more regular systematic shape. We had last session to work the machine without its main spring. Lady Grenville and I have proposed to Vansittart to bring Mrs. Vansittart here, either at the end of this or next week. Is there any chance of prevailing upon Lady Auckland and yourself to meet them." *Copy.*

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 20. Eden Farm.—"The numbers of Plerion (?) are able; but much of their merit is borrowed from Sir. William Scott's '*Decrees*,' and Mr. Stephen's pamphlets. It seems to be understood and established that in all cases where proof can be given of what is called a *continuous* voyage, the forfeiture must take place. But are we prepared to admit the further proposition that cargoes of colony produce *bona fide* landed and warehoused from French or Spanish possessions, and even become *bona fide* the property of subjects of the United States, may afterwards be exported from the United States to France and Spain? It appears to me that such an admission would soon become the means of an undisturbed transfer of the produce of hostile colonies to the mother country.

"Mr. Monroe has obligingly sent to me two very large American publications on these subjects. I have not yet had time to open them. He and Mrs. and Miss Monroe, and Mr. and Mrs. Pinckney are engaged to pass the day here on Monday, and I have asked Lord Erskine and Mr. and Mrs. Erskine. It is a sort of assemblage better calculated for the advancement of a good intelligence and a right conclusion than a dozen Cabinet dinners; but I cannot seriously press your lordship and Lady Grenville to support that opinion, and to give us your presence."

#### LORD GRENVILLE to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, August 21. Downing Street.—"Having indulged myself with a few holidays, I did not receive your letter till it followed me to Lord Buckingham's. I have already apprised you of the very great embarrassment I feel on the subject of the patronage of Hull. I have not, since I saw you here, had an opportunity of communicating with Mr. Thornton

on the subject; and, certainly without that, I could not in honour take any step so injurious to his interests as that which you so strongly urge.

“It certainly is very painful to me to make the least demur or difficulty in complying with any request of yours. But on the other hand his claims are supported by uniform practice, and by a rule from which I have not hitherto departed in any instance. And I am but too well aware that by doing so in this case, I shall not only in all probability disgust two of our most respectable and steady friends in the House of Commons, but shall also expose myself to all the difficulties which must arise in so many similar cases from the moment that the general rule is broken through, and that the disposal of each separate place of this description is made matter of individual solicitation and preference.

“All therefore that I can say on the subject is that I will take an opportunity, as soon as it can be done with convenience, to communicate with him on the subject, and that in the meantime you may rely upon it that no decision shall, without further communication with yourself, be taken hostile to your wishes; which I trust I need not say I must ever feel the strongest desire to consult, even in opposition to my own general practice and future convenience.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 21. Eden Farm.—“If my daughter and Mr. Vansittart should go to Dropmore at the end of *this week*, it will not be very easy for me to meet them, because I have appointed a meeting with Lord Holland at Mr. Fox’s Office for the Saturday morning: and on Monday the American commissioners and their families pass the day at this place. But if the Vansittarts should have settled to wait on you in the end of next week, Lady Auckland and I would have energy enough, with so good an end in view, to drive to Dropmore on the Friday morning (probably in our everlasting sociable) and to stay there if permitted till the Monday morning. At present we have an engagement in this neighbourhood for the Friday; but we could easily postpone it, for the pleasure of waiting on Lady Grenville, and for so good a pretext as that of meeting a daughter.

“I dined yesterday at Holland House for the benefit of the American business, and returned to this place (15 miles) through Norwood at midnight; and there I hope my town dinners will close till November.

“Lord Holland was very frank and intelligent on the subject of our American enterprise, but seems to think it far easier than I believe it will prove; and not to be sufficiently aware of the expediency of carrying with us, as far as may be practicable, the concurrence and good opinion of the mercantile and shipping interests, the manufacturers, the North American Committee, the East India Company, the West Indian people,

and others interested. A few collateral attentions very much break the attacks which will be made in Parliament with great vehemence, whatever may be the contents or merits of any treaty that can be formed.

“ Lord Holland introduced Mr. Allen to me and hoped that ‘ he might be considered as *assistant* secretary,’ and I think it likely that we shall have ample employment for him. That point being rightly arranged, I shall be very much obliged to your Lordship if you will now give a direction (or speak to Sir Francis Vincent) for the appointment of my son officially, as secretary to the commission. His description is the ‘ Honorable William Frederic Elliot Eden.’ He has received my notice, to his discomfiture, in a party which was very jovial at the Duchess of Gordon’s in Scotland, and will come to town immediately.

“ You will receive to-night our draft of the order in Council for the American intercourse, together with a copy of the minute made yesterday, when Lord Spencer and Mr. Windham attended.

“ I think that our draft is quite correct, but something must still be done as to eight or ten ports in Jamaica, which have no regular custom-houses. I have stated the point to the Attorney and Solicitor-General.

“ I do not know what your brother will do as to the wish of the East India Company to pay certain service by the novel mode of a direct export of saltpetre from Bengal in an American ship. The worth of the quantity proposed to be sent is about 17,000*l.* The amount is about equal to the whole of our annual export to the United States; and *pro tanto* is injurious to our navigation, and in some degree to our revenue, as a duty is retained on the export. I have given all the accounts and particulars to Mr. Grenville.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 21. Dublin Castle.—“ The Chancellor showed me yesterday a letter, which he proposed sending you on the subject of the collectorship of Derry. I lament to find him so adverse from the arrangement proposed, and am afraid that, whatever may be your decision, we shall have much animosity between the Ponsonbys and the Beresfords. In addition to the port collection, the Hills will of course look to the rest of the patronage within the *town* and *port* of Derry, and, if you should determine to give them this influence, it would be very desirable that your intentions on this point should be fully impressed in your answer to the Chancellor, otherwise I am apprehensive you will be troubled with an appeal on the appointment to every small office that may become vacant in the city of Derry. If you break off your negotiation with the Beresfords, I suppose you would aid the Ponsonby interest with the patronage both of the city and county. It is



unfortunate that Lord Ponsonby's state of health should have been the means of keeping the Beresfords so long in suspense, as they will complain bitterly of the delay.

"I expect Newport in a day or two, and I hope the king's letters for the Revenue Boards will arrive soon, as I am anxious to go to England, both for the purpose of personally communicating with you on several points of business, and for the adjustment of some private affairs which press for my presence.

"I am afraid from what we read in the papers, that the negotiation at Paris is taking the most unfavourable turn.

"The accounts we receive of Fox's health are very desponding."

#### LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, August 21. Downing Street.—"I have heard nothing from the Chancellor as to the Derry collectorship, and I am very sure nothing I could hear from him would change my opinion of the fitness of the proposed arrangement respecting it, which, unless the Duke of Bedford shall have seen any reason to doubt upon it, I hope ere now have been carried into execution.

"I enclose an ostensible answer to Beresford's letter, which you will use or not as you see occasion. The concluding part refers to an engagement which, as I understand, Lord Waterford has taken to support Lord Castlereagh's interest in the county of Derry. If I am wrong in this, put the letter into the fire.

"I suppose Lord Forbes must now be supported for Longford, but I had heard nothing of his standing till long after it was openly announced.

"I am impatient to see you here." *Copy.*

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 22. Admiralty.—"Pray let me know what you think should be done with respect to the case stated in the accompanying papers.

"If another messenger should go to Lauderdale, the obvious measure would be to send him copies of Sir Samuel Hood's letter and its enclosures, and to instruct him to make the necessary representations. If he should have left Paris, the mode of communication between the transports and M. de Rivière is so tedious and uncertain, that I wish you to consider in what manner a more direct application could be made to the French government.

"A telegraph message has announced the arrival of the troops at Plymouth, but they cannot sail with this wind.

"Commodore Owen's letters state that there is an appearance of great activity in the port of Boulogne; that not only a considerable number of vessels have come into the road, but that those remaining in the harbour appear to be

arranged in a more regular order, and that there is an appearance of a greater number of troops in the neighbouring camps."

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 22. Arlington Street.—“ I was upon my way to you yesterday to mention what your brother may have informed you of, that, not having business enough already in proportion to my bodily and other powers, I am engaging in a county contest.

“ Some persons in Norfolk have determined upon a measure which, I believe, you have not determined upon, namely, a dissolution of Parliament; and upon the strength of that, have begun an active canvass. A friend yesterday came up on purpose from Norfolk with a handbill from Mr. Wodehouse, and various other information, which determined me, after a hasty consultation, to send down an advertisement which required to be immediately decided upon, announcing myself a candidate in opposition to him. It is rather a desperate step, particularly with a view to the new and additional occupation which it must produce; and pretty much so indeed as to possible future consequences. But the stroke was to be struck, if at all, without delay; and as far as can be said of anything of the sort, certainly promises well. I know, though Mr. Wodehouse I should think does not, that Sir Jacob Astley will not offer himself for another Parliament, and that, as far as depends on him, I shall have all his interest. This will be accompanied, as may be concluded, with the whole of Coke's, exerted, as I know it will be, in the best manner; and to those must be added all that I can rescue of my original side from Mr. Wodehouse, and that which I must hope from you, on the part of Government. Such a statement would seem to imply a certainty of success; but one must not be confident in such cases; and, unless it is success without a contest, I shall not consider it as very complete. I don't know that there is much that I have to ask you for at present, at least that I can specifically point out. There may be measures, traced out by established usage, to be resorted to on these occasions; and I think, in the circumstances of the present case, I may safely rely upon your kindness to give them their proper effect.”

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1806, August 22. Oxford Street.—“ I have settled a plan for seeing Canning at his house in the country, which I think will admit of my calling at Dropmore either on Sunday night or Monday without any difficulty, if it should be convenient to you to see me. Pray let me know if it should not be convenient to you to see me at Dropmore on Sunday or Monday.

“ I wish you would contrive to see Sir J. Anstruther before you go out of town, as he leaves town on Tuesday.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, August 22. Downing Street.—“I need not tell you that every thing in my power to do for your service, either as a minister or as a Norfolk freeholder, is entirely at your command.

“As to dissolution, I confess I see no reason that should lead us to take such a step this year; and I have uniformly said, without reserve, to all who have asked me the question, that no such measure was at present in contemplation.”  
*Copy.*

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 23. Office for Trade.—“Lord Holland and I have had our first meeting this morning, and have proposed to the American commissioners to proceed to Wednesday next. They are to be at Eden Farm on Monday.

“In looking into the 12th article of your treaty of 1794, I am led to call your attention to that expression in our proposed Order of Council which restrains the exportation in American bottoms of *any* sugar, indigo, cotton-wool, coffee, and cocoa. In the first place I believe that the practice exists of carrying these commodities as return cargoes to a limited extent; and in the next the prohibition forces the United States to be supplied by foreign colonies. But some unfortunate clauses were admitted into the American Intercourse Act, and I know no alternative but to obey.

“I have received your note of last night, and hope that nothing will prevent our waiting on you next Friday (I suppose towards 5 or 6 o'clock) at Dropmore. But though I shall have much to see that is pleasanter than diplomatic discussions, I must try to catch half an hour for various subjects of some nicety, which suggest themselves in this American business.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, August 23. Downing Street.—“I have this morning seen Mr. G. Ponsonby, and learn from him that he expects the Chancellor in England, which is probably the reason of my not having heard from him. I explained to him the intention of dividing the collectorship, to which he objected that in point of value the collectorship of the excise would be considerably below that of the customs. This circumstance I was not apprized of, and I should be glad if any arrangement could with propriety be made on the division of the office for a more equal division of its emoluments. You will, however, do in this respect as you judge best. My opinion on the main question of the division itself, and of the proposed arrangement upon that step, is not at all changed.

“I will enquire into the question you refer to about Mr. Hawthorne, which had escaped my recollection; but, as I may probably not be able to return you an answer on that point to-day, I was unwilling to delay this letter for it.

“I fear Fox is not going on so well as we had hoped, and that the water is collecting again.” *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 25. Admiralty.—“There is nothing very material in the accompanying letters, but I thought it might be satisfactory to you to see them. I had understood from Lord St. Vincent that he meant to anchor in Cascaes Bay, but he is, of course, the best judge of the situation to be occupied by his squadron, and his having entered the Tagus will, I hope, be productive of no inconvenience. The intelligence to which he alludes is that which had been communicated by the *Saracen* to Admiral Hervey, of the movements of the different squadrons in the West Indies. The *Acasta* on her passage home from the Mediterranean saw a ship of the line on the 13th instant in the latitude of Lisbon, but a good way to the westward. We know of nothing at sea except Jerome’s squadron, and the *Regulus*, which Admiral Cochrane supposed to have joined. If they should attempt the Tagus it will make up for all the vexation and disappointment I have hitherto experienced. The captain of the *Saracen* told me without any hesitation that if Warren had made the best of his way, he might have been in the West Indies a week sooner.”

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM to THE SAME.

1806, August 25. Wentworth.—“I have received a letter this morning from a friend of mine, one of the first houses in Leeds, the object of which is to discover if they may risk their trade to Portugal, ships being now loading and preparing to sail early next month. It appears that the merchants have in contemplation a memorial to Government for the purpose of ascertaining the point; but if there would be any inconvenience attending a formal answer to such a requisition (which would presently find its way into the newspapers) I could convey a private opinion, which might get into circulation among the merchants without being liable to the character of an official answer. For this purpose I shall defer answering my friend’s letter, till I hear what you wish on the subject, but let me have your orders as soon as possible. I don’t know in what state the expedition is; collecting from the papers, I fear the troops are still in the Channel.”

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to THE SAME.

1806, August 26. Dublin Castle.—“I think it necessary to apprise your lordship that the Secretary to the Board of Enquiry, Mr. Mitford, being about to retire, the commissioners in whom the appointment to this office lies, have agreed to accept the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant; and I have, in consequence, named Mr. Babbington, a gentleman at the bar of unexceptionable character, and, as I am informed, well qualified for the office.

“Colonel Vereker was with Mr. Elliot yesterday on the subject upon which he had some communication with your lordship before he left England. Desirable as it may be to oblige Colonel Vereker, there are difficulties in the way of the object he has in view, not readily to be surmounted. To remove Mr. Cockayne from the constableness of Limerick without an adequate compensation would be directly militating against the principle upon which it was agreed that the government of Ireland should be conducted, and upon which we have hitherto invariably acted; and the value of the office being about 400*l. per annum*, it would not be easy to find an equivalent for Mr. Cockayne.”

*Postscript.* “As soon as you have finally made up your mind on the subject of the Chancellor’s letter, it will be very desirable to me to know your decision, as the present state of uncertainty is embarrassing to Government, and unsatisfactory to all parties.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, August 26. Downing Street.—“I have received the Chancellor’s letter. I will endeavour to answer it to-morrow. In the mean time I can only say that I continue to think the division of the collectorship as before proposed, the only practicable.

“I have enquired again to-day about the King’s letter for the division of the Revenue Boards, and I am assured it was sent from hence to the Irish Office eight days ago; so that the delay since that time is not to be reckoned among the many sins of omission for which the Treasury has to answer.

“I shall be happy to see you when you can come over.”  
*Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 26. Eden Farm.—“I am sorry to be obliged to trouble you with the enclosed papers: but if Mr. Lyon should prove accurate as to the facts, and Messieurs Piggott and Romilly as to the law, the result of our proposed Order in Council may be productive of serious distress to many parts of the island of Jamaica. Mr. Lyon, when he first stated this difficulty at the Office of Trade, explained by a map of the island, that some populous districts of the island *must* be supplied with lumber and provision at the intermediate harbours between the regular custom houses: that this practice has at all times been pursued under the inspection of a custom house officer, and necessarily, because it is impossible to send the lumber by land.

“I have requested Mr. Stephen Cotterell, who is leaving this place to-day, to send to Mr. Lyon to attend at the Office for Trade to-morrow at one o’clock. But as I suspect that he is at Cheltenham, and as some delay may be requisite for

further enquiry, your lordship will perhaps think it best to postpone the order for another week or fortnight, till the points in question can be duly considered. The reason for such postponement will be a sufficient answer to any enquiry that may arise.

“I have had full and separate conferences with each of the American commissioners, and I do not find that they are to bring forward any propositions beyond those of which we are aware; and they seem desirous to arrive soon at a right and friendly conclusion. But it will be absolutely necessary that I should have the benefit of your sentiments on several of the points before we advance in the discussion.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, August 26. Downing Street.—“The law opinion seems clear and decisive. There is, I think, no other remedy, except that whenever the assembly of Jamaica shall have made provision for the additional expense of more custom houses with their establishments, we will then increase the numbers as fast as they choose. But the experience of the bounty on fish will teach us not to trust to the promises of their agent for meeting this expense.” *Copy.*

#### THE SAME to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, August 27. Downing Street.—“So much inconvenience attends the answering enquiries of the nature you describe, by which Government seems to pledge itself for events for which, especially in the period in which we live, it is impossible to answer, that I incline to think it is safer to decline doing so altogether. But it is fit that it should be explained that this refusal proceeds on the general principle which I have described, lest it should create in this particular case a very unfounded alarm. I cannot conceive why the report of our having destined troops to the Tagus should lead our merchants or manufacturers to think their trade with Lisbon less secure than before. But it is surely impossible to explain all this to them without either going into details very unfit to be made public, or taking upon ourselves much more responsibility than naturally belongs to us.

“The expedition is, I trust, now all collected at Plymouth, but it is still detained there by the wind, and we have almost decided to keep them there till we hear from Lisbon. I say *almost* because the final resolution will not be taken till to-day. The accounts from Lauderdale describe the French at Bayonne to be much less ready than we had been told before.” *Copy.*

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 27. Hanover Square.—“Your note finds me engaged in an early dinner at Sir David Wedderburne’s in my way to Eden Farm. I will change my plans immediately,

and will come to town to-morrow instead of Friday, and will wait on you in Downing Street at a *quarter before one*. In truth it is difficult to move further in this American business without knowing your opinion, and without the benefit of your judgment on some points of great difficulty; and it would be an idle attempt to state such points in writing. We shall be obliged to come to some decisions which I believe to be right; but the general prejudices of our countrymen must be managed, otherwise our decisions will be disavowed; and I am not sure that my colleague is sufficiently aware of that danger."

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, August 28. Downing Street.—"Lord Landaff will here yesterday to state his claim to the support of his brother for the county of Tipperary. I told him that certainly no hostility to him or his interests was felt by the Government whom, on the contrary, he supported steadily, as I believe, last session; but that I apprehended Government was too far pledged to Mr. Prittie to admit of their assisting Colonel Matthew on this occasion.

"He will, I believe, call upon you when he comes to Dublin to state the same claims; but from what you wrote before, I presume he can only receive the same answer.

"Who does the Duke think the best person as the next candidate for the Irish Representative Peerage? I think when we talked the subject over in town it seemed to lay between Lord Leitrim and Lord Portarlington. I am not a very good judge of their respective merits, but I should rather think the last might be best, and we should be glad to know your sentiments." *Copy.*

*Private.* THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, August 29. Dropmore.—"I enclose a letter from Mr. Lee to Lord Sidmouth. What he states is correctly true, that he offered, at the formation of the administration, his assistance and support, and that it was accepted by me and has since been fairly given. In these circumstances much embarrassment would arise from Government taking any part *against* him; and I should think the least we could do is to adhere to the general rule of giving him support while he continues in possession, and friendly to us. I am, however, aware that there must be some difficulty in this (especially just now) if it interferes with the Ponsonbys. I have not therefore answered Mr. Lee, nor will till I hear from the Duke or yourself on the subject." *Copy.*

LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August.—"Mr. Fox thinks it essential that Mr. Erskine should sail for America as soon as possible; and, had he been

able, would have taken all necessary steps for that purpose some time ago. He begs me, therefore, to say that he shall be much obliged to you to give directions to have his credentials and instructions expedited, as it is material he should arrive in America early in the autumn."

EARL SPENCER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, August 31. Wimbledon Park.—"I have received this morning the enclosed from Lord Moira, to which I only answered that I would transmit it to you.

"Pray let me know whether I may write to the king to night, to tell him he need not come to town this week; as my plans depend entirely on my knowing this in time.

"From what I heard from Lord Howick yesterday, I fear there is but little chance of our catching Jerome Bonaparte; but the rest of his squadron will, I think, have difficulty in escaping without meeting some of ours."

*Enclosure.*

THE EARL OF MOIRA to EARL SPENCER.

Saturday.—"The Prince is very anxious about the delay as to the baronets whom he had recommended; and as Fox cannot move in the business, the task of remembrancer must be mine. Can you give me any information with regard to the time when the next batch may be expected."

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 1. Phoenix Park.—"I have lately received a letter from my friend Lord Charles Somerset which induces me to call your lordship's attention to his situation, which is really one of hardship and compassion.

"I am perfectly aware that Lord Charles has no immediate claims on the present Government; but when I recollect the decided approbation he gave to the formation of the administration, and the warm anxiety he manifested to induce his family to give it their full and cordial support; and when I am informed that his brother's favour and protection are withdrawn from him, because he refused to oppose in Parliament, through the last sessions, measures which his conscience and his judgment approved, I feel persuaded that the justice of your lordship's mind will acknowledge that some consideration may in fairness be due to him.

"As this is a case of a man of rank and family, looking to the means of support, I am aware that it may be difficult to point out what can be done for him; and perhaps his profession is the only source to which he can now look for an improvement of income, with any degree of confidence. His Royal Highness the commander-in-chief gave him reason to hope that he might replace Lieutenant-General Simeoe on the staff in England, but in that he was disappointed. A warrant to hold



one of the gold sticks, vacant by the absence of Lords Harrington and Cathcart, would, I believe, lead to an appointment on the staff; and if this could be done for Lord Charles, I have reason to believe that it would prove satisfactory to the King and to the Prince of Wales.

“Your lordship will, I am persuaded, readily excuse my troubling you on a subject so wholly unconnected with any thing belonging to the usual course of our correspondence, when I inform you that a friendship of many years standing with Lord Charles Somerset, together with a knowledge of all the unfortunate circumstances attending his situation, make me most sollicitous to serve him.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, September 1. Dublin Castle.—“I was well acquainted with Colonel Hardy, both in his capacity of an active and meritorious officer in Ireland, and in that of a diligent Inspecting Field Officer of yeomanry in Surrey.

“He is a person for whom I should be glad to accomplish a provision, but I am not aware of anything which can be done for him. His object, when I was in London, was a pension, which, I need not mention, is impracticable; and even if the Lord Lieutenant had the means, there are services unrewarded which claim attention before those of Colonel Hardy.

“The King’s letters for the new Revenue Boards have been here some days, and the patents are prepared, and will in the course of two or three days pass the Great Seal.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, September 1. Dropmore.—“I have no doubt that Mr. Babington will be in all respects a perfectly proper Secretary for the Irish Commission of Enquiry. You can best judge what can be done about Mr. Vereker. It would certainly be desirable to oblige him, but I perfectly feel the difficulties attending his request.

“I see no reason to doubt of the propriety of the decision as to the collectorship of Derry, and the sooner the business is terminated the better I think it will be for us all.” *Copy.*

*Private.* C. GODDARD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 1. Paris.—“I know the satisfaction it will give your lordship to learn that your kind attention in hastening my appointment has had it’s full success, and that I am entirely restored to my liberty. I enclose a copy of M. de Talleyrand’s letter to me on this occasion.

“The first use I wish to make of my freedom is to put myself entirely at the disposal of your lordship whenever this mission shall have an end; and it is with this view that I have taken the liberty of enclosing a letter for your lordship

on my own situation, which you will, perhaps, have the goodness to look into, in a moment of leisure. At the time of writing it I concluded we were on the eve of our departure, nor am I yet of a very different opinion with respect to the length of our stay here. At all events the mission here cannot be a long one; and it would, in every respect, be the kindest thing that could be done for me to save me even for this winter from the idleness of a London or even of a country life in England. It is on this account that I have not delayed sending the enclosed, notwithstanding the event of the conference of Friday, which seems to afford a *possibility* of some arrangement with this country.

“Lord Lauderdale, seeing that I had a large letter to send to your lordship, and on which I had marked *private*, might suppose, I thought, that I had entered into the subject of what is passing here, which I have conceived it became me to avoid. In order to obviate any supposition of the sort, I told him that the enclosed was a letter to your lordship on my private affairs, and relative to my wishes for employment whenever this mission should be at an end. This led to some conversation on the subject, which he ended by saying that, though he was satisfied it would be unnecessary for him to attempt to give weight to any application from your lordship if you should think proper to make it, yet that he should feel himself happy to be of use to me with Mr. Fox if I wished it, and would state to him my precise views; and that as soon as he knew Mr. Fox to be well enough to read the letter *himself*, and the mission here should evidently be drawing to a conclusion, he would write to him in the sense of the enclosed paper, which I draw up for the purpose of submitting it to your Lordship’s judgment. I need not say that, as Lord Lauderdale will do nothing on this head until I again speak to him, I shall wait your lordship’s directions and submit myself to them entirely. Lord Lauderdale certainly overrates any little service I may be of here; but, in case your lordship should think it proper, at a convenient season, to interest yourself towards my obtaining such an appointment as I wish, I conceive it might not be amiss that Mr. Fox should be prepared by Lord Lauderdale in the way he is so good as to propose. Lord Lauderdale is indeed most perfectly friendly and obliging in the whole of his conduct; and I should therefore have the less scruple in owing him this additional obligation, if your lordship see no objection.

“It being Basilico’s turn to-night, I have thought it safest, for fear of accident, to keep the vase for *Shaw*, who is next in turn, and by whom it shall certainly be sent. I send by this opportunity the *Buffon* in duodecimo, in sheets. If there should be any deficiency, as will sometimes happen, it shall be rectified immediately on my being apprized of it. Lapepèdès *Fish*, which are added, are in high esteem here. The whole forms 71 volumes.

"I sent by Lord Yarmouth, under your lordship's cover, Mr. Wynn's books, which I conclude have been received. If not, he will be so good to send to Lord Yarmouth's house for an oil cloth package, with your lordship's direction."

*Postscript.*—"I think it right to mention that, in stating Lord Lauderdale's obliging offer respecting me, I have very much softened the strength of his expressions; as I feel I do not deserve them any otherwise than by my good will; but it will depend on me to give the turn I please to this, whenever I know your lordship's opinion."

*Enclosure.*

CHARLES MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND, PRINCE DE BENEVENTO,  
to C. GODDARD.

1806, August 25. Paris.—"J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que sa Majesté m'a autorisé à vous déclarer que l'engagement qui vous liait avant le dernier voyage que vous avez fait en Angleterre, n'existe, sa Majesté avant bien voulu consentir à ce que la parole d'honneur que vous aviez donnée vous fût rendue. Je suis charmé d'avoir à vous annoncer une détermination à laquelle son Excellence my lord Grenville a paru prendre un véritable intérêt, qui a été vivement réclamée par son Excellence M. de Comte de Lauderdale comme lui étant personnellement agréable, et qui vous offre la faculté de donner, selon votre gré, des marques de votre zèle ainsi que de votre dévouement au service de votre souverain. Je vous prie de recevoir l'assurance de ma parfaite considération." *Copy.*

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 1. Admiralty.—"I send you two letters which I have just received from Lord St. Vincent. To the application for the Queen's bounty you will be so good as to furnish me with an answer.

"We yesterday received letters from Sir John Warren, dated the 6th and 7th, from the Bay of Bulls, Newfoundland, from whence, by a subsequent account from Sir Erasmus Gower, it appears that he sailed again on the 9th, meaning to cruise ten days on the banks of Newfoundland, and then to come home, touching at the Western Islands. By a comparison of dates it appears that he must have crossed before Jerome, who separated from the rest of his squadron after having cruised eleven days in the gulph stream, off Charles Town. Warren had received no information whatever respecting them, except that they were three Danish ships which Cochrane had mistaken for a reinforcement, from the time of his leaving Tortola. It will be too hard if he comes away and leaves Williamson behind to attack our fishery after he is gone. There will, however, even in that case, be some hope from Sir Richard Strachan, who would arrive at Barbadoes about the 5th of this month. My conjecture is that the French

squadron, if they are not bound for Europe, will go either into the Chesapeake or to Boston."

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 1. Whitehall.—“Your perusal is much wanted to the enclosed application for a licence to send a neutral ship with British manufactures and certain Spanish articles to Lima, and Conception de Chili, with passports and powers from the Spanish government to make the voyage and bring back a return cargo, together with all the British prisoners, (from two to three hundred). The points for hesitation are : (1) that the vessel outward bound is to touch at Cadiz ; (2) that she is to carry 4,000 quintals of quicksilver ; (3) that she is to bring back two millions of dollars to the account of the Spanish government (paying a freight of five *per cent*). I have appointed Mr. Cock and Mr. Gregory to meet me at the Office for Trade on Wednesday or Thursday, as this morning must be given up to the American business at Mr. Fox's Office. I incline to think that it may be right to accede to the proposition, the objections to which may be lessened in adjusting the specification of the cargo.

“The other annexed paper relates to Prince Edward's Island. The report thereon from Mr. Windham is before the Treasury. It was prepared by Mr. Gordon for Lord Camden, and on full materials from the Office for Trade, and did not appear to Mr. Windham and me liable to difficulties. But there is a question further in Mr. Knox's view as to the application of the quit-rent arrears for the improvement of the colony. I have told him that he cannot have an answer before Wednesday or Thursday next.

“I presume that twelve o'clock will not be inconvenient to you on Thursday for the Sierra Leone businesses. The Bishop of London and Mrs. Porteus come on that day from Sundridge to Eden Farm, so that I shall be desirous to escape from Whitehall about two o'clock.

“I am willing to hope that the American treaty will not get into great length ; but I have employed Mr. Eden to keep a full detail and diary of the whole proceeding, and of all the objects and discussions as fully as if we were reporting to a Secretary of State from day to day. It will at least do good to him respecting all the great considerations of neutral privileges and commercial rights and interests. I am convinced that, as to the West India trade, we cannot go beyond the seventy tons (as in your article) ; and it may be doubted even whether we should go so far in times of peace.”

W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, September 2.—“Among many things which press, nothing presses so much as the enclosed paper from Mr. Barham relative to the Chinese business, which I should be

so glad to see dispatched, principally on account of its own importance, but partly with a view to complaints which Barham has made, unreasonably I think hitherto, of having been kept too long in suspense, that if no messenger should be going to you, I shall send one on purpose, in order that you may have time to turn the matter in your mind, and come to a decision upon it, if possible, by the time of your being in town to-morrow. The packet may then be detained till Thursday, and time given to Mr. Barham to send his letters, one way or another.

“My own inclination is strongly to close immediately with one or other of his proposals; and as he prefers, if I understand him right, the assistance to be given of the two vessels, rather than the contract of so much per head, I should be for ordering without delay two such vessels to be engaged and prepared. The difference may not be much in point of expense, and in that case it may be desirable to adopt the mode more conformable to the wishes of the parties. The chief difficulty, in either case, would seem to be the securing to the Chinese a due performance of the contract made with them; considering that the character of the Government would be in some degree implicated, particularly in the way recommended by Mr. Barham, and certainly the future and final success of the experiment.

“Some provision might be necessary that, at the expiration of the term contracted for by the Chinese, the other party (Mr. Barham and Company) should engage for the allowance of a certain sum to as many as choose to go, to defray the expense of their voyage back.

“The plan opens, in case of success, such a delightful prospect, and the present opportunity seems so favourable for trying it, that I should be for commencing it immediately, even though there may be some subordinate points for which it might have been desirable to have a little longer time for consideration. A vessel of one thousand tons for twelve months will cost no more than 9,000*l.* at fifteen shillings per ton; which is perhaps more than the real freight. A cutter of eighty tons at the same rate for eighteen months would be 1,080*l.*, making together 10,080*l.*; while five hundred persons at 20*l.* per head would be just 10,000*l.*; so that the expense of the two ways to Government would be, as nearly as possible, the same. I think in either way the engagement might safely be made; and I must confess I should be sorry if, by deferring it, we risked what I take to be a very advantageous opportunity.

“The difference of expense in the case of the Ceylon corps, or others of that description, is all in favour of keeping them on the colonial establishment.

“The enquiry which you suggest, and which shall be made, about the revenues of the Cape and Ceylon, recalls a matter which I have meant from time to time to mention to you; I mean the appointments at the Cape which I have been

filling up, but have forborne to complete, least I should touch upon any to which claims exist, or may be supposed to exist at the Treasury. Though all the appointments at the Cape were, in point of fact, filled up in Lord Melville's time by him, yet I know that he had ways of doing things which others have not, and that he might very possibly get into his hands by management, what did not of right belong to him. Of this sort I have been led to believe, according to the information which I have hitherto received, were the three appointments, very considerable ones, of comptroller, collector, and searcher of the customs; which, as performing functions blended with those of the Custom House, would naturally belong to the Custom House, that is to the Treasury. But the case is not the same with the auditorship, of which I am told Alexander has been talking, which would only be connected with the Treasury by name, the functions of the office being wholly confined within the settlement, and the auditor nothing but an intermediate officer between the Governor and the departments under him, and having nothing to do with any department here. The case of that office is therefore, I believe, perfectly clear; and, if I have forborne to fill it up or to name it to the Prince (it is a friend of his for whom I have intended it) it has been merely *ex abundantia*, and because I would not prejudge a question on which there would be any doubt. The others, I am much afraid, will turn out to belong to you.

“Our measures respecting recruiting are at length in train, and near being brought to a conclusion. I wait for the observations of the Duke on a paper which I put a good while since into his hands; but he promised them to [me] lately in a few days, and the points that may be to be discussed between us cannot, I think, last long.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, September 4. Downing Street.—“Lest it should escape me when we meet, I take the liberty to mention in this manner that you would much oblige me by expressing to Mr. Eden how happy it would make Lady Grenville and myself if he can join our Dropmore party.

“A messenger came from Lord Lauderdale last night and will probably be redespached to-night, so that I can now look with confidence to the pleasure of receiving you and the Vansittarts to-morrow.”

*Private.* THE SAME TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

1806, September 4. Downing Street.—“Your last despatch would have excited some hope in my mind that your mission might be productive of more good than has lately appeared probable, if there were not so much reason to believe that the change of language has no other object than that of detaining

you at Paris. There is certainly much opinion prevalent in the north of Germany that matters are coming to an extremity between France and Prussia. I own, I cannot well conceive what motive can really, in the present state of the Prussian councils, animate that Court to resistance. But some shew of it there undoubtedly is.

“Since this was written we have received the intelligence that Russia has refused to ratify the treaty, and that on the 16th ultimo, a note to that effect was circulated to all the foreign Ministers resident at Petersburg. We also hear that Lucchesini is recalled from Paris at Bonaparte’s desire, and that a man of very inferior talents, a M. de Knobelsdorff, is to succeed him. If this could have the effect of really indisposing Lucchesini against France, his influence at Berlin might do much.

“The next mail will undoubtedly bring us a Russian messenger, and by him, I trust, we shall learn on what terms Russia is disposed to insist. Probably Calabria, or Sicily, or both will be made conditions *sine quâ non*. Of course this must a little suspend your progress. Is it not possible that this event was known at Paris before your last conference? If not known, it must at least have been expected.

“You shall hear from us again the very first moment that we can say any thing more particular about the demands of Russia. But I think it most probable that a Russian Minister will be sent to Paris immediately, in which case I need hardly say how important it will be that you should cultivate him as much as possible, and should give us the earliest account of his intentions and proceedings.” *Copy.*

*Private.* THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1806, September 4. Downing Street.—“I am commanded by his Majesty to inform your lordship that he is pleased to approve entirely the conduct you have held in the circumstances detailed in your last despatches, and to express his Majesty’s satisfaction in the good effect which appears to have resulted from it.

“It is proper however to remark that as the French Plenipotentiaries have not bound themselves as yet by any written note, nor have as yet, even in conversation, agreed to replace the negotiation on its true basis, the present appearances of greater facility on their part may probably arise only from their desire of keeping your lordship at Paris until he answer from Petersburg shall be received; an object which your lordship’s last note had shewn them they could no longer accomplish without some departure from the ground on which they have hitherto stood.

“As to the points which might come into negotiation, the terms stated by your lordship would undoubtedly be ultimately sufficient for the separate interests of Great Britain, as in fact they include all we possess, and all we have

asked, with the exceptions only of Ste. Lucie and Goree, possessions certainly too unimportant to be rested upon as grounds for the continuance of war. This is however said only on the supposition that the French offers were so expressed as to comprehend all the French and Dutch Settlements on the continent of India, as well as Pondicherry, which alone is named.

“The only questions then remaining to be considered would be those which related to our allies. Of these Portugal, Sweden, and Sardinia would probably create no difficulty. It is presumed that France will not object to guarantee to us the integrity of the two former and to leave the island of Sardinia to its lawful sovereign under such an arrangement and connection with England as is pointed out in your lordship’s former instructions.

“The two questions as to Russia and Naples are in some degree connected with each other.

“If the Russian treaty be ratified (a fact which must be known at Paris before this despatch is received there) this country is bound by no further obligation to Russia which can at all embarrass his Majesty, or prevent him from consulting exclusively the honour and interests of his own crown in any further negotiations with France. It must still however be considered, even in that case, what degree of attention may be due to his Sicilian majesty. The entire burden of protecting and recovering that prince’s dominions cannot reasonably be cast exclusively on Great Britain. His Majesty is not bound to that effect by the terms of any treaty concluded either with his Sicilian majesty or with an other power; nor can it be fairly contended that so very onerous and unequal an engagement is in any manner the implied result of the plans which were in contemplation, or the measures which were executed in the course of the last year.

“In the present state of the Continent this country, abandoned by every continental power, cannot reasonably hope to recover Naples by arms, and in this state of things to insist on the restoration of that kingdom as the *sine quã non* condition of peace would be a decision inconsistent with every idea of peace, and the admitted principle of the negotiation. Nor indeed can we, after what has passed, reasonably refuse to treat for the purpose of ascertaining whether an adequate and acceptable compensation could be made to his Sicilian majesty for the cession of Sicily, of which he is still in possession. But his Majesty cannot, on the other hand, be expected to bind himself to the cession, or even to the abandonment of that island, except in two cases; (1) that of his Sicilian majesty’s actual consent; or 2ndly, that of such an offer made to him as he ought in reason and justice to consider as an equivalent. And this last point is one of too much delicacy to be finally decided on, without at least communicating it previously to him.



“As to the mode and terms of such compensation, your lordship is well justified in the remark that the suggestion of these ought to proceed from France. As a part of the general *uti possidetis* Sicily would remain to its sovereign. If France wishes to alter this point by exchange or compensation, it is for her to shew in what manner this can be done, and for his Majesty to consider, either separately or jointly with his ally, whether to accede or not to such a proposal.

“At all events the compensation to be given in such a case must come, not from his Majesty’s conquests but from the possessions of France or her allies; and it is therefore for her to specify which of these she is willing to give for an object so very important to her; a choice which it cannot be expected that his Majesty’s government should be able to anticipate.

“If the Russian treaty shall not be ratified, his Majesty is then (as I have already observed to your lordship) replaced with respect to the Emperor of Russia in the same situation as before the signature of M. d’Oubril’s treaty; but with the additional tie which the two Courts would in that case feel from the fresh proof each will have given to the other of a steady adherence to the system of alliance. And it will then be necessary that our peace shall be so far made dependent on that of Russia as is pointed out in the instructions originally given to Lord Yarmouth with that view; and particularly that the wishes and intentions of that Court shall be principally consulted in the arrangements respecting the Mediterranean and Adriatic, in every instance where this can be done consistently with the good faith which this country owes to its allies.” *Draft. Holograph.*

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, September 5. Downing Street.—“I have been making some enquiries about what you mention respecting the different offices at the Cape connected with the departments of revenue accounts and finance, and I have not the least doubt that you will be satisfied there is no pretence for their being appointed from the Secretary of State’s Office. I have directed a regular report to be made to me on the subject, in order that you may see yourself the grounds on which the question rests.

“The whole indeed depends on nothing else than a job of Dundas’s who, in order to get all this patronage into his own hands, instead of leaving it to be applied for the general purposes of Government, kept the whole thing perfectly secret, did not appoint the officers here (for which he knew there could be found neither precedent, plea, nor even any official form in which it could be done) but settled by a private understanding with the Governor that they should be named there, which is directly in the teeth of the rule uniformly laid down and observed, by which the Governor is prohibited from making any such appointment.

“This extends not only to the question of agent, which is gone by, but, if possible, still more strongly to the auditorship, collectorship, and other similar offices, to which the Treasury never permit a governor to appoint in any case. I am sure you will yourself be fully satisfied, when you come to inform yourself on the question, that neither duty nor a sense of what I owe to myself and to the Government can allow me to acquiesce in such a precedent.” *Copy.*

EARL SPENCER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 5. Wimbledon Park.—“I failed of seeing Mr. Staniforth, as I had promised to do, before he went out of town, and I now enclose you a letter he has sent to me to forward to you. My under-seeretary, Beckett, is intimately acquainted with him; and he tells me that both he and Thornton are very earnest about this point, but that he rather collected that it might perhaps be possible to bring it to this sort of compromise, namely, that the two members would engage to provide in some other way for Lord F[itzwilliam's] *protégé* if he would give up this appointment; as they state that the person recommended is a gentleman's servant, and not a fit person for such a place. A compromise, however, will, I am afraid, be difficult in a case where the two parties have directly opposite views.

“This non-ratification of the treaty puts our negotiation again on its original ground, and the terms which, from Adair's letter, appear to be held out by the Emperor of Russia as his *ultimatum*, agree so much with ours, that I conclude we shall now be obliged to suspend any further progress in our negotiation till the arrival of another Russian negotiator, who, I hope, may be of a better sort than M. d'Oubril. What influence all this will have upon Prussia yet remains to be seen. All the accounts from thence indicate a greater disposition to hostility with France than one should have expected; but Hanover will, I fear, stand much in the way of our obtaining any thing like Prussian co-operation.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL SPENCER.

1806, September 5. Dropmore.—“I have answered Mr. Staniforth's letter by desiring to see him. I heartily wish I could compromise the matter, but I really am in despair about it, because I feel myself in some degree obliged to support Lord Fitzwilliam, and am at the same time quite clearly of opinion that he is entirely in the wrong.

“Before I went out of town this morning I read Adair's despatches, which are highly satisfactory. In writing a private letter to Lauderdale last night I had exactly anticipated their contents except as to the compensation to the King of Sardinia. I also drew the sketch of an answer to Adair, and of a letter to Stuart, which I trust you will approve.

“I really think this event gives us the only chance we could have had of a tolerable peace; but I shall be impatient to hear from Stuart, and to see exactly what course Russia pursues, whether she sends a fresh Minister to Paris or treats through us.

“Have you ever heard anything more of McKenzie?”

“I really think some of the removals ought now to be made.” *Copy.*

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 6. Admiralty.—“I send for your information a letter which I have received to-day from Lord St. Vincent, and also the letters brought by the *Race Horse* from Lord Collingwood. I wish you particularly to attend to what the latter says of Sir Sidney Smith. As you seemed much interested about him, I would on no account make any change in the command of the squadron appointed for the defence of Sicily, without your approbation; but I must confess that in my opinion it will be necessary to do so. To make it as little unpleasant as possible to Sir Sidney I should propose that Sir John Duckworth, upon his joining Lord Collingwood, should be ordered to proceed to Sicily. The command is of sufficient extent and importance for a Vice-Admiral with a junior flag officer under his orders; and by this arrangement Sir John Duckworth might be depended upon for the care of the squadron, and the full benefit of Sir Sidney's enterprising spirit obtained by employing him, when necessary, or detached services.

“Since writing the above I have read the despatches from Lord Strangford. They appear to me of great importance in every view, but particularly so with respect to the communication made by the Court of Madrid. I am not very sanguine in my hopes of exciting that government to shake off the yoke of France; but no chance, however small, which might by any possibility lead to the accomplishment of so desirable an object should be neglected. As in all probability the first despatches received from Lord Rosslyn will confirm the accounts given by M. D'Arango of the state of the preparations of France and Spain, as directed against Portugal, it becomes a question under the present circumstances of the war, and with the prospect of a renewal of active hostilities on the borders of the Adriatic, whether the troops originally destined for Sicily, or at least a part of them, should not immediately be sent there. I wish this matter to be determined as soon as possible on account of the convoy, as I should wish to take advantage of the reinforcement intended for Lord Collingwood for that purpose. I am afraid he is very impatient, and with some reason, and it will be wrong to detain the ships so long promised him.

“I enclose also a letter from Admiral Cochrane respecting Miranda, and the copy of one from Captain Durham. The

squadron he mentions Admiral Hervey to have chased, must, I think, certainly have been that of Williamson.

“Be so good as to return the letters I now enclose, as well as those I last sent you from Lord St. Vincent, by the messenger to-morrow.”

LORD HOLLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 6. Holland House.—“Lord Auckland will give you a detailed account of all that has hitherto passed with the American commissioners. It is clear that the main points are the not pressing seamen on the high seas, and the question of a continuous or interrupted voyage. Unless they misrepresent things in America, they would willingly yield a point on the latter to obtain anything from us on the former. Lord A[uckland] has with him two abstracts of the result of our conversations with Monroe and Pinkney on these two subjects, and of the hints and suggestions which have been thrown out by ourselves. He probably does not want them, but they may possibly refresh his memory and bring the subject before your mind by seeing it discussed in writing. My uncle’s illness has so occupied my thoughts that I fear I have not had time to sift the whole question as I ought; but I am confident that good humour and goodwill are only to be purchased by very considerable concessions on one or both of these points; and I believe Lord A[uckland] concurs with my opinion.

“The weakness subsequent to my uncle’s second operation has been less than it was upon the first, but infinitely more than, from his improved health, we were led to hope. This has thrown him back, but he is rallying. It is idle however to indulge any hope of more than a slow and anxious recovery, and we shall all think ourselves very fortunate if that be achieved. In the meanwhile, one cannot talk to him of any business in detail, which makes me more anxious to trouble you with these statements.”

*Private.* C. GODDARD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 7. Paris.—“I was very sensible to your lordship’s early and kind answer to my letter. Having thus placed myself in your lordship’s hands, I feel perfectly easy about the rest, in so far as my personal concerns are in question.

“Lord Lauderdale has been very seriously affected by the accounts of Mr. Fox, so very different in their nature from what former intelligence had led us to hope for. A letter from Mrs. Fox is indeed of a more consoling kind; but it is to be feared she flatters herself.

“We have to-day MM. Talleyrand, Champagny, Clarke, Metternich and Lima, with other persons of less note, to dine here. All those named except Talleyrand had already dined with us; but the latter expressed a desire to be invited on this

occasion. The fear of coming here in all those who are at all connected with this government, and are not in commanding situations, is sometimes expressed in a most comical manner. Metternich has probably had permission from this emperor; for there is no detail into which Bonaparte does not enter, and until within these few days Metternich was afraid to see Lord Lauderdale. Lima is a known spy of Talleyrand's, who procured this situation for him; and Lord Lauderdale tells him accordingly whatever he wishes Talleyrand should know indirectly.

"I take the liberty of enclosing on a separate paper a note, in case your lordship should think proper to give any direction about it. As coming from hence directly, it would probably not be attended to in the Office.

"I should be happy to hear that the second vase arrived safe. It was sent by Basilio the 1st instant."

#### THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 8. Paris.—"My separate despatch will inform you of the reason of my sending a courier to England. Lima is quite a creature of Talleyrand's, but it appeared to me that a written report of the Emperor's declaration in relation to Portugal, such as he described it to be, was a thing the Government of England would like to receive; *not* as adding to the security of Portugal, but as furnishing an authentic document of the treachery of this Court, in the event of things going wrong.

"I have not yet seen the note. Indeed I have not a doubt that it will be submitted to the inspection of Talleyrand before it comes under my eye.

"I enclose your lordship a separate sheet recently published as a supplement to the first edition of *Le Sage's Historical, Geographical, and Statistical Tables*. Of this work, which is universally relied on for information in all the public Offices here, there is a new edition; but I believe, though I have not yet examined it, that the sheet I send contains nearly all the alterations and additions.

"I have stated to Lord Howick all I have heard about the *Veteran*, which, I have no doubt, is destroyed.

"Lucchesini had his audience of leave yesterday. It continued an hour and a quarter. Knobelsdorff had a very short interview."

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1806, September 8. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to submit to your Majesty the minute of the Cabinet held this day on Lord Lauderdale's last despatches, in order that, if your Majesty should be graciously pleased to approve of it, instructions may be transmitted to Paris and Petersburg in conformity to these ideas." *Copy.*

*Enclosure.*

## CABINET MINUTE.

1806, September 7. Downing Street.

Present :

|                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| The Lord Chancellor. | Lord Henry Petty. |
| Lord Privy Seal.     | Mr. Windham.      |
| Earl Spencer.        | Mr. Grenville.    |
| Viscount Howick.     | Lord Grenville.   |

“ It is humbly submitted to your Majesty that instructions should be sent to the Earl of Lauderdale apprizing his lordship that the refusal of the Emperor of Russia to ratify M. D’Oubril’s treaty has replaced this country and Russia in the situation in which they stood previous to the signature of that treaty. That his Majesty is therefore willing to discuss separately, as before, the terms of peace as far as they can affect the particular interests of this country. But that he cannot finally conclude peace without the participation of Russia in some one of the modes pointed out in Mr. Fox’s despatch to the Earl of Yarmouth of the 26th of June, 1806.

“ That with respect to the interests of Great Britain his Majesty adheres to the basis originally proposed, that of the *uti possidetis*, with the restitution of Hanover.

“ That this *uti possidetis* must, however, now include Sicily. His Majesty had originally instructed Lord Yarmouth to insist definitively on this point, which was included in the original French offer. And it was only on the impression that a relaxation on this point was desired by Russia that his Majesty ever consented to admit the discussion of such ideas of compensation for that island, as might be proposed by France. It now appears, on the contrary, that the Emperor of Russia considers the preservation of Sicily by the King of Naples as a *sine quã non* condition of his peace. It must therefore, on both these grounds, be insisted upon on the part of this country.

“ It is further humbly submitted that the force originally destined for Sicily should proceed there as soon as the wind permit.” *Draft by Lord Grenville.*

## EARL SPENCER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 8. [Wimbledon Park.]—“ As I shall probably see you to-morrow, in consequence of the dispatch just arrived from Lord Lauderdale, I will only write this line to you to say that we have had a satisfactory answer from Colin Mackenzie, who will, I hope, in consequence of it, come to London almost immediately. However, I agree with you in thinking that some if not all of the removes should be made without further delay.

“ I will not fail to dine with you on Tuesday.”

*Postscript.*—"I send you Colin's letter, and Lady Stafford's about it.

"Lord Howick called here this morning, and he, Tom, and I, all agreed that we ought now, without a moment's loss of time, send some troops direct to Sicily, and some instructions for the purpose of getting out of the scrape which Sir J. Stuart's proclamations have drawn us into.

The accounts from Lisbon are (as I understand from Lord Howick) such as very much to justify this measure."

#### GEORGE III TO THE SAME.

1806, September 9. Windsor Castle.—"The King decidedly concurs in opinion with his Cabinet that after the handsome line of conduct which has been pursued by the Emperor of Russia, it is impossible to do otherwise than revert to the footing in which this country and Russia stood previous to the signature of the treaty by Monsieur d'Oubril. His Majesty equally approves that part of the proposed instructions by which Sicily is to be included in the *uti possidetis*, without admitting any offer of compensation.

"The King is sensible of Lord Grenville's attention in apprising him of the melancholy state of Mr. Fox's health."

#### *Private and confidential.*

#### THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE SAME.

1806, September 9. Dublin Castle.—"I was in hopes that I should not have had to trouble your lordship again on the subject of the Derry collection, but unfortunately we appear at this moment to be as far from our object as ever. Immediately upon receipt of your last letter I wrote to the Chancellor acquainting him with your decision, and your wish that it should be carried into effect without further delay. By the arrangements proposed by Sir John Newport for the division of the collection, together with the addition of the small collectorship of Ballyraine to that of the excise for Derry, the emolument of the two offices is made nearly equal; and the Chancellor, upon the whole, seemed not unsatisfied with your determination. In consequence of this, Mr. Elliot was on the point of making the long asked for communication to Mr. Beresford, when the Chancellor received a letter from England which induced him to make an earnest request that all further proceedings might be suspended for a short time longer. I could not refuse to accede to this request, but I took an opportunity of seeing the Chancellor, and pressed upon him your lordship's anxious wish that this long depending business should be brought to a conclusion in the manner you suggested. He dealt upon your not replying to his letter as indicating something like an indifference on the subject; but I am persuaded that the sole cause of his having hitherto received no answer from your

lordship is the expectation you entertained of seeing him so soon in England. As the Chancellor sailed last night, and as he assured me that he would lose no time in endeavouring to see your lordship on his arrival in London, I have only to express my hope that I shall hear from you *finally* on this too long protracted business as soon as you have had an opportunity of fully discussing it with him. I am inclined to think that the Chancellor is not so adverse to a good understanding with the Beresfords, as others of his family."

*Postscript.*—"Since writing the above Mr. J. C. Beresford has been with me by appointment (in consequence of a note he wrote yesterday to Mr. Elliot, expressing some degree of impatience at the delay) and states his readiness to wait till I hear again from your Lordship."

#### LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, September 9. Downing Street.—"I have acquainted Lord Sidmouth that we stand pledged to Mr. Power. I am sorry for the circumstance as it affects Lee, who has given fair support, but I really think it was unavoidable.

"Lady Downshire has been out of town, which has prevented me from ascertaining her wishes about Downpatrick, but I will endeavour to do it as soon as I can.

"You will grieve to hear that Fox is considered now as in the most imminent and immediate danger. Last night it was hardly expected that he would outlive to-day.

"I should wish to know your opinion as to the increase of the collector's salaries. Some increase, I believe, was unavoidable, and I trust and believe Newport will have been anxious to keep it as low as the service would allow." *Copy.*

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 10. Parliament Street.—"We made some progress in the Chinese question, but your presence was felt by all to be a *desideratum*. Many propositions were offered. The one which I should prefer would be to furnish a small armed schooner to Captain Layman, with permission to touch at Jamaica and make his provisional arrangements; then to proceed to Cochin China with instructions from his employers to carry the plan into effect, and, if he shall find it practicable, to hire a Bombay ship (the cotton ships of Bombay are easily hired) and to send his cargo to Jamaica, and to bring from thence a cargo of sugars; Government undertaking to pay at the rate of 20*l.* per head for all who may be sent. I think I can satisfy you that this is the best and the least entangling mode of giving a due encouragement. We appoint Tuesday or Wednesday next at eleven (requesting you to choose the day) for making a report. But surely some step must be taken to secure the acquiescence of the Creoles.



“We consented yesterday, unless you disapprove it, to give a licence to the Spanish minister in America to send in a neutral ship to Cadiz the timber materials for two steam engines for grinding corn; it seemed illiberal to refuse. We also gave a licence to *twelve tailors* to embark for America.

“I return Admiral Berkeley’s intelligent letter. If you have no objection to its being sent to Lord Holland, have the goodness to return it, and I will send it to him; he would like to see it.

“I have had a long conference with the King’s advocate on the neutral article, and he hints that we can frame one.

“As to the impressing point, I feel quite discouraged under a letter which I have received from Lord Howick with some very curious specimens of fraudulent certificates.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806, September 10. Downing Street.—“I enclose a letter and paper from Colonel McDonald. I am afraid I ought not to have sent him Mr. Marsden’s paper, but it is done and there is no remedy.

“It has occurred to me, that the best thing to be done about Spain would be that Mr. Brougham, who is at Lisbon with Lord Rosslyn, should proceed to Madrid with an ostensible appointment of commissary of prisoners, to hear what they have to say and to judge of their situation. It is not possible to occupy Lord Holland’s attention with such a subject just now, but whenever he is able to attend to it, he could furnish Mr. Brougham with such letters to Madrid, and such information as to people there as would be in the highest degree useful.” *Copy.*

#### W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 10. Council Office.—“I cannot very well see why the office of censuring Sir Sydney should devolve upon me. It is one that I am the farthest from coveting, nor am at present at all in state of executing, having seen nothing respecting his proceedings but a letter or two at the beginning of his correspondence with Elliot, which I hastily cast my eye over yesterday.

“The Admiralty are, in general, pretty tenacious of the right of corresponding with their officers. In respect to the fact of quitting his ship (should such be the case) that must be Admiralty; and even if the acceptance of a command from a foreign power, though it may be in itself considered as of a more general nature, yet, as exemplified in the case of an individual, must be confined to the cognizance, I should think, of the department to which that individual belongs.

“My only inducement for taking it by choice would be that I should make the censure as mild as possible. I must first inform myself of the case.”

## VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 11. Admiralty.—“ I return you Colonel McDonald's letter, and one from a projector of the name of Mr. Parr.

“ From the infinity of schemes of this kind that are proposed to me, it is impossible for me to adopt any other course than that of referring them in the first instance to my secretary, and if he reports that there is any chance of their being useful, I examine them myself. To this Mr. Parr has not chosen to submit, and there is nothing either in his mode of announcing his project, or in his threat, which can induce me to depart from the rule I have laid down.”

## MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1806, September 11. Stowe.—“ I had very little expectation that Fox could have held out beyond Wednesday night ; but the ease is, I fear, equally desperate, whether the close of it be protracted a few days or not.

“ I have written to Tom all that occurs to me on the various difficulties, in every view of the various arrangements that present themselves out of this event ; and I feel thoroughly vexed that I can offer nothing but difficulties in addition to those which are obvious to every one. The most obvious remedy is the move of *my peer* to the House of Lords ; but I can easily feel for your awkwardness in pressing this arrangement upon him, though I cannot admit that the claims of ‘ friendship or connexion ’ ought to interfere with a question so important, in a new disposition of things, so entirely changed by Mr. Fox's death. The whole game, and the entire responsibility is with you ; and I must entreat you to feel your situation more strongly, and assume the tone that belongs to it. I do not, as you will easily imagine, urge you to consider yourself as the sole Minister of the Crown, but you cannot disguise to yourself the situation in which the death of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox places you, nor the disposition of the public to support *your* arrangements for the public service. The whole (particularly that part of the question that is connected with the House of Commons) must be considered as afloat by this act of Providence ; and two things must be specially provided for, namely, the lead in that House by Lord Howick, and the countervailing weight of my brother Tom *on our behalf*, and in the next most responsible situation, and to lead our friends who, I hope and trust, never will follow Mr. Windham. I verily think that Grey might so arrange his Admiralty department, as to give him time to conduct the business of the House of Commons ; and if he retains that office, no move need take place save that of Tom to succeed Mr. Fox. I know your doubts on this matter ; but every day satisfies me that Fox has lived long enough to commit himself and his friends to the principles of negotiation that

have been put forward, and upon which perhaps at this moment the decision is actually taken at Paris. But I am confident that the public confidence is with *you* on that point; and that more would be lost by the dissatisfaction of one set of people in this country who would view Lord Howick's appointment to that office with doubt—and Lord H. Petty's with disgust—than could be lost by the dissatisfaction of the few who might retain their jealousy of a blood-hound Grenville. I have reason to know that the King hopes that Tom will be proposed to him for this department, and I verily believe nine in ten would equally wish it; and, above all, it would be the least difficult in point of the inconvenience of a larger and more extensive move.

“I have suggested yesterday to Tom the idea of inducing Lord Howick to undertake the lead of the House of Commons, by giving to him a coadjutor in the laborious duties of his Office. My proposition is, to make the Comptroller of the Navy a much more prominent and important officer, by making him the head of the Navy Victualling and Transport Boards, with the second seat at the Admiralty, and perhaps the rank of Privy Council. I should not wish him to be in the House of Commons; but, if it were wished, the Comptroller's is not an excepted office, and his seat at these Boards not being with pay or salary from them, would not vacate his seat in Parliament. Such an office would be most satisfactorily filled by his brother George Grey, or by any proper person whom *he* might recommend to *you*, and the greater part of the details might devolve upon him in aid of Lord Howick. I have even told Tom, that I would myself undertake the civil branch of the naval department, without *rank, patronage, fee or reward*, if any assistance could enable Lord Howick to take the lead in the House of Commons. In short I consider this as the crisis of your political fame; and am only anxious that you should not sacrifice yourself, and the public interest, to a mistaken delicacy towards any one of those who engaged with you eight months ago to a different view of things; and the disposition of the offices of Secretary at War, of the India Board, and of the Mint might be so arranged as to secure the active assistance of Tiernay, Bragge, and Whitbread, as a second rank, who would remove all idea of your attempting to put by all save our wing of the army.

“I say nothing of any accession from the ranks of the enemy, because I think I can clearly see that they will treat with you in one body, and not separately. It is therefore idle to speculate on recruiting that third army, when your means are short even for the two who are now, and will I trust continue, united.

“The Duke of Cumberland is quoted as very busy, and very liberal in his use of the King's name, but as I verily believe without authority or even countenance from his father; and I can see many reasons that would induce the

King to wish to keep every thing quiet. In short my object is to see Lord Howick at the Admiralty and House of Commons ; Tom Grenville successor to Fox.

“ My Frenchmen leave me to-morrow or early on Sunday ; if therefore you should wish to see me for a few hours at Dropmore—and if I can be of any use in these discussions—I will come there ; and you may let me know by one line by return of post whether your swelled face allows you to go there for Sunday, and I shall get your letter before nine o’clock, time enough to come to you by dinner. But I know not why I should trouble you, for I can add nothing to the anxious wish I feel for keeping this vessel together, and for enabling it to make a better battle than it did last session.

“ My Frenchmen’s accounts from Russia are very warlike, and very confident, beyond what I think the tenor of Emperor Alexander’s note warrants ; and they are much more sanguine respecting Prussia, where, they say, it is utterly impossible that Haugwitz can hold his ground, as against the whole army, and the whole royal family. They speak of Prince Louis Ferdinand as having hoisted that standard of opposition, and as one through whom very much might be done at a proper moment. They appear to me to think that Bonaparte will make peace with you, for they think very seriously of the difficulties that press upon him in France ; where, certainly, their correspondents speak of great discontents, and great disorganization of the powers that govern in the provinces, but their reports of the state of the army are very interesting. I should not quite have credited these accounts, if I had not seen in the hands of the Bishop of St. Pol, about ten days since, some private letters from some of his clergy—five different letters—all singing to the same tune. Nevertheless I do not believe one word of peace ; and I sincerely hope that by this time poor Lauderdale is locked up in the Temple.”

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 11. Admiralty.—“ I send you the answer I have just received from Lord Holland, to a letter I wrote to him after I left you.

“ I did not explain to him that Mr. Brougham was to go as agent for prisoners, which, I apprehend, would have satisfied his apprehensions about Mr. Hunter, who, I believe, holds a different appointment.

“ You will judge of the propriety of communicating with Lord Holland on the instructions to be given to Mr. Brougham.”

*Enclosure.*

LORD HOLLAND to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806. September.—“ I can confirm the account, I think, fully, for though he has been weaker than when Vaughan left

him, it was the effect of physic, and when an evacuation took place he revived. In short I think he will bear this physic, and that he has got through one attack of weakness. In all other views of the case the prospect is as it was, and bad enough.

“With regard to the other point I am glad to hear you think of doing some thing about Spain, and Brougham is a very proper man and will do what he is told ably; but it really would be unhandsome and wrong to supersede Hunter, who is both a good man and one very agreeable to the Spaniards. Some means may be devised of joining Brougham with him, or of sending Brougham in some other character or on some other pretext; but I am sure that my uncle would not like any thing unhandsome to be done to Hunter who, though not clever, is an active, zealous and good-natured man. It is certainly candid in me saying so much, because Brougham is a person I am much connected with, and anxious to serve. But I think his employment compatible with Hunter, who would be very serviceable to him in procuring the means of doing, saying, and collecting what he thought right. Mr. Allen shall write the letters; I will sign them, and send them to-morrow to Sir Francis Vincent.

“Without any vanity I may say that I know more about Spain, both the coast and people, than most of you; and I should like to know what your instructions to Brougham are to be, for it is a thing that will fail entirely, or may lay the ground of great good indeed.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to LORD WINDHAM.

1806, September 11. Downing Street.—“In the distress and difficulty of every sort which the loss with which we are now threatened must bring upon us, my mind is unceasingly occupied with various suggestions and projects, none of them satisfactory, as to the arrangements which are to follow upon it. Among these a question has sometimes passed across my mind, how far you might or might not, in such a case, be inclined to entertain the idea of going into the House of Lords; the effect of which would be that, if Lord Howick took the Foreign Seals, which is, I think, very desirable, and if Lord Spencer succeeds him in the Admiralty, the advantages of which I need not state, we should be less embarrassed than we now are in our choice of a Secretary of State for the Home Department; the Civil List Act not allowing of three Secretaries of State sitting together in the House of Commons. And in that case, the choice would seem to me to lie between my brother and Lord Henry Petty.

“My first wish must, of course, be to know thoroughly as far as it can be known, all that belongs to this most difficult subject, before I make up my own mind so far as to bring any distinct plan of arrangement under the consideration of yourself, and of the other persons with whom

it is to be concerted. I see some considerable convenience that might arise from the idea I have thrown out, and some relief to yourself from difficulties of various sorts. On the other hand, there are considerations that may possibly appear to you to stand decisively in the way of it ; and it is a question on which, I need not say, that the slightest intimation of your wishes, either way, must outweigh in my mind all other considerations. The object of this letter is only that of bringing the subject under your own consideration that you may yourself decide upon it."

W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 11.—“ I feel sincerely for your difficulties, as we all do, in a still greater degree, for that which is the immediate cause of them ; but it is impossible that I can help to relieve them in the way you suggest.

“ It is a proposal that was once made to me before, though without the same motives that might now induce me to comply. But the answer which I made without hesitation then, must equally be given at present.

“ I know not in what other way I can be of use to you, but that may be a matter of future consideration. It is as well, in the circumstances in which we may expect to be placed at any moment, that you should know how things stand on the immediate point in question.”

*Confidential.* LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, September 11. Whitehall.—“ In my solitary drives since yesterday I have thought much of what we last talked about. It is clear to me that the first step should be to settle with Lord Spencer to undertake his old office, in which he will be sure to have the public confidence ; and *immediately thereon* to name Lord Howick to the office vacated by death, leaving Lord Spencer's office for the present to be executed by the other secretaries ; and to take a little time as to the remaining arrangements, which will, perhaps, be much facilitated and improved by that mode.

“ I understand that Lord Minto will not be here till the 20th. If you wish it I feel no difficulty as to talking in great confidence with Sir George Shee, and am on sufficient terms with him for that purpose ; and I can do it with a good grace enough, as he knows that I have no personal wish beyond the situations which I hold, and which, *en passant* I add, are all that I desire, if reasonable and proper means can be found through my sons or otherwise, to relieve my financial difficulties. Whitbread's appointment is an excellent idea if he will accede to it, and will be best arranged through his brother-in-law. There will be some delicacy and difficulty as to Lord Holland, whom I should really grieve to see quite dissatisfied ; but that will best be done by a personal conference between you and him.”

## W. WINDHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, September 11.—“It has happened, not unfortunately, though by very gross misconduct on the part of a messenger, that the drafts which you returned to me, and which were to have gone to-night to the king, have not been sent. For, upon looking into the only proclamation of Sir John Stuart’s which I have seen, and which I had not seen before, I am far from seeing clearly what ground there is for censuring him at all. All that is done in the proclamation in question, and which I enclose with this, is to invite the Calabrians to co-operate with his army in their endeavours to restore Calabria to its lawful sovereign. Surely this was an invitation which he must be authorised to give them, if he were authorised at all to go into the country. If the objection turns upon his having done this without communication with Elliot, I don’t know how far the communication was in his power.

“There must be something in the case more than I am aware of, or the censure, which we have proposed, light as it is, would be more than ought to be passed upon him.

“To pass from that to an entirely opposite quarter, I cannot but feel a strong conviction of the truth of the opinions contained in the letter which you sent me from Hislop, and a great longing that a part of the force which we are now disposing of, was applied, not to the revolutionizing, but to the obtaining possession of part of the Spanish settlements in South America. A footing once obtained there, the rest would do itself by a mild and gradual operation; or, if it did not, we should equally be in a situation to secure a great portion of the advantages which such an event is supposed likely to produce, and, what is of most consequence of all, to prevent probably the French from establishing themselves there. I cannot but think that after taking J—, it might be well worth considering whether part of the force should not be sent on, and in conjunction with other force that must go to the West Indies, be employed in an expedition such as Hislop recommends. With Calabria well supported, with the discontents in France described in Lord Lauderdale’s letter, and with an establishment on the continent of South America, followed by a hearty support of the war in this country, the period may not be far distant, nor exceed the term to which we can afford to wait, when the power of Bonaparte may begin to totter; and, if once thrown out of its balance, fall to the ground with very little struggle. The effect which I dread from peace is that of confirming and consolidating it.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO MR. STUART, Secretary of the British Embassy at St. Petersburg.

1806, September 12. Downing Street.—“No despatches have yet been received from you of a later date than the 9th of August. We have consequently no account of the arrival of the messenger despatched from hence on the day

the copy of M. d'Oubril's treaty was received, nor do we know what impression has been produced by the assurances which the instructions sent by him authorized you to give to the Russian Government. Those assurances, however, and the communication which you have since been enabled to make of the different steps taken in the course of the discussions at Paris, cannot fail to have convinced the Court of Petersburg of the sincere and stedfast disposition of his Majesty to maintain under all circumstances the most cordial union with his august ally.

"The open and friendly intercourse established between Mr. Adair and Count Rasomouski has put his Majesty's government in possession of a copy of the letter written by the Baron de Budberg to M. de Talleyrand ; a paper of the utmost importance, and which the difficulty of the communications has prevented our having as yet received directly from Petersburg. I mention this to you in order that you may be enabled to notice it to the Russian Minister, in acknowledgment of the great advantage which has thus been derived by the concert in which the ministers of our two courts act together at Vienna, and as a proof of the benefit which must result from its continuance.

"The communication of this paper has put his Majesty's government in possession of the terms which, in the present state of things, the Emperor has judged it proper for him to insist on in any further discussions with France. And this knowledge could not have come to us more opportunely.

"The enclosed despatch from Lord Lauderdale, No. 11, will shew you what the language was which was held to his lordship by M. Talleyrand, when he communicated to him the circumstance of the Emperor's refusal to ratify M. d'Oubril's treaty.

"It is remarkable that he has never yet made to his lordship any communication of M. de Budberg's letter, and this circumstance, coupled with the general tenor of his conversation, manifestly shews his object to have been that of producing, if possible, a separate negotiation between this country and France.

"On a full consideration of the discussions which had passed between his Majesty's government and that of Russia before M. d' Oubril arrived at Paris, and of the above mentioned most important paper, the instructions, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, were despatched to Lord Lauderdale for the regulation of his conduct in the further progress of his negotiation.

"The instruction is itself so ample and explicit that it does not seem to require much further remark in this despatch.

"The whole principle on which it rests is, as you will observe, that which had so fully been discussed between our two courts, of treating separately in point of form, but substantially in the most intimate union and concert ; and particularly that no



treaty of peace shall be definitively ratified by the one unless the other shall at the same time have brought its negotiation to the same state, upon principles mutually agreed on by communication with each other.

“The points then to be considered were :—

“1st. The precise mode of treating so as to give full effect to this principle, and neither to interpose any unnecessary delay in the way of secure and honourable peace, if that great work can be accomplished ; nor, on the other hand, to leave any opening for such arts as the French Government has in the late instance been enabled to employ with a temporary appearance of success with a view to disunite the two allies.

“The plans recited for this purpose are detailed in the instruction. The annexed extract from Mr. Fox’s despatch to Lord Yarmouth of the 16th of July will explain the points for which that despatch is referred to in the present instruction, and the powers now given to Lord Lauderdale are strictly conformable to the ideas there contained, which have already received the assent of the Russian Government. But unless these powers should enable his lordship to bring the whole matter, both as it respects this country and Russia, to an immediate conclusion, which is, perhaps, hardly to be expected, it seems very desirable that some person of confidence and due discretion should be authorized to proceed to Paris with authority to treat in the Emperor’s name, but in strict confidence and constant communication with his Majesty’s government here ; or that a like authority should be given to the Emperor’s representative at this court.

“The second point was that of the terms to be insisted upon by this country, in arranging which there was so much the less difficulty because his Majesty had nothing to ask that had not already been offered to him by the French Government, through the channel of the Earl of Yarmouth. The possessions occupied by his Majesty are so circumstanced that France cannot hope to regain them by war, and cannot therefore, if she be really disposed to peace, reasonably object to their being retained by his Majesty as a very small counter-balance to the immense acquisitions of territory and influence on the Continent which a peace would confirm to her. With respect to Hanover, it is sufficiently evident from the whole conduct of France in this negotiation, that she does not wish to see that state ultimately remain to Prussia, although she has, from motives of policy that are sufficiently obvious, encouraged that power in its present most unjust and shameful occupation of it. As to Sicily I can add nothing to what is stated in the despatch to Lord Lauderdale. The Emperor of Russia has demanded the guaranty of that possession to his Sicilian Majesty as a *sine quâ non* condition of his own peace. That consideration alone would, on the principles already stated, lead to his Majesty’s insisting on the same demand. But his Majesty feels on his own part also every inducement

to adopt and persevere in the same determination. The brilliant successes lately obtained by his Majesty's arms in Calabria sufficiently shew that if war continues, the enemy has much more to fear than to hope for in every attack that he may meditate against Sicily. The next consideration was that of the claims of Russia, in case his Majesty's minister should, in the absence of a Russian Plenipotentiary, be called upon to enter into that discussion, so intimately connected as it now is with the result of his own negotiation.

"The points stated in M. de Budberg's letter are so clear and explicit that a reference to them, as far as they went, comprized all that could be necessary to be said respecting them. But, considering how much more disposition towards concession the French Government seemed desirous of expressing now than before, it seemed important that Lord Lauderdale should be prepared for the case (a possible one though we fear not probable) in which France should acquiesce in the Emperor's demands, provided it was settled to whom Dalmatia should be allotted.

"On this point therefore, as well as on the precise nature of the indemnity to be given to the King of Sardinia, it seemed desirable to provide such an explanation as cannot, it is hoped, be unsatisfactory to Russia, but may eventually prove the means of accelerating a favourable conclusion of the negotiations.

"It is on these grounds that the last paragraph in the instruction was framed. You will communicate to the Court of Petersburg the whole of that paper, as well as of the others enclosed in this despatch; and you will express the King's confident persuasion that, in every part of what has been done on this interesting occasion, he will be found to have met entirely the wishes and sentiments of the Emperor of Russia."  
*Draft. Holograph.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO MR. STUART.

1806, September 12. Downing Street.—"Information has been received here of the overtures made at Copenhagen by the Court of Berlin, with a view to procure the accession of Denmark to the confederation in Germany at the head of which Prussia is desirous of being placed. From Count Bernstorff's language to Mr. Garlike it seems probable that no definite answer would be given until Russia had been consulted, and I think it therefore material to put you in possession of his Majesty's sentiments on this subject.

"So long as Prussia retains its unjust occupation of Hanover, no peace can be established between that country and this. The King's determination on this point has been publicly announced. It has been seconded by the unanimous applause of his people, and Prussia can entertain no hope that it will ever be relinquished. In this state of war, any accession of

power and influence to an enemy must be a natural object of jealousy here ; and there can be no doubt that it was with the view of producing this very situation that France so strongly urged the King of Prussia to take this most unjustifiable step which, until it be retracted, must for ever interpose an insurmountable bar to any community of interest between Great Britain and Prussia.

“ Under these circumstances it can by no means be the wish of this government that Prussia should be strengthened by the accession of other powers to a confederation of which she seems to assume a sort of direction and sovereignty analagous to that of France in the other parts of Germany. Nor, indeed, is it probable that such a state of subjection should suit the views either of Denmark or Sweden with respect to that part of their territory which was included in the German empire. Those territories must of course now revert to their own uncontrolled sovereignty, and they can be but little disposed to involve themselves in fresh obligations of duties towards another power, especially one so little scrupulous in its objects or means as Prussia has shewn herself to be.

“ The King confidently expects from the friendship of his ally, that the answer of the Court of Petersburg to Denmark will be framed in conformity with these principles.

“ It is true that the Prussian confederation is in semblance and pretence directed against the further encroachments of France, and may seem, therefore, to challenge the favourable wishes of all powers opposed to the further extension of that formidable empire. But there is too much reason to believe that the whole plan has in reality been formed and concerted at Paris, and is much more directed to the object of extending the dominions of Prussia than to that of limiting those of France. In the present state of Europe, and after all that has already passed, the only pledge that Prussia could give of a real desire to resist France would be by cordially uniting herself to Great Britain and Russia, and (as a necessary preliminary of such alliance) by satisfying the King’s just expectations on the subject of Hanover, a possession which France will not leave to her at a peace, and only permits her to hold while the war continues, in order to disunite her from the allies.

“ If, therefore, any overtures are made on this subject at Petersburg by the Court of Berlin, his Majesty trusts that the answer, while it expresses the known dispositions of the allies to concur in any plan really calculated to limit the growing encroachment of France, will, at the same time, refuse all concurrence in measures tending to aggrandize a power which has shewn itself in no other light than that of the instrument of French ambition. If France really is to be resisted in the north of Germany, this is not to be done by a Prussian confederation, whose means are manifestly inadequate to such a purpose, but by a northern league. Into such a league, embracing Great Britain, Russia, Denmark and Sweden, as

well as the independant states of Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse, Prussia would enter not as a sovereign or paramount disposing of the whole for her separate objects, but on terms of equality, with a previous explanation of the objects to be pursued, and of the measures by which they were to be accomplished. It is to the establishment of such a system that his Majesty thinks the attention of the King of Prussia ought to be directed, whenever the eyes of that sovereign are really opened to the dangers he has brought upon himself as well as on the rest of Europe by his subserviency to France; and in producing a disposition towards such a system, the representations of the Emperor Alexander are, in such a case, more likely to have weight than those of any other power." *Draft. Holograph.*

W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 12 [Whitehall].—"I should have told you before, if there was time to tell anything, of a plan which I have proposed to the Duke of York of employing half-pay officers in recruiting, not at any certain rate of pay, but as a higher and accredited class of *bringers*, who should be paid so much for every man they bring. The idea was suggested to me by those who are afraid to appear, but are very good counsel on these subjects, and who feel very confident of its success.

"It seems to be pretty generally agreed that some thing is wanted in addition to the exertions of mere recruiting parties, who do not spread wide enough; and, with a view to this effect, it was that so much was done, and done with considerable success, in the way of civil agents. A scheme was drawn up during the time of the last Government, and meant to be submitted to Parliament, for extending this system. But the objection to it is that the persons thus employed cannot well be made subject to a sufficient control; and retain the character therefore, as well as continue the practices of crimps. Considerable mischief must always be done to the manners and morals of the people by encouraging *bringers* at all. But there is no help for it, and the only means of mitigating the evil is to throw as much of the recruiting as possible into the hands of persons of a better description, and who, by holding commissions, become amenable to military law.

"Inclosed with this I send you a copy of the rules and regulations prepared according to the plans opened in Parliament, and which I put into the Duke's hands something more than a month ago. I have deferred to send them to you, wishing first to have the observations upon them which he has promised me from time to time; but which, as far as I collect from my communications with Sir David Dundas to whom I believe the Duke referred them, will not contain so much as to make it worth while waiting for them. At all events there must not be much discussion upon them, for already

has too much time elapsed ; and a little more will carry us beyond the season when they may be promulgated with most advantage. I do not conceive that there is any thing material that can be altered.

“ One of the objections, besides those which were founded merely on a mistake of what was intended, related to the allowance of time for service in the East and West Indies, and was made to turn on the circumstance that a man in this way might, at the end of 14 years, have completed his third period. But the answer is that such was meant to be the effect ; and that 14 years’ continued service in the West Indies would properly be considered as twenty-one years elsewhere. Another objection, much insisted upon, was that the privileges thus granted were made liable to forfeiture only by the decision of a general court-martial. But this again I think is quite right, and conformable to the solemnity which we have all along intended to attach to them.

“ If any difficulty should be found hereafter in assembling for these purposes general courts-martial, something intermediate may be devised, such as requiring that the sentence of a regimental court-martial should in those cases be submitted to the King. But it is better to set out with the more solemn form of proceeding.

“ Another objection has been taken to the choosing for the place of discharge, that is the place to which marching money should be allowed, the place of attestation. But the choice is founded in the impossibility of finding any other, and the difficulty of providing an arrangement by which the soldier should receive his allowance (as in the case of a parish pass) only in proportion as he fairly pursued the route to what he declared to be the place of his destination.

“ As soon as the regulations have received the King’s signature, printed copies will be sent out in all directions from the Inspector-General’s Office, accompanied with a paper, which we have got printed, setting forth in a more popular form, and coming as it were from the recruiting officer, the substance of what is contained in the regulations.

“ The Chelsea Board must, in like manner, though most of these departments move with reluctance, be made to publish the intention of extending at the next payment the increased allowances to the present pensioners.

“ The change of bounty, in the mean time, I have proposed to be for the present no more than is sufficient to show that it is going downwards, by bringing it to the state in which it was before the last increase, or thirteen guineas to the infantry and to the cavalry. This will be a reduction of three guineas in each service. The Duke of York, I know, will fight against this as not proportionate to the advantages given to the soldier in other respects. But upon what principle must there be a decrease of advantages of one sort exactly proportioned to the increase of those of another ? At that rate, if it could

be exactly hit off, the recruiting must be always stationary. Though I believe that less would do, it is of great consequence not to begin in a manner which would require an increase in future.

“ I don't know that more is necessary upon this subject except to beg you to be prepared to support me in resisting alterations urged by those who, by being hostile to the plan, are not the best judges of what is best for its success, and may not be sorry for anything that tends further to delay it.

“ I have taken no step of late, not knowing exactly what you would wish, upon the subject of the waggon train. My own opinion remains unaltered, and that we ought on no account to give way. I cannot find a man who thinks of it otherwise than as a most useless expense ; and the man who is at the head of it, whom there seems so much desire to save, is very far from being a fit object of such solicitude. He is a shrewd interested man, who has raised himself, with no apparent merits, to fortune and favour from low beginnings ; and was, some years back, so given to the dissatisfaction of the time as, in the opinion of many, to make him much more deserving of an exaltation of another kind than that which he has contrived to obtain. I am sure that in bringing this waggon to what we originally proposed, we shall do a very right and, at the same time, a very popular thing.”

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 13. Phœnix Park.—“ I have given the most deliberate and the most impartial attention in my power, in concert with Mr. Elliot, and aided by the advice and opinion of military men whose general knowledge and local experience must enable them to form a correct judgment of the measure, to the plan suggested by your lordship in your letters both to Mr. Elliot and to me, of raising Catholic corps, to be commanded by Catholic officers, in Ireland for foreign service ; and upon a due and full consideration of the subject, I cannot but express my most earnest hope that his Majesty's ministers will pause before they sanction a measure which, I apprehend, would operate as injurious to the feelings of a great part of the people of Ireland, and would be far from beneficial in the result, as to the important end it is meant to promote.

“ The ordinary, and certainly the best mode of recruiting, under the improved system established by the measures of the last session of Parliament will, I believe, as soon as it has had a fair trial, answer our most sanguine expectations : and without resorting to other expedients, produce a rapid and efficient increase to his Majesty's forces, embracing both the Protestant and Catholic population of Ireland. There is one circumstance, however, which I must mention, and which I am informed has given a material check to the enlistment of the Roman Catholics. When persons of this persuasion enlist, they are

informed that they shall enjoy the free exercise of their religious worship. This promise, as long as they remain in Ireland (with some few exceptions, which have been remedied as soon as known) has been strictly adhered to ; but as soon as they arrive at the depôt in the Isle of Wight, or in other British quarters, they are frequently *compelled* to attend the Protestant worship. This has come to the knowledge of the Irish Catholics, and has very essentially impeded the recruiting service among them ; so much so, that I am informed not a single Catholic has enlisted in the county of Kilkenny (a Roman Catholic county) for a considerable length of time. If means can be taken for remedying this grievance, and the remedy be made known in Ireland, it may produce the most beneficial consequences.

“The measure of raising corps exclusively Catholic, giving the command to Roman Catholic gentry, *for foreign service*, might, I fear, tend to raise a premature discussion of the question of the Catholic claims ; and on the other hand, by confirming a supposed distinction on the Roman Catholics, would too probably irritate the violent Protestant party, or Orange men, already somewhat sore from the imaginary evil rankling in their minds, of the Roman Catholics possessing the exclusive favour and confidence of the present government ; and thus lead to a revival of those religious animosities, which have heretofore made Ireland a melancholy scene of outrage, anarchy, and discord.

“Upon the whole, for these and other reasons unnecessary for me now to detail, as Mr. Elliot sails for England to-morrow, and will converse fully and freely with you upon this subject, it is my opinion 1st, that the ordinary system of recruiting, now improved in the most essential points by the measures of the last session, should not be disturbed, until the experiment has been allowed a fair and reasonable chance ; and 2ndly, that if extraordinary expedients are deemed necessary to be resorted to, the one suggested by your lordship will, I fear, be found to be of very doubtful and hazardous operation.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, September 13. Downing Street.—“The only reason of my not having answered the Chancellor’s letter was exactly what you do me the justice to impute it to, the hourly expectation which your letters and Mr. Elliot’s had led me to entertain of seeing him here. I am, however, most sincerely concerned that the omission has occasioned you any additional trouble in a business on which you had already had too much. I shall, of course, be anxious to see the Chancellor as soon as he comes ; but I am confident that my opinion on the subject cannot be altered.

“I received a few days since your grace’s letter about Lord Charles Somerset. I sincerely feel for his situation, and should

be most happy to contribute to relieve it, but you will easily feel the impossibility of finding office for him, especially at a moment when the inexpressible loss we are about to sustain in the House of Commons must oblige us to apply all possible means within our reach to the main object of strengthening our line of battle there. I had some discussion with one of Lord Charles's friends some time since about the possibility of his acting as Deputy Gold Stick; but it appeared that Lord Heathfield was in possession of acting in that character, and it was understood that the difficulty of adding Lord Charles Somerset to him was insurmountable. I will, however, make fresh enquiries on the subject, being doubly anxious to find the means of accomplishing an object in which you take so much interest.

"In the event, now too probable, of an immediate vacancy for Westminster, Lord Percy will, I hope, be induced to offer himself. May I request that you will lose no time in directing your agents to give him the most active support, as early exertions may crush the possibility of opposition to him." *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 13. Admiralty.—"Poor Fox died at five o'clock. I wrote from Chiswick to announce this sad event to the King."

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, September 13. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville is deeply concerned to have the painful duty of acquainting your Majesty that he has this moment received the melancholy account of Mr. Fox's death, which happened at about a  $\frac{1}{4}$  before six this afternoon.

"Lord Grenville presumes your Majesty will approve of Lord Spencer's taking charge of the seals of the Foreign Office, until your Majesty shall have been pleased to determine as to the disposal of them." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 13. Eden Farm.—"Many thanks for your kind recollection; your note found me in my dressing room at a quarter before seven, and brought the first intelligence of the event in question. I may without any offence to right feelings, be pleased with the consequences of that event; but I can with truth add that I have never suffered my mind to entertain even a lurking *wish* for it.

"The office belongs to my son, but his affections and confidence respecting me and all belonging to me are unreservedly such, that his sole object will be to apply this accession to my relief and to our general advantage. And when I consider how I have lived, and that I have educated



and brought forwards a family of twelve children, I can avow without any shame that I have incurred a debt, which it must be my first purpose to discharge, though it is so circumstanced that it is in no degree pressing.

“I wish much to have the benefit of your private and better judgment respecting the deputyship of this office. It is 1,000*l.* net, and certainly too material to be given up to an obscure stranger, unless any custom or other consideration shall have made such a practice right.

“I will drive to town so as to call in Downing Street at eleven o'clock, and hope that you will have the kindness to admit me for a few minutes. Indeed I had meant this at any rate; or at least to have written to you on the subject which I undertook to mention to Dr. Hall, respecting which his answer is most satisfactory.”

#### MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1806, September 13. Oxford Street.—“I saw Canning this morning and gave him to understand that the difficulties arising from the numerous pretensions which he had stated appeared to be insurmountable; and therefore, that it seemed most advisable to terminate the discussion. He seemed much to regret the result of this affair; but to be perfectly sensible of the justice and honour of your conduct, and of your great personal kindness towards him. He understands the transaction to be closed; but in a manner so amicable, that no difficulty can occur in opening it again, if it should appear expedient. Every hour convinces me more strongly of the misfortune of that concurrence of circumstances which seems to prevent you from deriving the advantages now offered by the generally favourable disposition towards you which exists among all descriptions of respectable people. I shall for ever lament that you cannot avail yourself of the present crisis to establish your government on a basis more immediately connected with your own influence, authority, and power. I fear that if this crisis cannot be improved to that purpose, difficulties will accumulate, and the gates of concord will be barred for ever.

“I conclude that Fox's death must have happened this day, and I therefore suppose that you have already commenced your arrangements.

“Canning observed to me that, if it should ultimately occur to you to make any propositions of a more definite nature, it might be most proper to speak to the Duke of Portland. I gave him no reason to believe however, that any thing more was likely to be attempted by you.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, September 14. Eden Farm.—“I much hope that you may have it in your power to come to the committee of Council

to-morrow at twelve o'clock. I can venture to say that you will not be detained more than half an hour, or at most three quarters. But the businesses are material and urgent. We found on examination that we had granted licenses within the last four months to ten principal houses engaged in the secret trade to South America ; to the extent certainly of one million sterling, and perhaps more than double that amount. I wrote to the individuals and they will attend.

“ There is another subject which must also be mentioned to-morrow. Some memorials signed by many *respectable* manufacturers in Manchester and Birmingham represent with extreme earnestness that they have property to an immense amount warehoused in Dusseldorf, Solingen, and other places reported to be included in the duchy of Berg, which will be seized by the French if we proceed to condemn the Bergen ships ; and the sentences are to be given on Tuesday. I have sent the papers to the King's advocate to report to-morrow whether there can be any decisive objection to a delay, at least, in the adjudication.”

*Private.*—“ In truth there is an avidity in the Admiralty Courts to despatch these matters, which the merchants say is accompanied by an intolerable expense ; and I shall not be surprised to see the subject brought into Parliamentary discussion.

“ When Lord Thurlow was appointed to the tellership in 1786, he found a Mr. Price in the deputyship, and Mr. Price had been appointed by Lord Northington. Lord Thurlow continued the deputy, whether on any private conditions I do not know. In 1795, Mr. Price ceased to be deputy, and Mr. J. Price, his son, was appointed. The possession, therefore, has been during eleven years.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

1806, September 14. Downing Street.—“ This messenger brings you the melancholy account of the irreparable loss we have all sustained. It is a subject on which, knowing what your feelings will be upon it, it is painful for me to dwell. Before I had been in political connection with him, I had long admired his character ; and since I had had the opportunity of more intimate habits and closer observation, that sentiment had been improved into feelings of the strongest and most lively regard. I have lost not only a political co-adjutor under whom it was an honour to any man to act, and whose talents and wisdom gave me a confidence in every measure in which he concurred ; I have lost also a man whose friendship it was a pleasure to cultivate, and with whom every day was uniting me more closely. How much greater is your loss ? and how deeply must it be felt ?

“ Our principal object in sending you this messenger is that you should not hear this account in any other way, though I imagine you must have been fully prepared for it.

“Of Buenos Ayres I say nothing, except that it may, I think, tend to facilitate peace, or to afford an opening for measures that will make a deep impression in France. My earnest wish is that you may be able to make use of it effectually for the first of these objects.” *Copy.*

GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 14. Windsor Castle.—“The King entirely approves of Earl Spencer taking charge of the seals of the Foreign Office in consequence of the death of Mr. Fox, until Lord Grenville shall have been able to consider of such arrangement as shall appear to him best for supplying that situation; nor is it by any means his Majesty’s wish to hurry him upon this occasion.”

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, September 15. Downing Street.—“I had the honour last night to receive the commands which your Royal Highness had the goodness to send me through Colonel McMahon, and for which I beg leave to return your Royal Highness my most dutiful thanks.

“Your Royal Highness will readily judge of the great difficulty which has been brought upon us by the irreparable loss the Government has sustained in the person of Mr. Fox. The arrangements to which that event may lead must naturally require some time for consideration and discussion; for, although we had but too much reason to apprehend what has happened, it was impossible to enter on those as fully as necessary, while there was yet a chance that his life might be preserved to us. It would have been a great consolation to me under the difficulties of this situation to have had the means of recurring to your Royal Highness’s better judgment; and under the circumstances of your Royal Highness’s absence, I trust you will allow me, when we begin to see our way a little more clearly, to trouble your Royal Highness with a statement of the ideas which are in contemplation. Lord Percy offers himself for Westminster in consequence of a communication which I had had some weeks since with the Duke of North[umberlan]d. It is matter of much mortification and concern to hear that there is a prospect of his being opposed by Mr. Sheridan, but I still trust that this will not be the case.

“Colonel McMahon mentioned to me another subject; that of the present situation of the business consequent upon the late enquiry, on which he said that your Royal Highness had expressed some uneasiness. Your Royal Highness has, I believe, been apprized that an intimation has been given of an intention to prepare a defence. While this is doing, I must confess it does not appear to me that any fresh step, of any description could with advantage or propriety be taken in that business. The arts that have been used to inflame

the public mind on this subject, in the most unjust and unwarrantable manner, seem to me, if your Royal Highness will allow me to submit my humble thoughts on the subject, to require the utmost prudence and caution in every step to be taken by those who are known to be honoured with your Royal Highness's favour.

“A chamberlain of the Duke of Brunswick brought me this day a letter from his Serene Highness, in which he does me the honour to desire my assistance in accelerating the report to be made on the subject of the enquiry; and he mentioned his desire to have an audience of the King. I told him as to the first point that the report was already made; and that with respect to every other part of the business, of which much is said in the Duke's letter, it was one on which I could not open my lips to him but by the King's express commands. As to the audience, I referred him to Lord Spencer whom the King has been pleased to charge *ad interim* with the seals of the Foreign Department. I trust your Royal Highness will forgive my presuming to trespass upon your time with so long a letter, but I thought it might be interesting to your Royal Highness to know these particulars.” *Copy.*

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 15. Phoenix Park.—“I think it my duty to lay before your lordship the request I have received from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, contained in the accompanying extract. At an early period, after my appointment to the government of Ireland, a request to the same effect came to me from Lord Robert Seymour, stating in addition, that Mr. Pitt had made an absolute promise of the reversionary grant in question, and that if he had lived but a few weeks longer, the wishes of his (Lord Robert's) family would certainly have been accomplished; and earnestly entreating me to recommend it to your lordship's consideration. When I reflected upon what had passed at the various meetings we had at Spencer House upon the subject of reversionary grants generally, as well as at Carlton House, when the Prince did me the honour of conversing with me on the practice that had so much prevailed in Ireland, I confess that all feelings of a private nature, arising out of my friendship and near connection with Colonel Seymour, and the high regard I must ever bear to the memory of the late Lord Hugh Seymour, gave way to higher considerations urged by a sense of public duty, and I positively refused to listen to the proposal of Lord Robert.

“The request now comes in another shape, and backed by higher influence. I therefore feel desirous that the entire responsibility of putting a negative on the request of his Royal Highness should not rest solely on me; and I feel it incumbent on me to beg of your lordship to submit it to such of his

Majesty's confidential servants as you may think proper, and to allow me to be guided by their determination. At the same time, I must add my apprehensions that any departure from the general rule we laid down, might open a door to many applications, and lead to very serious inconveniences."

*Enclosure.*

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, September 9. Carlton House.—“There is a point which I am going to mention to you, which I acknowledge that I have much at heart, and which, if you will arrange for me, I shall ever consider myself as under the most personal obligation possible to you; and I do assure you that I will pledge myself to be no further troublesome through the rest of your vice-regal reign; and I verily believe that you yourself, when you know what it is that I am going to request, will be as happy to confer the obligation upon me, as I shall be to receive it at your hands. The subject I have at heart is this. Lord Henry and Lord Robert Seymour hold jointly the office of Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench in Ireland; and, if one of them dies, the whole rests in the survivor. I therefore most earnestly wish that a reversionary grant of this office may be obtained in favour of my much esteemed and loved friend Lieutenant-Colonel Seymour (son of Lord Robert Seymour) who is now with you; and when I have said that, I am sure I need not say any thing more, except that I have long been seeking an opportunity, somehow or other, of proving my esteem for him; and to George Seymour my god-son (the son of my late much valued friend Lord Hugh Seymour) whose conduct has been so very meritorious, and who has been so severely wounded in the service of his country, in the engagement under the command of Admiral Cochrane; so that, on the expiration of the present patent, the one may succeed to the moiety of the office now held by his father, and the other to that held by his uncle Lord Henry.” *Extract.*

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806, September 15. Downing Street.—“I return the plan and report respecting Plymouth Sound, and I think there can be little doubt of the propriety of undertaking the work.

“It may be a question whether the work is not one on which the labour of convicts could be usefully and economically employed. If you think it worth while to make the enquiry, Lord Spencer might direct information to be collected as to comparative expense of the river hulks and the transportation to New South Wales.

“This is, however, a mere question of detail, and need not interrupt the preparations for beginning on the work itself. Under what inspection would it be done? Has the Admiralty an engineer department for works of this nature,

or would one of those who have reported be employed upon it? The work is so large that it will be material to put it in the first instance on such a footing as that every practicable check to the expense may be applied to it." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1806, September 15. Downing Street.—“Lord Percy will stand, and what will perhaps surprise you a little, Sheridan opposes him. Pray do all you can. We are in a strange state with our Treasurer of the Navy opposing us in Parliament, and creating an opposition to us in Westminster.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to LORD HENRY PETTY.

1806, September 16. Downing Street.—“I have not seen Windham since our last conversation of yesterday, but I had an opportunity of talking the matter over with the two other persons I named, and I find them so very strongly impressed with the objection which was mentioned yesterday by Lord Fitzwilliam, and which has also made a great impression on my own mind, that I really think the idea must be abandoned. How desirous we are, all of us, to concur in everything that can do honour to his memory I am sure I need not say; but his own conduct has been so scrupulously delicate on the particular point now in question, that his friends would seem to deviate from the line he himself had marked out, in pressing upon that quarter steps that may be represented as unnecessarily injurious and painful. A private funeral in Westminster Abbey, with the attendance of friends seems, under these circumstances, the best course to be pursued; and I trust to your kindness to explain to Lord Holland the considerations which have led me to depart from the opinion I had formed on this point, and which originated in my sincere and earnest desire of giving every testimony in my power of my deep sense of the loss we have sustained.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, September 17. Downing Street.—“I find that the Foreign Slave Trade Act of last session extends only to colonies already conquered, and that a special clause will be necessary to prohibit the import of slaves into Buenos Ayres. Will you have the goodness to speak about this. I do not think we need make any saving of licences, but I think there must be the same exception as in the act for—

“1. Slaves employed in navigation and coasting trade.

“2. Slaves employed as domestic slaves, *bona fide* such.

“3. Slaves employed in any manner whatever in the King's naval or military service.” *Copy.*

## MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 17. Oxford Street.—“I send you a note which I have just now received ; I suppose it is too late ; if so, pray return it.”

*Enclosure.*

## GEORGE CANNING to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, September 16. South Hill.—“Since we parted on Saturday a mode of arrangement with respect to one of the parties who were in question has occurred to me ; which might possibly lessen the difficulties that appeared altogether insurmountable.

“It is, perhaps, hardly worth while to say this, as the event which has now actually taken place must probably have driven Lord Grenville to the necessity of making his arrangements without delay. Nor can I answer for the success of my suggestion, even if there should be an opportunity of trying it.

“If the arrangements are made (which you will know) it will be best that you should not mention my having written to you.

“Should you write to me to-morrow, direct to me at Taplow, whither I am just going ; and shall stay there to-morrow, but return home Thursday.” *Copy.*

## LORD GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1806, September 18. Downing Street.—“I return you the inclosed ; the arrangements are not yet finally made, but they are so far in train that I doubt whether I could honourably ask the explanation there alluded to ; though, if given, it might possibly be useful.” *Copy.*

## THE SAME to LORD HOWICK.

1806, September 18. Downing Street.—“After having in the fullest manner discussed the subject with all my immediate friends and connections, we are decidedly of opinion that it is impossible for us to bring to a joint government that proportion of assistance which our means would naturally furnish, or indeed to make any proposal of arrangements which seems to us to afford a reasonable hope of carrying on the business in the House of Commons, unless my brother Mr. Grenville holds the seals of one of the departments. We feel an equal anxiety that you should be in the same situation, and should, so long as you continue in the House of Commons, take that lead there for which your talents and situation naturally mark you out. But I should deceive you if I did not say with equal frankness that we believe (whether justly or not) that even your success in that arduous undertaking will essentially depend on the assistance which, in various ways,

government would derive from my brother's holding also a like station. Nor can I, in justice to myself or to others, undertake to propose the one without the other arrangement. To this consideration let me add that of the Admiralty, which, if you quit it, all the world will expect to see placed in Lord Spencer's hands, and for which my brother possesses no peculiar fitness that could justify his being placed there when Lord Spencer can be induced to take it.

"Here then rests the whole difficulty of the arrangement. To Lord Holland's having the Privy Seal on Lord Fitzwilliam retiring from office; to Lord Fitzwilliam's retaining his place in the Cabinet; and to bringing Tierney into the India Board or Mint at his choice, and Whitbread into the Secretaryship of War, whenever it can be opened by the most liberal professional arrangements that can be found for Fitzpatrick; to all these arrangements in favour of Fox's friends we not only most willingly consent, but I am sure for one I can say that there is not any one of them in which I shall not feel sincere pleasure, as thinking them likely to contribute as much to my own personal comfort, as to the general strength of government.

"But upon the point of the arrangement for Lord Spencer and my brother you must assist us; not I trust by relinquishing your own pretensions, a point which I should be most sorry to urge, and from which government itself would have much to fear, but by concurring fully and heartily with us in representing to Windham the true state of things. It is necessary to shew him that his going to the House of Lords is indispensable; not, as you seemed to feel it yesterday, for my brother's personal convenience, for neither he nor any man could have a right to ask such a personal sacrifice for his individual objects, but because there really is (and I speak it after having passed very many hours in turning the subject over in all possible shapes) no other way than this in which a government can now be formed out of the parties now in office; and, if this fails, I am confident no other alternative remains for us but of either making large offers to the Opposition, or declaring to the King fairly that we cannot form a government such as we can venture to propose to him as adequate to meet the present crisis.

"Pray turn this over in your mind in the course of the morning, and if possible let me have the pleasure of seeing you here at dinner, when you will only meet Lord Spencer and my brother, and when we may finally settle what decision to take between difficulties for which it cannot be hoped that any new solution will offer itself after the subject has been so fully considered." *Copy.*

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 18. Knowsley.—"I have a thousand acknowledgments to make to you for the very kind letter



I have just received from you, but which I regret much that it is not in my power, from the deep state of affliction in which I am now plunged at the irreparable loss we have all sustained, to answer as much in detail as I could wish. The sincere regard and friendship I feel for you privately, as well as the high estimation I entertain for your public character, inspire me with entire confidence that whatever measures you may think advisable to recommend either respecting me, in my present painful and distressing situation, now so long protracted, or to repair as far as it may be possible the heavy calamity which has befallen us all, will be marked with that wisdom which so eminently distinguishes you.

“ I cannot read without the strongest emotions your sentiments towards myself, and I do assure you that nothing can afford to me more real satisfaction than hearing from you and communicating with you at all times in the most confidential manner. I need hardly add to you that every effort of mine shall be exerted to the furtherance of the views and interests of the present Government, of which you form so distinguished a part. The fulness of my mind is such at this moment, that I can only add the assurances of every sentiment of affectionate regard.”

*Postscript.*—“ I have forgotten to mention to you, that previous to your letter being received by me, I had written to McMahon, to exercise all my influence over Mr. Sheridan to preserve every thing quiet at a moment like the present; if you will have the goodness to send for McMahon he will explain to you the result.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, September 19. Eden Farm.—“ I have returned to Mr. Fawkener the Order in Council respecting Buenos Ayres, with a remark that appears to me to be somewhat material. I hope, therefore, that he may be able to submit it to you.

“ You will, perhaps, have recollected what I mentioned on Wednesday, that the duties imposed may in a very short period produce not less than from one to two millions sterling; and it is very necessary to secure that receipt and the application of the money in proper and responsible hands.

“ It is also very necessary, in the instructions to be set to the provisional government, to observe the principles so well recommended by Depors as peculiarly adapted to South America. *‘ Ils consistent à ne fronder aucun préjugé, à respecter les usages, et à s’assujétir aux coutumes locales.’*”

*Private.*—“ I have happened to hear from good authority that Lord Eldon’s journey (or journeys) to Windsor was (or were) not relative to the Princess, but professedly on the subject of a new will which the king is making, and on which Lord Eldon had heretofore been consulted. I do not learn, however, that the conference was confined to testamentary discussion.

“ Will you have the goodness to return that secret paper, as I must send it back, after taking a note of some of the expressions.

“ Unless you have commands, I shall hardly go to town to-morrow, but on Monday, when I am to meet Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney at eleven.”

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 19. Wimbledon.—“ I have just received the statement intended to be submitted to Windham. It is perfectly well drawn for its object, but I feel that we are not acting kindly to him ; and if he should reject this proposal, I cannot concur in pressing it to his exclusion from office.

“ I had a good deal of conversation yesterday with Lord Holland, and am to see him again this morning in my way to town, which will make me rather later than I intended ; but I will see you before one.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, September 19. Downing Street.—“ When I mentioned to you a short time since the idea of your taking a peerage I did it only in order to learn what your own sentiments were on the subject, and with the fullest desire that the question should be decided entirely by your wishes. Having expressed this feeling to you, and having learnt from you that your disposition was to decline the suggestion, I hope you will give me credit for the real pain which I feel from being obliged once more to bring the same idea under your consideration. I can with the greatest truth assure you that I do it with extreme reluctance, and those with whom I have communicated on the subject can bear me witness how anxiously I have laboured to find some suggestion that might relieve me from that necessity, and at the same time afford a reasonable prospect of forming some practicable frame of government under our present difficulties. I have consulted with almost every one of our colleagues, and it is with their concurrence, particularly with that of Lord Howick, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Spencer, and Lord Moira, that I now send you the inclosed statement which contains our united opinions on this interesting subject. And for myself I beg to assure you with the utmost sincerity that, if we are unable to obtain your concurrence to this proposal, I must abandon all hope of being able to offer to the King any plan for the formation of a government out of the present materials. It was not until I had ascertained the impossibility of doing this that I could feel myself at liberty to press upon you this proposal after you had declined it ; but, being convinced that the fact is so, it is a duty which I owe no less to yourself than to the rest of our friends to state it as it is.”

*Copy.*

*Enclosure.*

“ In the state in which the administration is placed by Mr. Fox’s death, the following arrangement is, on the fullest consideration, judged to afford the only practicable means of carrying on a government composed of the same parties as at present :—

|                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Lord Howick.                         | Foreign Seals with the lead in the House of Commons. |
| Mr. Grenville.                       | Home Do.   |
| Lord Spencer.                        | Admiralty.   |
| Lord Fitzwilliam.                    | Cabinet—but desires to retire from office.           |
| Lord Sidmouth.                       | Lord President.                                      |
| Lord Holland.                        | Privy Seal.  |
| Mr. Tierney }<br>and<br>Mr. Bragge } | India Board and Mint.                                |

and Mr. Whitbread—Secretary of War, as soon as that office can be vacated by some professional object for General Fitzpatrick.

“ This arrangement rests for its foundation on the decided conviction of all the persons who are parties to this statement that there is an indispensable necessity of placing both Lord Howick and Mr. Grenville in the situation of Secretaries of State ; and on the fullest persuasion that neither the just weight of the respective parties composing the Government, nor the full benefit of their mutual co-operation, can be obtained under any distribution of office in which that object is not provided for. The subject has been repeatedly considered in this view, and every possible suggestion carefully examined ; and it is on the deliberate result of that examination that this point is stated as absolutely indispensable to the formation of a government to be composed of the present materials.

“ One only difficulty obstructs the immediate adoption of this plan ; and it is one for the solution of which they are compelled to have recourse to the assistance and friendship of Mr. Windham. By the Civil List Act three Secretaries of State cannot sit together in the House of Commons. The removal of Lord Howick into the House of Lords will be so great a misfortune that no idea can be entertained of anticipating its necessary occurrence. That of Mr. Grenville is equally out of the question, as either of these steps would, in the present moment defeat the sole object which renders these appointments necessary, in the judgment of those by whom this subject has been so fully considered.

“ It is known to all the persons who are parties to this statement that a peerage is not considered by Mr. Windham as an object desirable to himself. It is not, therefore, in that view that they can renew the suggestion which they understand

to have already been made to him on that head. His known sentiments on this subject lead them, on the contrary, to use every possible endeavour to frame some arrangement which might have put that proposal out of view. The whole time of the persons concerned, and their whole attention has been occupied with this object; and the final decision has been postponed for it from day to day, until it appeared evident that nothing could now be suggested which had not been repeatedly reconsidered, and until further delay was impracticable.

“In this state it is that, with the greatest reluctance they feel themselves obliged to recur to the same idea as the only one by which the otherwise insurmountable difficulties in the way of any arrangement can be removed; and they are compelled to ask from Mr. Windham’s friendship whether he will not consent to it, not as an object in any way personally agreeable to himself, but as the greatest accommodation which can be afforded to those with whom he is connected in Government, and as the only means by which that Government can possibly continue to subsist after the irreparable loss it has recently sustained.” *Copy.*

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 19. Arlington Street.—“Since Lord Sidmouth left me, at which time I had not received your letter and paper, I have been employed in some business, not admitting of delay, relative to orders about troops.

“You will easily believe how much pain it gives me to resist a request urged on the score of so many public and so many private considerations, the latter being of a sort to weigh with me quite as much in the present instance as the former; but there are points so deeply involving all one’s future comforts and prospects that no claims either of private friendship, which I beg you to feel assured is not wanting on this occasion, or of political duty, can fairly call upon me to give up.

“I am sorry to say that the present is one of them. If the question rested merely upon my own private happiness I am afraid it would not be possible for me to consent. But I feel that I should be making a sacrifice of credit as well as of comfort, and that no explanation which could possibly be given, could put the transaction upon a footing on which I should stand as well in future either in my own esteem or in that of the public.

“One of the first points wanting for this purpose would be a conviction that the measure was necessary for any object of public benefit.

“I cannot see what end could be answered by my removal to the House of Peers that would not equally be answered by my withdrawing altogether from an official situation, and I have not a hesitation in saying which of the two I should prefer. I must freely say, moreover, that I do not see what

great advantage would be obtained by either arrangement. The whole difference seems to be the more direct effect which your brother would have, as a representative of you, speaking in the situation of Secretary of State, or in that of head of the Board of Control. Nothing has happened to make your weight in the House of Commons less than it was before. On the contrary as far as sides in the Government are to be considered, which happily they never yet have been, the immense deduction made recently from one side would naturally have the effect of throwing an additional preponderance into the other. The motive therefore does not seem to me to exist ; and, at all events, could apply only to situations which I hope are far distant, and of which, for my own part, I have never discovered the smallest trace.

“ But giving to this motive all the weight that could by possibility belong to it, and far more than I can persuade myself it possesses, I must, I fear, still say that, much as I would do from personal friendship to you, anxious as I am for the interests of the Administration, I cannot consent to a step so contrary to all my most settled opinions, so destructive of all my private satisfaction, and so injurious, as I am convinced it would prove, to my general estimation in the country.

“ With all deference to the authority of those whose opinions you quote, and with whose wishes as well as opinions I should be disposed to comply as much as with almost any that could be adduced, I must still remain incredulous in a great degree to the necessity of any step at all ; but clearly convinced, as in a matter merely personal, that there is no way in which the difficulty would not be solved more satisfactorily to me than in the one proposed.”

*Private.* C. GODDARD to THE SAME.

1806, September 19. Paris.—“ I beg leave to draw your lordship’s attention *generally* to the *Publiciste*, which we now send, and shall continue to do so regularly, as it is a paper which Bonaparte usually selects for his own political compositions whenever he does not wish them to appear as official. Such is the article from *Hamburgh* in the *Publiciste* of to-day, which I have marked with ink ; and another in a former *Publiciste* also marked, and sent by this messenger.

“ Talleyrand is at this moment with Lord Lauderdale, who, after having been confined almost constantly to his bed for the last week by a nervous fever, has risen to-day to receive him. Talleyrand has been so repeatedly pressed of late to give something in writing that I doubt not he will do it to-day. The news of Buenos Ayres is exactly what they dreaded here, and it has made a great impression.

“ I have been to the Boulogne panorama this morning to see whether any drawing that would be useful could be made from it, agreeably to Lord Howick’s wish. My opinion is

that such drawing, if intended to represent the actual lying of the vessels, would deceive ; for I am satisfied that, when I passed through a month ago, the vessels were drawn much higher up the creek than the panorama represents them. I doubt even whether the bearings of the harbour could be obtained from such a copy ; for the part most useful to be known, which winds in a curve round the town, and approaches near the base of the hill (over which the road to Paris passes, and from which there is an admirable view of the whole harbour) is hid in the panorama from the point where the spectator is supposed to stand, by the buildings of the town. I should fear therefore that it might mislead."

W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 19. Arlington Street.—“ Since the close of my former letter I have had a conversation with Elliot, and have tried, upon the strength of considerations which he has pointed out, to bring myself to a determination more conformable to your wishes and, of consequence, to my own. I beg you to feel assured how much, from personal feelings towards you, I should be desirous of concurring in the arrangement which you think so necessary. But after all that Elliot has said, not as enforcing the general result, but pointing out reasons which very naturally did not find a place in the paper which you enclosed to me, I still cannot see the necessity for the precise arrangement which you propose ; though I can see why others, which occur in lieu of it, were liable to objections which did not at first present themselves, at least to the degree in which he has since shown them to exist. It is difficult to find a substitute for Lord Spencer ; but why is it so absolutely necessary that Lord Spencer should not continue ? One expedient occurs which does not indeed prevent our going beyond the pale of our own friends, but saves us from the necessity of borrowing anything from the enemy, I mean Lord Chichester. Lord Chichester is a man perfectly creditable, and perfectly safe, and who would execute the business of the Admiralty very satisfactorily to the country, and, I believe, very usefully. In the Home Department he might not be sufficiently Catholic.

“ I am anxious, if possible, to diminish the difficulty ; for you may believe me that to see you in difficulties, and refuse relief which is said to be in my power, is a situation of no small distress to me.

“ The relief proposed cannot, indeed, be said not to be in my power, but it is in my power only as it is said sometimes to be in the power of a daughter to make her parents happy by marrying the man she abhors.

“ I by no means accuse you individually, or any of those who concurred in the same opinions, of being those cruel parents who were indifferent to my happiness, or willing to

sacrifice it to any considerations but such as affected me equally with yourselves. But it is I only who can judge of my own repugnance, or perhaps who can see to its full extent the effect which the step in question would have on those very powers and that very consequence, such as they are, which would make me of any value in public life, and which, in or out of office, I shall hope always to see exerted in the company in which I am now acting.

“There is certainly no party object for which, on every principle of feeling as well as of duty, I would sacrifice half so much as for the advantage and security of the present Administration; nor any individual in public life for whose political credit and personal satisfaction I feel more than for yours. I startle at the reply to be made, that I am refusing to promote both these when I refuse to consent to the arrangement now proposed. I can only hope that the refusal will be ascribed to the strength of the objection, and not to the want of those sentiments, both public and private, which would prompt me to concurrence with anything which you had at heart.

“I send my letter without having read it over, but the only thing of importance in it is that it should do justice to my sentiments.”

*Postscript.*—“It has just occurred to me that the mention of Lord Chichester may appear to have been a suggestion of Elliot. I don't know that it would be the worse on that account; but it is well to know that what he would probably concur in had presented itself in the first instance to others.”

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK TO THE SAME.

1806, September 20. Admiralty.—“The *Leander* being come home, I desired that the necessary measures might be taken for the trial of Captain Whitby, in pursuance of the resolution of the Cabinet at the time of receiving the intelligence of the unfortunate event which took place off the harbour of New York. The opinion of the law officers with respect to the mode of proceeding was accordingly taken. This opinion I now send you, and wish to consider whether it will be more expedient to try Captain Whitby by a court martial, or at an Admiralty sessions. I incline to the court martial, which has the decided advantage of expedition, and I should hope there would not be much danger of a conviction. On the other hand a simple acquittal might occasion discontent to the Americans.”

#### *Private and confidential.* THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1806, September 20. Admiralty.—“Our difficulties have been the subject of my most serious consideration, and there seem to me, since the failure of the proposal to Windham, to be only three modes of arrangement by which they can be obviated.

|                  |             |              |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1st Lord Spencer | }           | Secretaries. |
| Lord Howick      |             |              |
| Mr. Windham      |             | Admiralty.   |
| Mr. Grenville.   |             |              |
| Lord Sidmouth.   |             |              |
| Lord Holland.    | Privy Seal. |              |

“ This comes the nearest to the plan already proposed, and I see no insuperable objection to it (though I admit that a change of the offices proposed for Lord Spencer and Mr. Grenville would have been more desirable) except the dislike of Mr. Grenville to the Admiralty.

|                  |   |              |             |
|------------------|---|--------------|-------------|
| 2nd Lord Holland | } | Secretaries. |             |
| Mr. Grenville    |   |              |             |
| Mr. Windham      |   | Admiralty.   |             |
| Lord Howick.     |   |              |             |
| Lord Spencer.    |   |              | President.  |
| Lord Sidmouth.   |   |              | Privy Seal. |

“ To this arrangement there may be two objections ; 1st, the unwillingness of Lord Spencer to take the office of President ; 2nd, the difficulty which I might find in adding to the business of this office that of the House of Commons. With respect to the first, feeling as I do the greatest regard for Lord Spencer, I should say, as in the case of Windham, that I would propose it, but not press it against his will. For though I cannot think the sacrifice required by any means equal to that which Windham was called upon to make, I should be equally unwilling to press it with any degree of distressing importunity. As to myself I can only say that distrusting as I do to the greatest degree my own powers, even under the most favourable circumstances, to take the lead in the House of Commons, I feel the importance of maintaining the Administration upon its own ground so much, that I am ready to make great personal sacrifices for that purpose. Some arrangement, perhaps, may be made to facilitate and to divide the labour of this office ; and if no other expedient can be hit upon, I will endeavour, remaining as I am, to discharge the duties of a more active attendance than I was able to give last session, in the House of Commons. If this arrangement should be found practicable, it has the advantage of placing the Government on a footing on which it may rest without any material change upon my removal to the House of Lords.

|                  |             |              |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|
| 3rd Lord Holland | }           | Secretaries. |
| George Ponsonby  |             |              |
| Mr. Windham      |             | Admiralty.   |
| Lord Spencer.    |             |              |
| Lord Howick      |             |              |
| and              | and         |              |
| Lord Sidmouth    | Privy Seal. |              |

“ I have proposed myself as President, because it is the office I should like best of the two, and because my holding



no office might look like an abandonment of the Administration. I am, however, very willing to remain in the House of Commons, either with or without a seat in the Cabinet, in which case I should most strenuously urge the appointment of Lord Lauderdale as Privy Seal; or, if Lord Sidmouth should attach much value to the office of President, I certainly should make no difficulty on that point.

“This third plan I foresee will startle you; but upon the whole I believe it will be the best. Sacrifices must be made by somebody, and those which I have offered will be made with the most perfect satisfaction. George Ponsonby I am persuaded will prove, if not at first, after a very short time, the most effective leader of the House of Commons; and according to this arrangement no further changes would be necessary. It would, it is true, leave the Mint only to be disposed of in the House of Commons, for which I should recommend Tierney, not because he is my friend, but because I know you would derive more effectual assistance from him than from any other person. With George Ponsonby, Tierney and Garrow, who might be made Solicitor, if Piggott should take the Irish Seals, I have no doubt that you would gain a much greater accession of strength in debate, than by any other means. All that I ask therefore is that you will not discard this proposition without giving it a very serious consideration.

“Of the three plans I think the second would be the most acceptable to Fox’s friends; and that the last, whatever surprise it may at first create, would ultimately prove the most advantageous. As far as I am myself concerned I am ready to accede to any one of the three, if no other arrangement should suggest itself to you. My wish is to make all personal considerations subservient to the general interest of the Government; but I could not give you any useful support if I should, at the present moment, appear to Fox’s friends to have consented to too great a sacrifice of their influence; and I take it to be on this account absolutely indispensable in any arrangement which may be made, that the foreign seals should be held either by Lord Holland or myself. I must at the same time declare with the most perfect sincerity that I should infinitely prefer seeing them in his hands to holding them myself.

“In the course of this letter, so much too long already, I have said nothing of Whitbread. He has, as you know already, refused the only offer which has been made to him. I hope, however, that this refusal may not be conclusive; and whenever the Secretaryship at War, or any other office not less in rank, shall be opened, it will be most gratifying to me to have it again proposed, with any such additional inducements as can with propriety be held out to him.”

*Private.* EARL SPENCER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 21. St. Albans.—“As I was coming down here yesterday you may easily suppose that my head ran a good deal upon the subject which for so long a time has occupied our thoughts, and I really think that I have hit upon an idea which, though it may perhaps not entirely meet with yours in all respects, yet is such as, in all the most essential practicable parts of the arrangement, may be adopted. Not to detain you with a longer preface, my proposal is that Lord Howick should remain (as long as he is in the House of Commons) at the Admiralty; that Lord Holland should have his uncle's seals; and that I should succeed to Lord Fitzwilliam, making room for Tom Grenville in the Home Department. In that case Tierney ought to have the India Board, and an arrangement should be made for opening the Secretary at War for Whitbread, if he chooses to take it; if not Bathurst should go there whenever General Fitzpatrick can be provided for. I do not see why this might not be looked upon as a permanent disposition; but, however, as your partiality to me has led you to suppose that my being at the Admiralty will give more strength to your government, if at the time of Lord Grey's death my health and other necessary circumstances should admit of it, I shall readily acquiesce in then either changing with Lord Howick, or with Lord Sidmouth, or Lord Holland (as the case may be) to make way for Lord Howick's removal to the Foreign Department.

“This proposal removes the difficulty about the three secretaries, saves the difficulty about Ireland and Scotland, obviates the objection of replacing Lord Howick by Tom Grenville (to which he has so much objection) or by any other person who would not meet the public opinion, and gives our colleagues in office to the full as great a weight in the Government as I think they can pretend to expect; at the same time that it relieves me, I assure you, from the duties of a situation in which, from the little experience I have had of it, I feel very little inclination to continue.

“I must beg of you to show this letter to your brother, or brothers if Lord Buckingham is still in town; but do not hastily listen to any objections they may make to it; for, though perhaps I may be willing to allow that it is not the best possible proposal which could have been made *ab origine*, circumstanced as we *now are*, I most sincerely feel it to be the least objectionable that can be suggested; far less objectionable, I am convinced, than throwing up the whole as lost; a measure against which I think our sense of public duty at least should deter us, till we had tried every possible expedient consistent with public duty, and private honour; and that we shall not have done, if we leave this, which I now propose, untried.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, September 21. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville begs leave humbly to request your Majesty’s gracious permission to pay his duty to your Majesty at Windsor on Tuesday next, at any hour that your Majesty may have the goodness to appoint, in order that he may have the honour humbly to submit for your Majesty’s consideration the ideas that have occurred to him respecting the arrangements consequent upon Mr. Fox’s death.” *Copy.*

## VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 21. Wimbledon.—“The arrangement being decided upon, it is undoubtedly right that no time should be lost in laying it before the King. I must once more express a wish that it could have been so made as to have exempted me from a responsibility which terrifies me; but having said this for the last time, I will do my best.

“I told Tierney, in consequence of the authority you gave me, that he might choose between the India Board and the Mint, and I am not sure that he has made up his mind. I will thank you therefore not to decide finally as to the distribution of these two offices, till I have had an opportunity of speaking to him. If the difficulties to which you allude are those connected with the questions respecting Lord Wellesley, it certainly will be necessary for you to have a fair explanation with Tierney. I believe he took no part in these questions last year.

“I have at present no hope that Whitbread can be induced to take the Secretaryship at War, nor does there seem to me any possibility of bringing George Ponsonby back into the House of Commons except in the way I mentioned.

“You could not have proposed to me any appointment in which I should more readily acquiesce than that of Lord Morpeth to any situation abroad which he may wish to fill; and I cannot have a moment’s hesitation in fulfilling any engagement entered into by you and Fox, with Lord Darnley.

“Your brother probably has no particular connections in the navy; and I think it a duty to state that it is in my opinion of the greatest importance that Markham should remain at the Admiralty. Sir Philip ought to go at any rate; and he would make room for any person your brother may wish to introduce there.”

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, September 21. Admiralty.—“I had overlooked your letter of the 18th enclosing a letter from Mr. Fulton, and I see the day is already passed when he states he should consider your silence as proof of a determination not to enter into any farther consideration of his schemes. This I am satisfied is the right answer, and I cannot regret your not

having had the trouble of writing it; the reasons given by the arbitrators in their letter to Mr. King against purchasing his silence upon a subject which can be no secret, or what if it was, we could have no security for his keeping, being to my mind quite satisfactory. I therefore cannot think it necessary to make any further reference.

“I have desired another question to be put upon Captain Whitby’s case to the law officers, namely, whether he cannot be tried under the general article for a breach of duty, as well as upon a charge of murder. I have no doubt upon this point myself, and I think it will be better to have a second charge of the nature I have described, in order to prevent a total acquittal. Ought not notice of the prosecution to be given to the American ministers, to enable them, if they please, to come forward as prosecutors?”

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 22. Phoenix Park.—“Lord Waterford is, as I am informed, now in Dublin, and of course anxious for a decision on the subject of the Derry collectorship. Your lordship will therefore excuse my once more urging a speedy determination that I may have it in my power to communicate the intentions of government to Lord Waterford.

“Immediately on the receipt of your lordship’s letter intimating a probability that Lord Percy might offer himself for Westminster, in the event of that great public calamity which has since befallen the country, and which we have all deeply to deplore, I wrote to my agent in London requesting him to use his utmost exertions in favour of Lord Percy, and I earnestly hope that no contest may be provoked, and that he may be elected without trouble or opposition.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, September 22. Downing Street.—“I took the first opportunity of submitting to the consideration of the rest of the King’s servants the subject of your grace’s letter, marked private, of the 15th instant; and it is in consequence of their unanimous opinion, concurring entirely with my own, that I now express to your grace that with every desire, for various considerations, to have facilitated the completion of an object so much wished by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and which they readily conceive would also be so agreeable to your grace’s private feelings, they could not consistently with their public duty recommend that the general principle adopted by the present Government, after much consideration, respecting reversionary grants, should be departed from in the present case.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, September 22. Downing Street.—“Your Royal Highness will, I hope, permit me to express my most humble and

grateful acknowledgments for the great goodness and condescension of the letter with which your Royal Highness has honoured me. After much anxious discussion of the arrangements to be made in consequence of the irreparable loss which the Government has sustained, the following plan has been judged to be on the whole the best, and it is to be submitted to-morrow for his Majesty's consideration. I anxiously hope that it may be honoured with your Royal Highness's approbation.

"Lord Fitzwilliam has expressed a desire to retire from office, but is ready to retain his seat in the Cabinet. This will make an opening for Lord Holland's having the Privy Seal, by removing Lord Sidmouth to be President of the Council. Mr. Fox will be succeeded by Lord Howick, and the latter by my brother Mr. Grenville. The India Board and the Mint (which we shall be obliged to vacate) will, I trust, afford openings for bringing forward Mr. Tierney and Mr. Bragge Bathurst.

"We shall certainly have a strong and an active Opposition in the House of Commons, but I have little doubt of our being able, with this arrangement, to meet it." *Copy.*

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 22. Admiralty.—"Tierney will take the India Board, and will attend you at any time you please. From what has just now passed between us, I have no fear that your conversation with him respecting Lord Wellesley, upon the liberal footing upon which you put that question, will not be perfectly satisfactory."

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, September 22. Downing Street.—"After a good deal of very anxious discussion as to the best plan of arrangements to be made in consequence of the irreparable loss we have sustained, the following has been thought, upon the whole, the most adviseable, and I trust it will meet with your approbation. We propose to avail ourselves of the kind and liberal offer you have made, provided you will allow us still to consider you as a member of the Cabinet, a condition to which we all annex the highest importance, and which I trust you will not refuse. If this can be done, an opening may then be made for Lord Holland's being Privy Seal, by removing Lord Sidmouth to your present office. The rest of the arrangements would be, Lord Howick, Secretary of State for the Foreign Department; Mr. Grenville, Admiralty; and Tierney and Bragge Bathurst, India Board and Mint.

"This arrangement is not entirely satisfactory to me, because I think the public naturally expected that Lord Spencer should return to the Admiralty whenever Lord Howick vacated it. But this was impracticable on account

of the Civil List Act, which prevents three Secretaries of State from sitting in the House of Commons. Whenever (unfortunately for the Government) Lord Howick succeeds to his father's peerage, Lord Spencer and Mr. Grenville may then change places, and in the meantime what is now proposed is, I believe, the best that was practicable.

"We have dispatches this morning from Lauderdale, which are rather of a pacific complexion; but we are still at a considerable distance from a conclusion." *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

1806, September 22. Downing Street.—"You will probably hear from Lord Howick, by this messenger, the arrangements which have been yesterday finally settled respecting the Government. He succeeds to the Foreign Seals, and is succeeded at the Admiralty by my brother, which opens the India Board for Tierney. Lord Fitzwilliam at his own desire retires from office, but remains in the Cabinet. Lord Sidmouth succeeds to the Presidency of the Council, and Lord Holland to the Privy Seal. I trust you will think this arrangement as good as under all circumstances it could be made. I regret that Lord Spencer could not take the Admiralty and my brother the Home Seals, but that is impossible so long as the two other Secretaries of State remain in the House of Commons.

"Lord Spencer writes to you to-day about Prussia. She has offered us Hanover at a peace, though still under some reserves which will, I am confident, disappear the moment Lord Morpeth or whoever else we send to Berlin arrives there. If this is done we shall not have to owe Hanover to France but Prussia. Her demand of the French troops withdrawing from Germany is one to which we are already pledged, and we therefore risk nothing by supporting it. My hope is that all this will tend to discussions for a general peace, which can never be satisfactorily concluded unless all the great Powers are parties to the negotiation in substance, if not in form. What a blunder the King of Prussia has made in sending at such a moment such a man as Knobelsdorf to Paris.

"I always felt great reluctance to the embarking in South American projects because I knew it was much easier to get into them than out again. The capture of Buenos Ayres, trumpeted up as it has been by Popham and his agents, has already produced such an impression here as will make the surrender of that conquest most extremely difficult, unless one could get much more for it in the way of security in Europe than I know how to shape or expect. At all events we are clearly entitled to include it in our *uti possidetis*, or to ask its full value for it. I hope now that the Government is once more set on foot in a regular form, we shall soon be able to instruct you more precisely on these points; but you may conceive how difficult this has been with all else we have had to do since our great loss." *Copy.*

## LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. TAYLOR to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 22. Windsor Castle.—“As the King hesitated in regard to fixing the hour, wishing to name that most convenient to your lordship, I mentioned to his Majesty the contents of the note which I had the honour of receiving from you, and the time which he has appointed in consequence is the most convenient to himself, as it is immediately after his ride, whilst he thought that it would also suit your lordship.”

## W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, September 22. Arlington Street.—“I called soon after I parted from you, wishing to submit to you the enclosed note from Gordon. If troops are to be sent to the Continent, it may be as well to keep the Germans here; but the sending troops to the Continent, however desirable in some views, is a measure to be paused upon. Our force in the present case can be little in the scale of continental armies, and the expense is enormous. The very transports for 10,000 cavalry, hired as they must be for three months, will be 2,400,000*l*.”

“A little doubt likewise arises on reflection about a new commander for Buenos Ayres, and Sir A. Wellesley. Think of it at least for four and twenty hours. The command likely to be left at Buenos Ayres, allotting 3,000 to Crawford, will not be so much in all as 5,000. Beresford has done incomparably well, and Sir A. Wellesley will not be popular, though probably really very proper. I am myself very little a judge of his qualifications.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, September 23. Dropmore.—“The expense of transports which you state is so very far beyond any idea I could have formed, that I quite agree with you as to the necessity of pausing before such a step is taken.

“If we desist from all idea of acting on the Continent we shall then probably reinforce ourselves still further in South America; for the moment of a fresh explosion on the Continent must not be lost to us. We will talk again about Wellesley, I did not write to him, and I certainly would not press anything improper for him; but I have so very high an opinion of his talents and military knowledge, and particularly of his powers of exciting spirit and confidence in his troops, which I have heard so very strongly stated by indifferent persons, that I am very desirous of his being employed there if the scale of our operations be large enough for him.” *Copy.*

## MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 23. Camelford House.—“I wish to lose no time in informing you that my brother Arthur will be very

happy to serve in the regular course of his rank, and that he is extremely anxious for employment. He would certainly be particularly glad to serve on the continent of Europe. His great solicitude however is for early employment."

H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 24. Doncaster.—“I have many thanks to return you for the kind communications I have just received. Your attention to me upon this and upon every other occasion afford me most sincere gratification. I am aware of the necessity which called for these arrangements to be made with as little delay as possible, and I trust that they are such as to give satisfaction to everybody; and it shall be my study to aid and strengthen your endeavours by every means in my power.”

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1806, September 24. Admiralty.—“I cannot help troubling you with the enclosed letter from the Comptroller of the Navy. His object is to be made a baronet to which, as that rank was given to his predecessor, and is held by one of the inferior members of the Board, he seems to have a fair pretension; and he has the further claim of meritorious service and severe wounds. If you will mention him to-day to the King, together with Sir Edward Berry, I shall be obliged to you.

“I have never spoken to Lord Fitzwilliam upon the subject of his advancement to the rank of marquis. It is probably a point about which he is not very solicitous; but it would be a peculiar gratification to me to have the title of Marquis of Rockingham offered to him; to which, when I before mentioned it to you, you seemed to express no objection.

“I take it for granted the King has made no objection to the proposed arrangement.”

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806, September 24. Downing Street.—“The King received me yesterday in the most gracious manner, kept me two hours with him, and appeared perfectly satisfied with every part of the arrangement.

“I am persuaded there can be no difficulty about Lord Fitzwilliam's being made a marquis. Baronets are more difficult. We have made two batches since we came in, and I have a list of I know not how many more to make whenever it can decently be done.” *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 24. Admiralty.—“I think that Lord H. Petty would, on every account, be the best person to go to Berlin. My only doubts arose from the uncertainty of



his getting back in time for the meeting of Parliament (which is of double importance as neither your brother, Tierney, or myself will be able to take our seats for some days) and from our having already sent to Drummond. Drummond, however is not in town, but I expect him at the Foreign Office to-morrow morning. If therefore you think that he would like Sicily as well, that mission may be proposed to him, and Lord Henry may undertake this to Berlin. I will endeavour to frame instructions for him to-night, and, if you will give me leave, will call on you to consider of them in the morning. I am little conversant in the forms belonging to matters of this kind, and shall have for some time to apply to you for assistance."

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, September 24. Office for Trade.—"I have worked hard during some days both with the American Commissioners and at the committee of Council in order to feel at liberty to absent myself for a fortnight. And having made a clear board, I hope that I may go this afternoon to Mr. Cowper's at Zeuric Water near Welwyn. On Friday after the post we proceed to Gogmagog Hills near Cambridge; and on Tuesday after the post to Norton near Lincoln; and towards the end of the following week I shall be resettled here and at Eden Farm.

"I sent your French paper to Sir Joseph Banks, who is to meet me for a day at Norton."

*Private.*—"So far as I collect your arrangements from the newspaper which bears some marks of authenticity, I like them much; and it only remains to consolidate the system of efficient conduct in the House of Commons. I hope that *poor* Lord Charles falls on a bed of down.

"I submit to you that in delicacy we (or I) should say something to Lord Howick as to his resuming to his office the American negotiation, if he shall think proper. I like him much, and have reason to believe that the regard is returned on his part; still it seems to be a right attention."

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM TO THE SAME.

1806, September 24. Doncaster.—"The arrangements are such as I foresaw, and I believe them the best that could be made. I had my fears that Mr. Grenville would not have undertaken the labours of the Admiralty. I make no compliment of my own retreat from office, as I am free to say that I look upon it as a release; but on the present occasion it is even more than that, as I derive the greatest satisfaction in making room for Lord Holland. I should have felt much regret had he not been included in the arrangement; a thousand circumstances peculiar to the present moment made it necessary, in addition to the still more forcible reasons of

private feelings. I am happy in retaining a seat in the Cabinet for many reasons. I suppose the part of the arrangement in which I am concerned will not take place till I have been with the King. I shall be in town for the 7th October; this will give an opportunity of seeing the King the next day.

“The Prince is here and very unwell. He has been so during the whole of his tour; he has lost all appetite, and even taste for wine; for the last fortnight he has neither tasted meat nor wine. He was deeply affected with the death of Fox, and has never recovered his spirits since. When first I saw him, it was very manifest how much he felt on the occasion. But to return to his health. We got Walker, formerly his apothecary in London, but now retired in Yorkshire, to see him. From a strong full pulse, he found it quite thin, low, and weak. He thinks him seriously unwell, and that he requires much attention and repose; whether he will be persuaded to manage himself, as he ought to do, is more than I feel confident of. Intending to attend the funeral, he has altered his plan; he does not go to Wentworth from hence, but intends making one or two visits to gentlemen of the neighbourhood before he goes to town, and says that he shall return into the North to make the visits he had promised. I wish I could prevail upon him to go immediately to town by short journeys, but I have little hopes of being able to do so.

“I don't take so much pleasure in the pacific complexion of Lauderdale's dispatches, as I do in what follows, ‘that we are still at a considerable distance from a conclusion.’

“As long as there is a prospect of an effort being made by Prussia, I do not wish to see G[reat] B[ritain] at peace; peace made at this juncture will throw such a damp on all Europe that Europe will submit without a struggle. I do not pretend to say that my hopes of success by war are great, but bad as the chance is, it is the only one, and the alternative is either to submit tamely, or to die gloriously. Whatever may be the odds against the latter, it should be tried; our peace would prevent it.”

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 25. Admiralty.—“Pray look over the enclosed draft, and make such alterations as you may think necessary, above all shorten it if it can be done. I shall be much obliged to you also to see that the draft for the Admiralty is in the proper form.

“What shall I say to Drummond if he comes to town before we have an opportunity of further considering about Petty, or seeing him? Is there not a difficulty arising out of the nature of his office, and would it not be necessary, if he should go, for some other person to hold, *ad interim*, the seal of the Exchequer? I suppose Drummond having been already mentioned to the King is a matter of no consequence. I

should wish to have five minutes conversation upon these and some other matters at any hour this morning that you will appoint."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, September 25. Eden Farm.—"I enclose a *secret* packet, which may deserve your perusal, and I beg the favour of you to return it to me. The statement is not unfair on the whole, and I am glad to collect from it that the parties do not expect any very sudden conclusion. Lord Holland's two papers on the questions respecting neutral rights and American seamen were probably left by you at Dropmore; at least they have not yet been returned to me."

*Confidential.*—"I mentioned to you that an application would probably come from a law quarter for a next reversion of a certain office. I ought to have added, though it can scarcely escape your remark, that the whole nature of that claim or pretension is changed by the Act of Parliament which has secured the eventual retreat of 4,000*l.* *per annum*, and that Act affords a complete answer.

"The Speaker dined and slept here last night. If your dependent arrangements should remove all competitors for the chair, I mean your brother and Tierney, I submit to you that it would be very material in many points of view to have a complete and cordial good understanding with the Speaker; and I think I could answer to secure his cordial and friendly support, efficiently and systematically. Hitherto, and from a natural distrust, it has been only a 'half-faced fellowship.' The great object of securing the confidence and concurrence of Parliament is, I think, at this moment attainable; but, in order to its being attained, there are many considerations to be adverted to. I have a letter this morning from the Duke of Marlborough in which there is the following sentence, 'now that Mr. Fox is gone, Francis and Burton may be expected to support government cordially'; there are many other individuals similarly circumstanced, and these, on the other hand, who may be estranged from us by that event, will be comparatively few.

"I am to be in town on Saturday probably, and on Monday and Wednesday certainly; and on the Wednesday I hope it may be practicable to adjourn the committee of Council and the American discussions for a fortnight, in order to make a very short excursion to Gogmagog and to Lincolnshire."

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, September 26. Downing Street.—"I have this morning seen the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and have stated to him that, on a consideration of all the circumstance, I cannot but think it best for the interests of government to carry into effect the proposed division of the collectorship, and

to dispose of that of the city in favour of Lord Waterford's friend. He represented against it, but in the close of our conversation it was considered as so settled; and I think therefore it is desirable to carry it into effect as soon as possible.

"I have not troubled you on the subject of the arrangements consequent upon the great loss we have sustained, but it would be an extreme satisfaction to me to learn that they meet your approbation. I have the pleasure to think that they give very general satisfaction here, and that there is every prospect of a continuance of the same perfect union and good understanding with which all matters have been carried on ever since the formation of the Government.

"I am much obliged by your ready compliance with my request respecting Lord Percy, and I have every reason to hope that his election will be attended with as little trouble as one can ever hope in such a place as Westminster." *Copy.*

*Private.* The EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 26. Paris.—"I can never forget your kind letter on the subject of Fox's death. I shall preserve it as one of the strongest encomiums on the character of the man I loved most on earth.

"I am afraid that I have erred a little on the subject of Buenos Ayres; at least I am apprehensive of it from the tenor of the despatch I last received. I confess, however, that I had not the least idea that it was meant to be included in the *uti possidetis*; and I was led to that conception not only by the circumstance I have mentioned in my public letter, that there was no instruction concerning it in the despatch of the 14th instant giving me an account of the capture, but from the following passage in your lordship's private letter of the same date: 'Of Buenos Ayres I say nothing except that it may, I think, tend to facilitate peace, or to afford an opening for measures that will make a deep impression in France. My earnest wish is that you may be able to make use of it effectually for the first of these objects.'

"I trust, however, this will be of no essential importance, as I have given the negotiation as much as possible the appearance of going off on Russian objects, for the purpose of giving our Court an opportunity of binding Russia more closely; the advantages of which appear to me great in the extreme.

"If indeed France should yield on all the topics I have put forward (which cannot be expected), I might have greater reason to regret my misapprehension. At the same time, I cannot think but that, if all the objects stated in my public despatch are conceded, and the war on the Continent prevented, Great Britain will make such a figure as could not be surpassed by your lordship's most sanguine expectations.

"I have no business to give my opinion, but I cannot avoid expressing my doubts on the subject of the prudence of uniting

too closely our interests with those of Prussia. Next to this court, it is the one in Europe of which I should be the most diffident; and I must say that, in the present instance, in addition to my doubts of its honesty, I have doubts of its power.

“Though better in health, I remain unaccountably weak. I have stood the work of to-day, however, well.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

1806, September 26. Downing Street.—“I should have had very sincere satisfaction in being enabled to meet your wishes with respect to Mr. Burns, but in arranging the establishment of the new Auditors’ Office, I have found the claims upon the Government so numerous and urgent that I have been prevented from paying that attention to your lordship’s wishes which I should have been happy to have had it in my power to do.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, September 26. Downing Street.—“I find on enquiry that the Privy Council will probably sit again for hearing prize causes about the middle of November, and if therefore Sir J. Anstruther is in town any time before that, there will be an opportunity of swearing him in as a Privy Councillor.

“Lord Sidmouth, who is about to undertake the office of President of the Council, has expressed to me the greatest satisfaction in the prospect of Sir J. Anstruther’s assistance there, which will also be highly agreeable to me.

“With respect to the expectations mentioned in his letter, I can only repeat to you what I said to him, that this must in some degree depend upon means for which I cannot answer; but for my disposition to do all that is practicable I can most safely answer, and without the least reserve.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, September 27. Downing Street.—“I have just heard that Holland is desirous of selling his property at Oakhampton, which comprehends a house, with a most beautiful park and ruined castle, and *other valuable contingencies* in the newspaper style. I know not whether those contingencies may not, in Richard’s situation, be an object of great value to him in the different circumstances in which he may be placed.

“The distance of the residence would, I should fear, be inconvenient to you; its beauty I can answer for; and Richard probably saw it in his western tour, though I forgot whether *we* did or not.

“When do you return to town? I have particular business to talk about with you.

“Holland is the son of Holland the architect who died a few months ago.” *Copy.*

## W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 27. Arlington Street.—“ Among the matters which I had to mention yesterday but had not time for, was the question relative to some of the Cape appointments. You were to send me a statement upon the subject. I can only say in the mean time that no one can be less disposed than I have always been to encroach upon others' rights, or to contend for points of this sort where the merits have seemed to be against me. My vice, I fear, has been the other way, and it is this very consideration perhaps that will oblige me to be more tenacious on any point, where the merits seem to be in my favour.

“ The auditorship, by all I can learn as well as by all I can judge, seems clearly to be of that sort. It is not merely that it has been hitherto in the Colonial Department, which in cases confined to Lord Melville's time I admit to be inconclusive, though a presumption certainly in the first instance ; but that the reason of the thing on the grounds which I formerly stated seems clearly to be that way.

“ I am the more inclined to rely on my judgment on this point, or rather to feel it less shaken on finding yours against me, when I collect from your note, if I am right in my inference, that you retain the same opinion you did on the subject of the agencies. The agencies have been admitted as belonging to the Colonial Department (that is to say to the government upon the spot in colonies paying their own establishments) not in one instance only and under one Government, but in all instances and under all the successive governments that have taken place since the question can be considered as having arisen. It seems to me impossible almost to conceive a point of this sort more clearly established ; yet, of course, you thought otherwise, at the moment at least when you named to me one that had fallen vacant.

“ The auditorship, as far as depends on the reason of the thing, though not in respect of precedent, there having been only one appointment I believe, appears to me more clear, if possible, than the other.

“ The agent of a Colony *has* business often to transact with the Treasury, though that circumstance alone certainly does convey to the Treasury a right to his nomination. The auditor of the Cape has none. He is a mere officer between the Governor and the departments under him, and transacts business which must otherwise be transacted by the Secretary, or some other officer, who would not thereby become the nomination of the Treasury. One proof might be that the Treasury, by the course of their business, would not know of the existence of such an officer, or knowing that there was such a one, would not be able to say who he was. I am sincere in saying that, excepting the name, I cannot conceive what it is that has suggested to the Treasury the right of a nomination to this office.

“Till all is heard it is impossible to say what shall be one’s final judgment in any case; and I need not repeat that nothing but a clear and decided judgment would make me hold out on a case of this sort, or even contend for it originally.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, September 27. Downing Street.—“The enclosed statement, which I consider to be quite conclusive on the subject, has lain by me some time, because I really hate such discussions, and am at all times unwilling to renew them. I must however fairly say that I am so perfectly satisfied on the point that I must proceed to make these appointments in the form pointed out in the enclosed paper, and which I am certain is the only regular form in which they can be made.

“Very far from agreeing to the claim about the agencies, I consider that as standing on the same ground as all the others.” *Copy.*

*Enclosure.*

“CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

**Auditor.**—All auditors of the plantations are appointed by patent:—the warrant is countersigned by the Board of Treasury.

**Receiver General.**—All receivers of the King’s revenues are appointed by the King, the warrants countersigned by the Treasury.

**Officers of the Customs.**—All officers of the customs are nominated by the Treasury, and appointed by the Commissioners of Customs; but when they are not under the Commissioners of Customs—as in the case of the Isle of Man—then the Treasury issue commissions under their hands.

**King’s Agent.**—All *king’s* agents are appointed by the king:—the warrants countersigned by the Treasury.”

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 27. Arlington Street.—“I did not get your note till after my return to the Office, and was unluckily prevented from calling till you had set off for Dropmore.

“I can readily submit to reason, but it must be to reason urged in a way more satisfactory than in the paper which you have sent me, which contains assertion only where what was required was explanation, and in the only part to which I can speak with confidence, asserts what is perfectly incorrect. The paper sets out with saying that all auditors of the plantations are appointed by the King’s patent. One auditor was certainly not so, namely the auditor of the Cape, and the question is whether, upon a comparison of his office

with others bearing the same name, but whose functions and character may be wholly different, such appointment was or was not irregular. But the paper goes on to say that all King's agents are appointed by the King. To which the answer is that, of the five agencies here in question, not one has been so appointed, though the appointments have been made out at different times and under different administrations, and some of them twice over.

“ Upon the subject of the auditorship, on which I asked only for information, but certainly cannot consider myself as having received it, if the merits are against me, I shall acquiesce without a struggle, as originally, under that persuasion, I should never have moved the question. But upon the subject of the agencies, the case is so strong in precedent if not in reason, though I think in both, that it is fair to say that, in the event of any future vacancy, I will sooner quit my situation than allow of any appointment being made otherwise than in the way heretofore practised.

“ To pass to another subject, I confess I feel rather uncomfortable at being compelled to forfeit the pledge which I certainly gave to the House respecting the discharge of men now serving at the end of their one and twenty years. Any member might be well warranted in saying that he supported the measure, or forbore to oppose it, in confidence of that assurance.

“ It is very unlucky that I am obliged to go at this moment ; but every thing with respect to the expeditions, as well as with respect to the recruiting, is left, I hope, in regular train, and will not be impeded by my absence.”

#### MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 28. Stowe.—“ I am most happy that you are contented, and the quiet reflection which I have given to the subject, satisfies me that upon the whole, what is done is the best. I was charged with two points, both of which were so unimportant, that I could not trouble you with them, while I was in town. The first is to take up George Nugent in your first list of baronets, as offered by the Duke of York and Lord Camden—that he may appear as approved by the King, instead of the story of disapprobation which has not been discountenanced by Coote in Jamaica ; and the second is, that you will believe *Monsieur* who assures you, through me, that in case a proper moment should present itself for continental objects upon the largest scale, there exist in Britanny the means of employing a much larger French force than that which decided the fate of the empire at Australitz. It appears that the whole coast was destitute of troops at that time, and that a great opportunity was lost that could [have] gone great lengths, if an insurrection had been supported by 5,000 Swedes, and a French Prince.



“I am well aware, that the question is one that involves many collateral considerations, but it ought not to be lightly put by; and I think his speculations are—as far as I can judge from the correspondence he shows me—not unfounded. Of course they can only apply to the contingency of a continental war, and I very much fear that it is hardly possible to wish for it, unless we were much more sure of Prussia than we can be, with such a King, and such a Minister.

“I think that George Nugent will be satisfied with his baronetage, but I see he is teased by his wife, who is very good, but not very wise.”

#### W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, September 28. Thetford.—“My letter yesterday before I left town was written in such haste, and at a moment otherwise of so much confusion, that I hardly know what it contained; and much doubt whether it expressed correctly and adequately the sentiments which I wished it to convey.

“The whole question originates, you will recollect, in a change proposed on your part of removing to the Treasury certain appointments which have heretofore, some in more instances and some in fewer, been filled up by the Colonial Department. This change may be right or wrong; but the right or wrong must be a subject of enquiry and not be settled at once by one of the parties; and still less upon a principle that because disputes between friends are disagreeable things, as they certainly are, and not less so by being upon the subject of patronage, that the way to avoid the evil is for one party always to cede whatever the other may, upon any hasty view of the subject, be led to think that he has a right to claim.

“In a former instance the point was settled by your naming to the office at a time when, as I certainly thought, the propriety of the decision was still pending. On the present occasion, of four offices claimed by the Treasury, one only, the auditorship, is a subject of dispute; and I have submitted to you at some length the reasons why I conceive it should be filled up, as it was in the only former instance, by the Colonial Department. The answer to this is a paper, furnished naturally by some one in the Treasury, which, if true throughout, would be fallacious in the impression to be conveyed, and inconclusive as to the point in question; but which is, as you must perceive if you would advert to it, in many of its principal statements, perfectly false and incorrect. *All Auditors of the Plantations*, it is said, *are appointed by warrant from the King, countersigned by the Treasury*. But is the auditor of the Cape, though the same in name, the same in nature, functions, and character with the auditors so appointed? And if he should turn out to be wholly different, does it follow of course that he must be appointed by the same rule? An Agent for Jamaica is equally a colonial agent with an Agent for any other colony, but in many of

these latter cases he is appointed by the Treasury, while in the other he is appointed by the Governor and Assembly of Jamaica.

*All King's Agents, it is said, are appointed by warrant from the King, countersigned by the Treasury.*

“But are the five agents, about whom the question has arisen, King's Agents? If they are not, the statement is fallacious: if they are, the statement is untrue; for I must be more grossly deceived in my information than any man ever was, if every one of these five agents, though named under different administrations, ever received his appointment from the King, by a warrant countersigned by the Treasury. One I certainly know did not, for it was the one whom you named in the instance above adverted to, contrary, as I think, to the claims of the Colonial Department, supposing it to be considered as a matter of right in the Treasury, and whose letter recommending him to the Governor of the Cape I myself signed; a pretty certain proof, as it appeared to me, that the nomination was where I contended it to be.

“Upon this paper, however, thus loose, thus inconclusive, thus incorrect, and without noticing the statement which I had made, and which upon the face of it at least might seem entitled to consideration, you declare yourself so perfectly satisfied, that you shall proceed without further enquiry to fill up the several appointments now vacant, extending the same intention to the agencies, as I understand, whenever there shall be any to be filled up. I can hardly think that you will, upon reflection, consider this as a declaration fit to have been made in the present circumstances. It is in fact, what I am sure you did not intend to be, a proceeding perfectly contumelious; so much so indeed as to make it utterly impossible to be acquiesced in. I must fairly say that if this point is to be carried in this way, I cannot remain a part of your Government.

“What the result may be of further enquiry into the merits of the case, and the conduct to be held thereupon, can be determined only when that enquiry shall have been made, and when I shall know what there is to invalidate the arguments which, certainly at present, appear to me to be nearly conclusive. It is not in this case the value of the object, but the mode of taking it that makes the question what it is. In respect to patronage in general, if much must be given to the common stock, some must also remain for the use of the person at the head of the department. I am sure you cannot accuse me of being wanting in a disposition to contribute to the general purposes of government. What is the Cape itself? and that not less considerable object that we talked of yesterday? Not to mention smaller matters which, because they are smaller, remain more naturally, like those now in question, with the person in whose hands they are immediately placed. But there is a wide difference between

a voluntary grant of the particular turn, and a forced surrender of the right, as well for oneself, as for all who are to succeed one. Against this last, as against everything forced, I must distinctly protest. What part I may be compelled to take upon a further discussion of the particular claim, supposing that you should be disposed to go into it, except in respect to the agencies, I cannot pretend to say. My own extreme unwillingness to take any such step as is above alluded to, will dispose me certainly to strain my conviction as far as possible; but there may be a point beyond which it cannot go, and which will leave me no option, however painful the necessity, as well on private as on public considerations."

LORD GRENVILLE to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, September 29. Dropmore.—"I return you Lady A. Barnard's letter. You have known me long enough to allow me to say that I love a good-natured thing because it is such; but I must not give way to that feeling when my conscience tells me the thing is wrong; and wrong it certainly would be to give Mr. Barnard a pension on the Cape revenues as a reward for his former services, for a few years in the last war, in an office which he is still perfectly capable of discharging, and to which an offer is made of reappointing him. To any exchange of that office for one here in my disposal I would most readily agree; but that, it seems, meets with other difficulties, which, of course, it is not for me to estimate. All I can say is that whatever it is fit and practicable for me to do, I shall feel a pleasure in doing, and more than that I ought not to undertake for." *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 29. Downing Street.—"A messenger arrived from Lord Lauderdale last night. His dispatches are of great importance, and as the answer to them must in all probability put an immediate end to the negotiation, if it is not over already, I am under the necessity of requesting you to come to town.

"I had understood that you were to return to-day, and upon receiving the despatches ordered the Cabinet to be summoned at two. I shall now desire it to meet again at nine at your house, by which time I hope that you will be in town.

"Lauderdale had received a notification from Talleyrand that Clarke, being required to attend the Emperor, the negotiation would thenceforth be conducted by Champagny alone. In their first conference Champagny said he had no instructions to treat for Russia; this was, however, stated to be an omission which would be remedied, and it was accordingly done. When they next met, in treating upon this

point Champagny stated that he had no authority to consent to the cession of Dalmatia, and that in his opinion France could never be brought to consent to it. Lauderdale replied that no hope could in that case be entertained of the success of the negotiation, and demanded his passports. These have been delayed by Talleyrand's having left Paris with the Emperor to go to Frankfort. Lauderdale's application being answered by a note from Hauterive, stating that Talleyrand had actually set out (though Basilico reports that the note was delivered to him sixteen minutes before he got into his carriage) that it should be sent after him, and would reach him either on the road, or, at all events, on his arrival at Mayence.

"Champagny had expressed a desire for another conference, to which Lauderdale's answer was, though he saw no use in it, he should have no objection to converse with him at any time so long as he remained in Paris, and they were to meet again to-day.

"It is not, however, on the point of Dalmatia alone that an obstacle to negotiation has arisen; they have again reverted to the old proposition of exchanging Sicily for the Balearic Islands, and in the places which they express themselves disposed to leave in our possession, they omit St. Lucia. As an inducement to immediate peace, they profess a willingness to accommodate matters with Prussia.

"I think Lauderdale will probably have insisted on his passports if the important points at least are not immediately conceded; but I have no doubt that our instructions to him ought to be, if Sicily and Dalmatia are not put out of dispute without further delay, immediately to come home. If these points are unequivocally abandoned by France, exchanges may be proposed; but these should be put in the form of an *ultimatum*; and the answer required, for which he may be allowed to wait, must be an absolute assent, or a refusal.

"Reports prevailed in Paris of further disasters having been suffered by the French in Calabria, that Massena was wounded, and believed to be dead; that Verdier also was wounded, and that Joseph Bonaparte did not think it safe to remain in Naples. The cruelties committed on both sides are represented as shocking."

*Secret.* LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806, September 29. Dropmore.—"I have been thinking much, as was natural, on the great question of the conditions to be now required for the restoration of peace. I am afraid we cannot well justify to ourselves the refusing to cede Buenos Ayres in any case, but I cannot help reverting strongly to the idea that, considering the immense value of such a cession, we are well entitled to ask for it not only the condition of a free trade there on the present reduced duties, but also the restoration of Naples. If our possession of Buenos Ayres

is in any degree incomplete, that of Joseph Bonaparte in Naples cannot be said to be very secure ; and I know not how to justify our giving up the one without obtaining the other.

“The argument with which we satisfied ourselves before on this subject of Naples was, that we had nothing to give which France would take in exchange for Naples. But this now is certainly not the case. It is impossible not to believe that rather than see all Spanish America fall into our hands, as it must now do in twelve months more of war, France would willingly give up Naples.

“We should in this view make perhaps a less advantageous peace for ourselves (for I feel as strongly as anybody all the insecurity of Naples if restored to its present King) but in the eyes of Europe one certainly much more honourable, than if we sacrificed our ally for great advantages to ourselves.

“I should however ask—1st for ourselves, *uti possidetis* as before, with the exception of Hanover (which indeed is now no longer a concession from France) and of Buenos Ayres, which we would expressly relinquish in exchange for Naples ; reserving only the condition of free trade, open to all the nations of Europe.

“2nd. For Russia, as the price of her peace, and acquiescence in the other changes in Europe, Dalmatia ; to be given to Russia, to Austria, to Sardinia, or, lastly, to be made an independent state under the guaranty of the great powers.

“3rdly. For Sardinia, the Balearic Isles, as proposed in your sketch.

“I do not say absolutely that I would not relax from any part of these conditions ; but I certainly would instruct Lauderdale to propose them, and to insist upon them till he finds it quite impossible to obtain them. Nor would I, as yet, give him authority to recede from them, but only to agree in the last extremity to refer home any modification of them that France may propose.

“Perhaps if we were clearly driven to it by the impossibility of obtaining peace otherwise, I might renounce the demand of the Balearic Isles, and to let Dalmatia stand as the King of Sardinia’s compensation. I know that in this way our interests are in a very considerable degree sacrificed to those of the King of Naples, and that we give up possessions in America, and demands in the Mediterranean, which if once ours we could hold for ever, in exchange for what never can be defended for a week against France. But such is the necessary condition of a great power, having weak allies, and not thinking it compatible with her honour, or even with her interests, well understood, to abandon them.”

*Postscript.*—“I feel little doubt that in this last form peace could be made ; for however advantageous it would be to us, see on the other head what immense power it leaves to France, and what opportunities of confirming and consolidating it.

Holland, all Italy but Naples, and one half of Germany, Swisserland with the Tyrol, and an uncontrolled dominion over Spain and Portugal, every part of which is put to hazard by the continuance of the war; while we, by the possession of South America, cut off her best resources for carrying it on."

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 30. Dublin Castle.—“ I hasten to assure you that the new arrangements arising out of the severe loss we have sustained have my most cordial approbation, and I perceive with real satisfaction that they have been formed in the same spirit which dictated the union between your lordship and Mr. Fox.

“ By a letter I have from Elliot of the same date as yours (the 26th instant) and written after the Chancellor had been with him, subsequent to his interview with your lordship, some misunderstanding appears still to subsist; the Chancellor not understanding that the division of the Derry collectorship was finally determined upon. I have therefore written to Elliot to say that I shall taken no further step in this business, till I am informed that the Chancellor distinctly understands your wishes.”

LORD HENRY PETTY to THE SAME.

1806, October 1.—“ I send you a volume of papers relating to the Civil List, which I found with some others belonging to my father. I have put a mark to those which appeared to me at all material. The instructions at the end of the volume were, I presume, adopted, and either have or ought to be complied with.

“ I understand from Vansittart that you propose having a Board on Friday to go through the minutes, when I shall not fail to attend.

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

1806, October 1. Downing Street.—“ With the difficulties we were under when we wrote to you before, you will not wonder that there should have been, as I really think there was, some want of clearness on the subject of our late South American acquisitions. We have, I think, a full right to have it reckoned in the arrangement of a peace on the ground of *uti possidetis*. But I am not sanguine enough to expect to retain it, without other sacrifices which we should not be willing to make. That was what I meant by its being made useful to the acquisition of peace. The whole matter is, I trust, by the present instructions put on a clear and satisfactory footing. If we make peace on the terms now proposed we shall undoubtedly have full reason to be satisfied. If they oblige us to follow up our blow in America, the Spanish empire there will be placed beyond the reach of being restored by any treaty that we could

make, were we ever so much disposed to it. This consideration, and the evident and increasing difficulties of France, make me more disposed than perhaps is reasonable, to hope for a favourable answer. But every step of this negotiation shews that nothing is to be gained from Bonaparte by any other means than the threat of breaking the negotiation off. And there are many considerations that make it desirable to bring the thing to a point speedily.

“One of these is, in my mind, the great want we have of you here, if we should resolve, as I may in confidence tell you is not unlikely, to dissolve the Parliament before Christmas.

“I have been taught by a long and bitter experience to put no trust in Prussia so long as the Court continues to be composed as it now is, and its present ministers retain their influence.

“But if they actually are engaged in hostilities against a common enemy, one may assist those whom one can neither esteem nor trust. Still it will require strong proof to convince me that Prussia really is disposed to bring things to this extremity.” *Copy.*

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 2. Admiralty.—“It is some time since I sent an assurance to Mr. Coutts the secret service money of the Foreign Office should be kept in his house.”

#### *Enclosure.*

#### THOMAS COUTTS to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806, September 18. Strand.—“You will recollect the unhandsome and unjust manner in which the official money of the Foreign Secretary and the War Department were ordered to be removed from my house on account of Sir Francis Burdett’s election, and the uneasiness it gave me at the time. I was gratified by its being returned to me by poor Mr. Fox, and I have been told Mr. Windham also means his should be returned. I should wish it might be continued by whoever is destined to the office, and I take the liberty of mentioning it to your lordship as your recommendation will no doubt be attended to and will do me much honour.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 2. Norton.—“We have had a fine spell of weather for our tour, and though it is impossible to admire the *environs* either of this place or of Gogmagog, the houses are very good and their inhabitants very happy.

“I shall resume my duties in Westminster on Monday the 13th, or Wednesday the 15th at the latest. In the meantime, I hope that you will have received from the several offices of expenditure an estimate of their monthly demands to February inclusive, to be compared with the ways and means. You

will probably find that if it should be thought right for Parliament to meet before the birthday, it will at least not be necessary on account of money.

“Would it not also be useful to have a detailed statement of all the heads or articles of revenue which produce respectively 5,000*l.* *per annum* and upwards : exhibiting the periods when each such article was first taxed ; the additional imposts thereon ; and the comparative net produce in different years. We could then ascertain what articles would bear a general addition of a twentieth or tenth.

“Some of the Hamburgh merchants have intimated to me that, considering their attendances and eventual interests, I ought to have written to them on the withdrawing of our embargo. But, in truth, though that measure took place before I left London, it was never mentioned to me in the bustle of the late arrangements, and I knew nothing of it till it appeared in the *Gazette*.

“I saw all the humours and heroes of Newmarket on Monday last, when I learned from the best authorities that the Prince of Wales is apprehended to be in a precarious state of health, with a loss of spirits and of appetite. He is to be at Stamford to-morrow in his way to town.”

#### W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 2.—“I learn by a note, which has crossed me to-day from Sir G. Shee, that you have conceived the idea of sending Craufurd round at once, without touching at the Plate.

“I can understand the motive in which this change is founded ; but there is an objection not likely to have occurred to any one who had not followed the details of the business, and which seems to have been overlooked by Sir G. Shee likewise ; namely, that in the arrangement of the transports it was not possible, without a risk of delay, to give to Craufurd in each instance the sort of vessel that was required for the prosecution of his further voyage. Nor was this of importance according to the arrangement before proposed, because there was with Achmuty wherewithal to supply him, and the exchange could easily be made when they arrived at their common destination.

“But I am at a loss to know what can now be done, at least without more delay than the first part of Craufurd’s service may admit of ; or than it might be prudent to risk if Sir Samuel Hood and every thing on that side is ready ; for the sending Craufurd in proper ships is a point absolutely indispensable. The delay in the end (by the want, I mean, of ships of the proper description) might not only be a delay of weeks, but there might be a total failure of the object. You must balance therefore between the delay of changing the vessels here (that is to say, by changing between him and



Achmuty if Achmuty is not already gone, or by procuring other vessels if such are to be had) and the risk of notice being conveyed of his design.

"I enter in part into this latter apprehension, if such in fact is the consideration, and had felt it in some degree myself, but had dismissed it afterwards from my mind, finding that the other idea prevailed; and considering, from the immense width of the river, how little of what was done in one part might be known in another.

"The question is, however, as I have just observed, between that danger and the danger of delay, whether as respecting the ultimate object of Craufurd's expedition or the more immediate.

"I send this forward for greater precaution, though Craufurd will hardly fail to have pointed out the difficulty here stated should he be still in London, and though I myself shall follow in the course of not many hours, being on my way to town.

"I know nothing of what is going on, having received hardly anything but the note above-mentioned from Sir G. Shee, and the intelligence, which I got at Yarmouth, that Lord Morpeth was going to Berlin."

*Postscript.*—"The vessels, I should have explained, that are wanted for Craufurd must be sharp coppered vessels."

#### VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1806, October 3. Admiralty.—"Will you have the goodness to cast your eye over the accompanying instructions to Drummond, which, together with the draft of the treaty, I suppose should be submitted to the Cabinet to-day.

"I forgot to tell you this morning that Francis wishes to go to Buenos Ayres. I don't know whether you mean to send a governor there, but if you do, there are many reasons which would render this a desirable appointment. There may however be some to be stated on the other side.

"Thornton's despatches were sent to Lord Spencer without going to the Foreign Office; he sent them to me here, and I did not get them till late last night. The letter to you was enclosed by Thornton, and came with them."

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, October 3. Admiralty.—"I return you Jacobi's letter, which I have indeed had some trouble in reading. All these assurances of a fixed determination, and exhortations to us to be satisfied are very fine; but why are we to be satisfied with assurances when there can be inconvenience in giving proofs; or why is Prussia to expect that general declarations will be accepted, when no possible reason can be assigned, if she is sincere, why she should not do us complete justice. The demand of pecuniary assistance in the manner in which it is proposed, certainly ought not to pass without remark.

“ If Prussia really goes to war, subsidies no doubt will be wanted. Your decision of the question respecting Parliament must depend, therefore, on your opinion of this probability.

“ I will add your alterations to Drummond’s instructions, and a clause respecting Majorca, if ceded to the King of Sicily at a peace.

“ The *President*, a 44 gun frigate, one of those which was with the *Regulus* on the coast of Africa, is taken by Louis’s squadron. He was bound to L’Orient, and says that the *Regulus* and the other frigate, from which he separated in a gale of wind, were making for the same port ; so that we have a good chance of getting them all.”

*Private.* LORD ELLENBOROUGH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 3. Tunbridge Wells.—“ I have long had it in contemplation to make the request to your lordship with which I at present trouble you, and in the success of which I cannot help feeling the deepest and most anxious interest.

“ I have a brother, the Rev. Dr. George Law, who is, I believe, one of the most respected members of the church belonging to the University of Cambridge. He distinguished himself in an early part of his life whilst resident there, by obtaining several academical prizes and honours for classical learning. He has since resided with his family, now consisting of ten children, on his ecclesiastical preferment in the neighbourhood of that university. His conduct in that situation has been highly meritorious and exemplary, and his character is in all respects without a blemish. He has two livings, one of them a very good one near Cambridge, given him by the Bishop of Ely ; he has besides a prebend in the church of Carlisle, and another in that of York. The prebend of Carlisle is worth upwards of 400*l.* per annum. There is, I believe, no clergyman connected with the University of Cambridge who is more generally regarded as a fit object of advancement in the church.

“ Upon a supposition conceived some time ago that he was about to receive some such advancement in the church as might eventually vacate his prebend of Carlisle, Sir James Graham was an earnest advocate with Lord Sidmouth on the behalf of his brother, that he might succeed to that preferment.

“ I take the liberty of assuring your lordship that you cannot in any way so essentially and effectually oblige me as by recommending my brother Dr. George Law for some ecclesiastical situation of eminence and advantage in the patronage of his Majesty.

“ As I have not now, and am not aware that I ever shall have any personal favour to ask on my own account, I cannot but allow myself to hope that the relation in which I have the honour to stand to the Government, and to your lordship in particular as its head, and the zeal with which I have on all occasions afforded my poor assistance to support its interests

and honour, may, in aid of the other considerations and circumstances I have mentioned, be deemed so far to sanction this request, as to have the effect of obtaining for me the favour which I so earnestly solicit at your lordship's hands."

VISCOUNT HOWICK TO THE SAME.

1806, October 4. Downing Street.—“I have had a long conversation with Lord Douglas, and proposed that he should set out the week after next, which will give us time, in all probability, to form some satisfactory judgment as to the conduct of Prussia. He expresses himself ready to go, but the points which he is endeavouring to carry will probably have considerable influence on his determination.

“He asks not only for Mr. Mills, as Secretary of Legation, but for an increase of the allowances which Lord G. Leveson had, so as to leave him a clear salary of 10,000*l.* after all deductions on account of income tax. I have sent him away with a stiff refusal upon both, though he pleads a positive promise with respect to them from poor Fox. The last he does not seem to insist upon, but left me saying that it would be necessary to have some further conversation respecting the appointment of Mr. Mills.

“He represents the thing as being so completely settled, that Mills had refused one of the appointments in the West India Commission, had made all his arrangements at Wallingford, and actually sent a part of his baggage, with that of Lord Douglas, to Petersburg.

“I return Gentz's letters. You said something of a proposal for the employment of Swedish troops on the coast of France. Would you have me say anything upon this point in my next despatch to Pierrepont?

“I am going out of town, and do not mean to return, if I can help it, till Monday.”

*Private.* THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE SAME.

1806, October 4. Paris.—“Lord Howick will shew you my private letters, and these together with the public despatch really contain everything I have to say.

“You may be assured that everything I can do to get away as soon as possible shall be tried, but it is impossible to parry all the devices that they may fall upon to keep me.

“I cannot conceive, however, that they can avoid giving me passports by the end of next week. At present nobody here has power to grant other passports than those for the couriers.”

LORD HOLLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, October.—“After the obliging manner in which you received my mention of Mr. Neve and your account of your promises of church preferment, I hope you do me the justice to believe that nothing would induce me to trouble you so soon

with another application connected with ecclesiastical patronage if it arose solely or even chiefly from personal friendship, and interest for the individual. But as it is possible from the very circumstance of no vacancies having occurred in the church since last January that my uncle may never have spoken to you of the situation in which he and his political friends stood with respect to Dr. Parr, and consequently that his name may not be included in the list of applications to which you alluded, in justice to him and many common friends I think I am bound to state to you, at a time when ecclesiastical arrangements are making, and there is a prospect of yet more to be made, that it was the sincere desire of my uncle, and would be I am sure a real gratification to many of his friends, to see Dr. Parr in some high situation in the church suitable to his great reputation for learning, and due from my uncle and his political supporters for his long and unalterable attachment to him and them.

“If I am officious in sending you this statement, it is from an apprehension that what many would be inclined to do they might neglect doing from trusting to the probability of its being done by others; and I am sure no promotion in the church would give more general satisfaction to some of the steadiest and most powerful supporters of government than that of Dr. Parr.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, October 4. Downing Street.—“I have purposely delayed answering the two last letters which you wrote to me on the subject of the Cape appointments, because I was unwilling that any thing I wrote in answer to them should be either in fact, or in appearance, hasty.

“The only practical question now at issue relates to the nomination of an Auditor at the Cape. The Receivers and Collectors of the Revenue there you seem to feel must undoubtedly be named by that Department which has the general and universal superintendence and direction of the public revenues.

“What particular instructions the Auditor of the Cape may have received for his conduct, or what the special matters committed to him may be, I cannot say. But if his duty be, as the name imports, to examine and audit the public accounts there, whether of receipt or expenditure, that is also an office which can, as I conceive, no otherwise be discharged but under the appointment, instruction, and control of the Treasury, whose special duty it is to take care that the public accounts are duly audited; and who will, as I apprehend, in this very case of the Cape, be compelled immediately to apply their attention to the establishment of a more efficient system in this respect. This reasoning it is which (connected with the fact of the mode in which the Auditor of the plantations is

actually named) induces me to believe that I cannot avoid making in the same form the nomination of the officer, whatever he may be called who is to discharge this duty. But when I say this, I certainly never mean to convey an idea that I precluded the consideration of such further suggestions as you might think material on the subject. If any of my expressions could give you the impression of any want of attention to yourself, your situation, or your wishes, I must distinctly assure you that I never had any such intention. In the situation in which I am placed I cannot discharge what is expected from me, if I do not maintain the rights of appointment incident to it. But nothing could be further from my wish than that yourself or any other of my colleagues should have cause to feel yourself hurt in the manner in which this is done.

"I certainly cannot well conceive how the reasoning and principle above stated can be shaken; and, if it be correct, I ought not to delay acting upon it, because the appointment of some such officer seems indispensably connected with the regulations to be made for the business he is to do. If however any thing occurs to you further upon it, I shall of course be ready to consider it with those sentiments towards you which, I trust, are alone a sufficient security against the possibility of my doing any thing injurious or unbecoming."

*Copy.*

*Private.* The EARL OF LAUDERDALE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 6. Paris.—"I have nothing to add to what is contained in the public despatch, and my private letters to Lord Howick which he will shew you.

"In my answer to M. Talleyrand's note, I am aware I have gone a little out of the usual course; but it was after mature deliberation that I adopted this method of replying, being convinced that the great attempt of the French Government, the moment I am gone, will be to attribute the negotiation having gone off to the death of Mr. Fox.

"I have acted to the best of the judgment, and I trust it will meet with the approbation of his Majesty's government."

W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, October 6. Spring Gardens.—"I enclose a note which I have just received from the Duke of Bedford, and the contents of which he desires me to communicate to you."

*Enclosure.*

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to W. ELLIOT.

1806, October 1. Dublin Castle.—"I have only time to say that your letter of the 27th instant (by Richard Ponsonby) did not reach me till this day. I immediately sent to Beresford,

but he was gone to Derry. I shall write to him on the subject forthwith, although I should have preferred a verbal communication.

“As you have seen the Chancellor, and explained to him Lord Grenville’s understanding of the arrangement, I run no risk of being accused of precipitancy on his part.

“Have the goodness to communicate the substance of this to Lord Grenville.”

H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 7. Carlton House.—“Will you have the goodness to mention any hour this day when you can call upon me, or when I may call upon you in Downing Street, as I am very desirous of seeing you on my return to town, and have many things I wish much to talk over with you. Pray only think of naming the time that is most convenient to yourself, and I will take care to be at home.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, October 7. Carlton House.—“Since my arrival in town for the purpose of giving the last testimony in my power of that ardent regard and affection which through life I have borne to Mr. Fox, both as a public man, and as a private friend, a doubt has been intimated to me that my attendance at the funeral might not appear to his Majesty in the same unexceptionable light in point of propriety, with reference to my station in the country, as it certainly did to me, when in the moment of affliction and regret I adopted the idea. I adopted it also in consequence of the most affecting applications from his family, to whom, conceiving no impediment at the time, I gave my promise to attend. However gratifying the performance of the melancholy duty I had prescribed to myself, would be to my feelings, I am sensible that I ought not to give way to them, if in his Majesty’s contemplation, there exists a *real* objection to my doing so. I am anxious only for more certainty of his Majesty’s wishes, or opinion on this subject, to which, as on every other occasion where I am honoured with a clear opportunity of knowing his pleasure, it will be my duty to conform. I confess that in the present instance I may have been led to imagine that any attention on the part of the King’s family to the remains of his departed Minister and servant might have proved the more acceptable by the reflection that the object of that Minister’s unceasing and most anxious interest to his dying hour, was the recovery of the hereditary dominions of my father and sovereign, unfortunately left an unprotected prey to foreign ambition and perfidy. This consideration is very near to my heart, and embraces the high respect I have for the political virtues of my lamented friend. Perhaps it may not be improper here to mention that at the funeral of Sir William

Fawcett, I, and all my brothers (the Duke of Sussex excepted, who was then not in England) attended, and the Duke of York and myself walking as chief mourners. I am not aware that our conduct on that occasion was considered as objectionable. Sure I am that the motives on my part were to show respect to an officer, so long, and so highly esteemed by the King, but for whom, though my regard and friendship for him were most sincere, I can not be supposed to have felt in any respect the same degree of affection and attachment which so long filled my mind for Mr. Fox. After that public tribute on my part to the memory of Sir William Fawcett, my absence from the funeral of Mr. Fox would be more difficultly referred to etiquette, and might be open to invidious comments. Still however, no wishes of mine in this melancholy circumstance shall for a moment stand in the way of his Majesty's better judgment, if on submitting the little I have said to his consideration, the matter appears in the same light as I understand his Majesty at first to have viewed it in. Other opportunities will be afforded to me of showing the sentiments I have felt for my friend while living, and my unalterable reverence for his memory after death. I have only to add that I do not intrude upon you on the present occasion, any expressions of the sincere regard, confidence, and friendship I feel for you, as this is to be considered more as a communication to the Minister than as a letter to Lord Grenville."

VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1806, October 8. Admiralty.—“ I enclose for your information two papers which I have just received from Count Munster, and which appear to me of considerable importance. Be so good as to send them back to me after you have read them.

“ Was General Fox's appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary intended only to be temporary? If not what reason are we to give for recalling it, and how is the loss he will sustain in a pecuniary view by quitting his government at Gibraltar to be made up to him? I put these questions in consequence of some conversation I had yesterday with Lord Holland, who states that his uncle's appointments, by removing him from Gibraltar, even with that of Minister Plenipotentiary, are reduced from 12,000*l.* to 6,000*l.*; and in looking over the papers in the Office I find that the reason given for his appointment as Minister is that it is necessary to unite in him the two characters of Minister and Commander of the Forces, in order to prevent jealousies. I should not have been so late in stating these circumstances if I had known them sooner; or if I had not concluded that General Fox's appointment as Minister was only intended to continue till another could be sent.

“ Will you forgive my troubling you with the enclosed letter from my old tutor. Do not imagine that I mean to press upon you at the present moment; but I should do injustice

both to my own feelings and his work, if I did not communicate his application ; and at the same time state that he is a person whom I am most anxious to serve. My first interest, however, must be used for my brother, and if in the inferior arrangements consequent upon the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph, any thing can be found for him, I shall be much obliged to you."

*Private.* MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 9. Camelford House.—"Relying with the greatest confidence upon your kind disposition towards me, I did not yesterday mention my brother Gerald's name to you, as I had apprized you sometime ago of the state of his situation in the Church. It would be a great object to him if, in the course of the arrangements now depending, he could obtain a canonry of St. Paul's, upon resigning his prebendary of Westminster.

"Pray remember this circumstance, if an opportunity should occur."

LORD ELLENBOROUGH to THE SAME.

1806, October 11. Bloomsbury Square.—"I hope your lordship will have the goodness to forgive me when I again repeat my very earnest request to your lordship that my brother Dr. Law may be allowed to succeed to the vacancy at St. Paul's about to be made by the promotion of Dr. Moss. No other preferment with a view to the education of his family in town, will be so acceptable to him ; and I should hope that the relation in which I stand to government, and the other circumstances of my situation, might afford a reasonable ground for postponing the expectations of the Speaker's chaplain to the satisfaction of my very anxious wishes on behalf of my brother on this occasion. It is most likely that before Parliament meets a vacancy will occur in some other description of preferment more usually conferred on the Speaker's chaplain, for no instance occurs to me in which the Speaker's chaplain has been promoted to a resident prebend of St. Paul's."

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, October 12. Norton.—"My holidays are on their death-bed. We expect to arrive in Palace Yard next Tuesday, and mean to dine and sleep at Mr. Wedderburne's, Upper Grosvenor Street. On that evening, or on the Wednesday morning, I shall be forthcoming if you have any commands. And a few hours will clear away the arrears and small details of the Land Tax Redemption, and of the Office for Trade. As to the American negotiation, I have with the assistance of our secretary, despatched to Lord Holland a summary (in thirty folio pages) of all the points in discussion, and of their



bearings and difficulties ; and I have endeavoured to make it easy to the Secretary of State to give the requisite instructions for our proceeding. If may be practicable to conclude in the course of a few weeks, *if you wish it*, a treaty not liable to essential objections, and calculated to suspend, at least, all appearance of ill-humour between this country and the United States. It being now settled that Parliament shall sit before Christmas, would it not be right that the Treasury, the committee of Council for Trade, the Admiralty, and the Excise and Customs, should go doggedly to work, to bring forwards their several Bills at the opening of the session ? If you should think so, I shall arrange to settle in town in the second or third week of November.

“ I wish to have a *very confidential* ten minutes with you, on a consideration highly material towards securing in the House of Commons all the preconcert, efficiency, management, and co-operation, the want of which was so seriously felt in the late session.”

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, October 12. Downing Street.—“ I have the honour of humbly acquainting your Royal Highness that his Majesty’s Ministers have resolved to advise his Majesty to dissolve Parliament towards the end of this month.

“ The measure has not been yet communicated to our friends, and the notice to them will be shorter than we could have wished ; but the protraction of the negotiation on one hand, and the necessity of an early meeting of the new Parliament on the other, have unavoidably pressed this resolution forward.

“ I shall of course be anxious to receive any commands that your Royal Highness may honour me on this occasion.”  
*Copy.*

THE SAME to GEORGE III.

1806, October 12. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville begs leave humbly to submit to your Majesty that, in the opinion of your Majesty’s confidential servants, it would be highly advantageous to the public interests that the present Parliament should be dissolved towards the end of this month. The reports of an impending dissolution have been so prevalent, and have obtained such universal credit, that the country is exposed to nearly all the inconveniences of a general canvas. To this consideration is added that of the present crisis of affairs, as resulting from the probable renewal of hostilities on the Continent, and from the rupture of the negotiations at Paris, a circumstance in which Lord Grenville thinks it of the utmost importance that the vigorous resolutions which he trusts will be adopted by Parliament at their meeting, should

have all that weight and sanction, both at home and abroad, which they will necessarily derive from a recent recurrence to the general sense of your Majesty's people.

“Lord Grenville had proposed to submit these ideas for your Majesty's consideration as soon as it became certain that Lord Lauderdale would quit Paris; but he was deterred by an apprehension that there might be some difficulty in making the necessary arrangements for carrying on the public finance during the interval which will elapse before a new Parliament can be assembled. He has now the satisfaction of seeing that this obstacle can be surmounted without difficulty; and he has therefore no further hesitation in humbly recommending the immediate adoption of the measure now submitted to your Majesty.

“As the time is so short he has thought it best to trouble your Majesty on the subject in this form, being unwilling to intrude himself unnecessarily upon your Majesty at Windsor, unless your Majesty should see any reason to command his attendance for the purpose of any further explanation on the subject.” *Copy.*

#### MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 12. Downing Street.—“I called here in order to mention to you that I have some papers from Canning, and also a paper of observations which I thought it necessary to address to him, relative to the communications which lately passed between us. As it is his wish to make a statement of the transaction to his friends, and as he is desirous that you should previously see that statement, I should be glad if you could fix some time within the next day or two when I might call upon you with the papers. They are so blotted and interlined in consequence of my remarks, that I fear you could not easily understand them without my assistance. I can however send them to you, if you choose that course. Canning is desirous that he should be enabled to make his statement (which is to be addressed to Lord Lowther) in the course of two or three days.”

#### *Private.* H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES TO THE SAME.

1806, October 13. Witham Common.—“The messenger has this moment caught me as I was stepping into my carriage to proceed on my journey, and I lose no time in despatching him back again. I certainly am of opinion that the determination you are come to of dissolving the Parliament is well-judged, and well-timed; but, at the same time, I think it an indispensable duty I owe to you to acquaint you with a most important circumstance that, of course will have weight with you, and with all those that are in office with you, and which came to my knowledge not twelve hours before I left London, and which I acquainted Lord Moira with immediately the

night previous to *my* departure, and which I then desired him on his return to take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you with ; which is, and I have it from the very best and most undoubted authority (and which I am certain that you cannot fail to know from whence it comes, from V——) that the Opposition, but in particular Lord Eldon and the Duke of Cumberland, intend to make a stand, and a last effort with the King upon this measure, should it previously transpire so as to reach them before the measure is ordered by the King in Council, and issued to the public through the medium of the *Gazette*. This was told but a few days ago by the Duke of Cumberland to V——, who is quite in the dark as to what are V——s's bearings and feelings. It therefore, with submission to your better judgment, I should think would be absolutely not only desirable but *necessary*, that the very strictest secrecy should be observed as to the measure in meditation ; but if possible that it should be proposed to the King only on the *very day* when it is to be sanctioned by him in the Council. Whether any attempts have as yet been already made by them to work upon the King, I cannot possibly say ; but I rather should think *not*, as in the way I understood the circumstance when it was stated to me, it was, that the Duke of Cumberland spoke of it only as looking forward to it with confidence, and as a *certain* ground for shaking the Government, and of determining the King to resist the measure whenever the moment arrived. But Lord Moira can give you this more in detail from what I told him than I possibly can do by writing, and therefore the sooner you see him the better, as I dwelt a considerable time upon this with him. Excuse me for mentioning to you that I think you have in your own hands a method of entirely preventing the Duke of Cumberland from approaching the King at the present moment, and which will entirely put a stop to the possibility of that incessant communication which takes place between Lord Eldon and the King through the medium of the Duke of Cumberland whenever he forces his attendance upon the King ; and that is, either through yourself or through Lord Moira conveying to the Duke of York in private how desirable it would be, and that *I* had strongly *expressed* myself to ministers upon that head before I set out on my journey, that the Duke of York should write a positive order to the Duke of Cumberland, unless sent for by him, not to leave his district under any pretence whatever, until the meeting of Parliament ; as I strongly resented his unnecessary visits to London, which were only for the sake of mischief, and to intermeddle in the business of the Princess of Wales ; and that as this was now approaching to a termination, the P[ri]nce]ss's answers having been transmitted by the King to his Cabinet, it was highly indecorous that when it could be prevented, as it can be by the Duke of York, that the Duke of Cumberland should not be stopped by being ordered to remain at his post. This can

now be the more easily done, as I had a conversation with the Duke of York upon this head not above three days ago, who expressed himself most extremely displeas'd at the Duke of Cumberland's total neglect of his duties as a General of a District ; and saying to me, that he had spoken very roughly to him upon it, as the Duke of Cumberland had availed himself of his absence again to run away from his District without either leave or permission from him. This perhaps, therefore, had better be done through Lord Moira than through any other quarter, unless you think that it might be better done by yourself, as possibly it may flatter the Duke of York more, to see that he is treated with confidence both by you and me ; and that I had left it in your hands on my leaving London ; and I am confident that when the Duke of York hears this from you, and knows that it is the wish and the desire of government in addition to mine, he will do what he is desired in the strongest manner possible. Throw the whole upon *me*, and this will blind them completely. My letter has extended itself to a greater length than I could have wished, but I found it impossible to reduce into a narrower compass what I had to say ; and which, though I write in great haste in order not to detain the messenger, I hope is sufficiently clear to be understood. But interested as I feel myself in all that concerns the present Government, I could not leave you in ignorance of that which I deem of the greatest importance, as it so immediately relates to the measure now decided upon by the Cabinet."

#### GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 13. Windsor Castle.—“ Although the King must lament that a proposal should be made to him for the dissolution of this Parliament which has sat so short a time ; if it is considered by Lord Grenville a measure of urgent necessity, his Majesty will not withhold his acquiescence. At the same time the King cannot abstain from expressing his surprise that, although the report of such an intention on the part of his Government had been so long prevalent, nothing should ever have been said to his Majesty on the subject, which could induce him to give the least credit to public rumour.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1816, October 13. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville has been honoured with your Majesty's note of this morning ; and at the same time that he begs leave to return your Majesty his grateful acknowledgments for your Majesty's acquiescence in the measure which he has had the honour to submit, he trusts your Majesty will allow him to take this first opportunity of justifying himself in your Majesty's eyes from the appearance of a conduct of which he feels himself totally incapable.

“He is indeed deeply concerned that your Majesty should think it possible that, intending to propose a dissolution of Parliament, he could at the same time deliberately conceal that intention from your Majesty. He begs in the most solemn manner to disclaim a purpose so entirely repugnant to his character. He trusts that his assertion does not need with your Majesty any other or additional support; but if it did, there is not any one of his colleagues to whom he could not safely appeal for the truth of the following statement.

“When the reports of the dissolution were prevalent towards the close of the last session and after its conclusion, Lord Grenville’s opinion was adverse to the measure. It continued to be so till the expected rupture of the negotiations at Paris, and the increasing ferment and canvass in the country induced him to alter it. He then summoned a Cabinet to discuss the question, with the intention, if their opinion concurred with his, of instantly submitting the measure to your Majesty, in the same manner as he has now done. On the very morning of that Cabinet, he received such a statement of finance as led him to judge the measure impracticable. The whole of these circumstances he stated to his colleagues as precluding all further discussion of the measure, and it was thereupon considered as finally abandoned. The meeting of Parliament was in consequence fixed for the 27th November.

“It was not until last Saturday (the day before yesterday) that, in consequence of an examination made with another view, it became obvious to Lord Grenville that, even after a dissolution, Parliament might still meet in time to provide for the exigencies of the public service. He thereupon directed a fresh Cabinet to be summoned on the subject. That Cabinet met yesterday, and it was the result of their deliberations that he had last night the honour to submit to your Majesty.

“He humbly intreats your Majesty’s forgiveness for trespassing upon your Majesty’s time and patience with so long a detail. But as this is the first time in so many years of service that your Majesty has ever appeared to him to have conceived the least impression of any thing like concealment or disguise in his conduct, he feels an anxiety, such as he has hardly ever experienced, to discharge himself from such a suspicion.

“He may have been mistaken in his opinions. He may have erred in the choice of those measures which he has submitted for your Majesty’s gracious consideration. But he humbly intreats your Majesty to be assured that it is no less his determined purpose, than he knows it to be his bounden duty, to state to your Majesty his sentiments and views at all times, and with the most unreserved sincerity and openness. He is most thoroughly convinced that he can in no other manner discharge the anxious duties of his station with that satisfaction to his own mind on which alone he can ground any hope of meriting your Majesty’s gracious approbation and confidence.” *Copy.*

## LORD GRENVILLE to LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

1806, October 13. Downing Street.—“ I am not sufficiently forward in the arrangements consequent upon the Bishop of St. Asaph's death, to see my way as to the manner of satisfying on this occasion (the first of the sort that has arisen) a few of the innumerable claims and applications made to me for ecclesiastical preferment.

“ I never meant that the Speaker's chaplain should have St. Paul's, but I shall probably feel myself obliged to open by the prebend there some one of smaller value for him.

“ I hope I need not say that if I can assist Dr. Law on this or any future occasion, it will give me pleasure to do so ; but you must make a reasonable allowance for my difficulties on a subject on which applications are pressed upon me from all quarters, in addition to those personal obligations under which I (like almost every other man in the country) stand to my own immediate friends and connexions.” *Copy.*

## GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 14. Windsor Castle.—“ The King has received Lord Grenville's letter of yesterday, and desires he will be assured that the explanation which it contains has been perfectly satisfactory to his Majesty. The King is however convinced that Lord Grenville will admit that, without such an explanation, the circumstances apparently connected with the proposal for a dissolution of Parliament would strike him in an awkward light.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, October 14. Downing Street.—“ I am infinitely indebted to your Royal Highness for your condescending letter which I have this morning received. His Majesty has signified to me his consent to the measure of the dissolution, and it can no longer be kept secret because of the great number of persons to whom it must necessarily be communicated, with a view to their making their different arrangements in consequence of it.

“ I will not fail to converse with Lord Moira on the point which your Royal Highness had the goodness to throw out ; but the time is so short as not to allow much room for such an intrigue. This is one advantage which results from a pressure in point of time, which, on many other occasions, is attended with considerable inconvenience.” *Copy.*

## The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1806, October 14. Stowe.]—“ I am indeed delighted that *the point* is settled, for I thought I saw the advantage of it so strongly, that I was tempted to have written to you to urge it, though I so much dislike giving unasked advice on matters not entirely within my information. I will write to Talbot, and

am ready to apply to Lord Kenmare whenever you shall explain your wishes. As to Lord Delvin I have not heard a word from him since he first applied to me, but I have heard that he has mismanaged his game. Of the old members I should think that Foster will always have Rochford, and Smith may be gained if Elliott will apply to him. My own arrangements must depend a little upon yours, or rather upon Tom's final decision respecting Captain Fremantle; for, if he should decide not to bring him into the Admiralty before the election, I should not like to vacate Saltash for his re-election; and, in that case, I would propose that the two brothers should change, William Fremantle for Saltash, and Thomas Fremantle for St. Mawes. The rest of list would stand:

|                 |    |    |                    |
|-----------------|----|----|--------------------|
| Buckinghamshire | .. | .. | Lord Temple.       |
| Buckingham      | .. | .. | T. Grenville.      |
| Do.             | .. | .. | Neville.           |
| Aylesbury       | .. | .. | George Nugent.     |
| Saltash         | .. | .. | Thomas Fremantle.  |
| St. Mawes       | .. | .. | William Fremantle. |
| Do.             | .. | .. | Sir W. Young.      |

“The last to be vacated; or if he should not be present for the day of your return, which I should suppose cannot be sooner than the Friday December 26th—for Christmas day is on the Thursday—I have another arrangement for that seat that your numbers may be as large as possible. But under all the discussions which may occur between us, I think it may be advisable for me to come to town on Saturday morning, so as to dine with Tom and you, if you can either of you give me a dinner; and I will stay Sunday with you. I therefore beg that you will let me know by the return of post whether you have engagements for those two days, that make it impossible for us to dine together on one at least of them; and if my son should arrive in town, you will detain him there that we may meet there.

“I have worked very laboriously for your attack and its collateral's, and I have endeavoured to put my ideas upon paper. If you should wish me to see Stevenson, I will appoint him to meet me in town. The first part of his Black project would be an attack on Senegal with 600 men *on their way to the West Indies*; and he would garrison Senegal, when taken, by the greater part of the garrison now at Goree. This project would not diminish your operative force, and his recruiting of Blacks would begin instantly upon that capture. We are in time for this expedition at the best season, so as to be in Senegal within forty days from its sailing; so that we might hope to begin our black levy by December 20, and the first levy might sail for the West Indies by the end of February, and would be there by the end of March. I have great confidence, from a very long acquaintance, in Stevenson's abilities and integrity.

“I received yesterday a letter from our good bishop stating that he has been tempted by the 6,000*l. per annum* of St. Asaph to apply to you for it. You will, I know, do all you can to gratify him; but it is so much a better thing than the auditorship, that I am bound in conscience to recommend you to take it yourself.”

*Private.* MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 14. Oxford Street.—“As it appears to be doubtful when we may meet, I send you the papers respecting my communication with Canning, although I fear you may not clearly understand them without my explanation. I have been very ill with a severe cold since I saw you, and almost confined to my room for these three days; not having been out of the house, but for the purpose of calling upon you to-day.

“Unless you should return the papers sooner, I will call in Downing Street at eleven to-morrow. It is desirable to give an answer to Canning soon.”

MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, October 15. Stowe.—“In the first place nothing, be assured, can gratify me more than to meet your views, but it does so happen that I have and do still very much dislike the idea of my brother’s starting for Oxford, which is a very different proposition now from what it was three years ago; and therefore, not as an attention to your wishes but as a request in which you can gratify me, let me beg you to sell this favour to Abbott or where you will, and let me put Tom to bed to his old wife Buckingham, instead of *alma mater*.

“He has written to me the kindest letter informing me that he is well satisfied with Markham, and keeps him, and means to send Pole to be second in the channel fleet, and to put Fremantle in his place, and to make no other change unless to vacate Sir P. Stephens for Dickenson. This is in all its points most gratifying to me, and I am persuaded most eligible on every account. But, although this removes part of my difficulties, still I shall come to town, if you can let me dine with you either Saturday or Sunday, that I may know whether his commission for his Board can be signed before the 30th; for, if not, Fremantle and Dickenson must be re-elected; and although there will be no doubt of the election of Tucker and Fremantle at Saltash, yet I should not like to vacate it again. I must therefore settle it when we meet, according to Tom’s convenience; but it is not the same thing to me, either in expense or in other points, whether the brothers remain as I had first settled, or change places.

“I now enclose to you my very vague and unfinished ideas respecting your South American projects. They are, as you will see, very general, because I can have no documents on



the state of the interior. But I will fairly own that I am most sanguine in my plan for attacking Panama, from the certain capture which it promises of Chagres, giving us thereby possession of the communication for hostile or commercial operations to an extent and to consequences quite incalculable. And I am equally intent on sending some of Vancouver's officers, of whom I have named four very good men now in frigates at home, who are the properest for conducting an enterprise of two frigates, a sloop, and a brig, with 250 troops from the Cape of Good Hope and New South Wales. I do not expect solid operations from this Peruvian squadron, but they will distract the money and the means of Spain, as they can be on the coast of Peru in less than five months from this day.

"You will have made Bishop Cleaver very happy, for he began to grow uneasy at seeing no prospect of providing for his English sons out of his Welsh Bangor, without some of Archbishop Moore's simoniacal devices. But at St. Asaph there is no such difficulty. I wrote to Fremantle to say that Lady Downshire is ready to pay 4,000*l.* *instanter* for one of his easy chairs. It is meant to accommodate Corry in case it should be wanted, and, if not, if will be for a *friend*."

#### LORD GRENVILLE to MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1806, October 16. London.—"I lament that you come to town so late as Saturday, because there is much to be settled about Saltash, where it does not seem desirable that Tucker should himself come in. This can only be settled with you. Could you not contrive to be in town to-morrow night; or at all events early enough on Saturday to see Tom, and to write by the post; otherwise we shall lose two days." *Copy.*

#### THE SAME to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, October 16. Downing Street.—"I return you the papers you sent me. They afford ample proofs of the fairness of the intention with which Canning's letter has been drawn, and it is impossible for me not to feel highly gratified by his expressions of personal kindness towards myself, which indeed I never doubted, and which is met on my part by feelings perfectly reciprocal. I also concur entirely with him in the propriety, for his sake as well as for my own, of our being enabled to make to our respective friends some statement on this subject.

"I have indeed already had occasion to say something on the subject to the very person to whom Canning's letter is addressed.

"In answer to some observations of his, I felt myself at liberty to say, that I had had the means of ascertaining that the persons with whom he wished to see me connected had determined not to treat for that purpose but as a body, and to

maintain pretensions which (whether reasonable or not in themselves) were inconsistent with what I felt I owed as a man of honour towards those whom I myself had so recently recommended to the stations they now hold in government.

“ This is the substance, and I believe not far from the words, which I used, and I confess I think it is only in some such short statement of the leading facts, that the respective parties to such a transaction can ever be brought to concur. I cannot but agree with you that the draft of Canning’s letter, even as now amended, is much too long, and too detailed for such a purpose. In a narrative of that length and particularity no man can avoid that species of colouring which every one naturally gives in telling his own story, and which would be found to be perfectly different in two such representations of facts precisely the same.

“ The slightest change of the turn of an expression will, as you well know, lead to different inferences in matters of so much delicacy ; and in guarding the impression of my conduct, as I endeavoured to guard my conduct itself, against the two extremes of which I am liable to be suspected by different persons, of too great or too little facility on this occasion, I never could concur in and adopt a representation of the details drawn by a person who probably does not feel exactly as I do, as to all the motives which regulated my decision. In such a case I cannot but think that the leading facts are those which can alone be stated by the common consent of both parties ; and that the rest must be left to the fairness and mutual good faith of persons honourably and kindly disposed to each other, and who certainly have no intention to misrepresent the particulars.

“ In this view I think our joint statement might be shortly thus : that nothing passed on either side but with reference to communications to be subsequently made to the respective friends of each, as the proper foundation of any distinct or regular discussion or treaty.

“ That Lord G[renville] and Mr. C[anning] mutually expressed a desire that circumstances might lead to a renewal of their former connection.

“ That Mr. C[anning] described himself as bound by engagements which prevented him from acting otherwise than in concurrence with the body of the Opposition, whom he also described as bound by similar engagements to each other.

“ And that it appeared almost immediately that the pretensions of that body were such as could not be satisfied by such facilities as Lord G[renville] was likely to find himself enabled to furnish from actual or probable openings, but would require a departure from the determination he uniformly avowed of not forcibly displacing for that purpose any of the persons who had come into office with him. And that on this ground the whole terminated without ever having assumed the shape of a regular negotiation.

“This of course (if any thing like it be adopted as a joint statement) will not preclude either Canning or myself from stating our own views and impressions as to minuter details : but these will be stated as our own, and, consequently, by just and reasoning minds will be received as such.

“Had a more particular statement by common consent appeared to me necessary or proper, I should have had to thank you much for your observations, in all which I concur, thinking some of them also extremely material ; particularly those which relate to Windham and Lord Melville. I should indeed be sorry to be thought to have admitted a discussion of which Windham’s removal formed a part ; nor could I acknowledge what was said about Lord Melville to be in any degree a just representation of my sentiments. Nothing of course can now be said as to future intentions ; but, speaking of the past even up to this very moment, I must say that if there be one individual in this country to whom I conceive myself to have shown *the greatest* kindness, and that too with much embarrassment and difficulty, that individual is Lord Melville.

“I also think it most essential that all that has passed on my part should be clearly stated as having had reference to future communication and concert with my friends before it could assume a binding form. I have no pretensions to be (as it stated) the *master* of the Government I act with. The station I do hold was, as you know, forced upon me by them against my wishes, and I have no desire to carry its pretensions at all higher than necessity requires ; much less could I think of acting in such a matter as this without full communication with them, and a determination not only to ask their advice, but to abide by it as far as a man can honestly sacrifice his own judgment to that of others.” *Copy.*

*Enclosure.*

GEORGE CANNING to [LORD LOWTHER].

“I have not hitherto troubled your Lordship upon the subjects on which we conversed before you left town : because there has been no period till the present, at which I had anything very precise to communicate ; and I have not felt myself at liberty to report without a distinct object, what has lately passed between Lord Grenville and myself, through the same confidential channel through which I received that communication in July which I mentioned to your lordship, and afterwards at your house to the persons who were assembled there.

“Since that time Lord Grenville has renewed more than once through the same channel, the expression of his desire to find the means of establishing such a connexion between us, and of making such an opening for me in office as would certainly have left to me personally in that respect nothing to desire. Knowing as you do, my sentiments towards

Lord Grenville] your lordship will readily judge in what way my inclination would have led me to meet such a disposition on his part, had I felt myself at liberty to act upon the impulse of personal esteem and regard.

“But you are aware, at the same time, how impossible it was for me to listen to any separate overture, after the events of the last session; and more especially after the manner in which, in the beginning of the session, some of those persons, of whose disposition towards Lord Grenville we entertained most doubt, had declared their willingness to act *with* Lord Grenville] and *under* him, whenever the connexion between him and Fox should be in any way dissolved.

“Nor did the readiness which was expressed on Lord Grenville’s part to make any professional arrangement in which Percival and the Master of the Rolls should be comprehended, appear to me so far to vary the nature of the overture as to make it possible for me to avail myself of it without a wider consideration of the persons who had acted together in the last session.

“In this state things continued till the day before Mr. Fox’s death. It had indeed been mutually agreed that any further discussion had best be deferred till after the decision of the two important points then depending, namely the probability of Mr. Fox’s recovery, and the question of peace with France. Mr. Fox’s death before the other question was determined would have been, of itself, a source of some difficulty. It probably made it necessary for Lord Grenville] to proceed without delay to make his arrangements.

“And upon that occasion it is but justice to Lord Grenville] to say that I believe that he did seriously turn his thoughts to the possibility of comprehending a larger proportion of Mr. Pitt’s friends than he had hitherto had in contemplation; and that he would gladly have found the means of accomplishing that object could he have done so consistently with a determination which he appeared to have laid down to himself, not to disturb the present frame of his government, nor to give up any one of the members of it either in or out of the Cabinet in order to make way for any new arrangement.

“Upon comparing the number of openings which Lord Grenville had it in his power to make, consistently with this determination, with the number of persons connected with us who had not put themselves out of the question (as some had done) you will agree with me that I was not by any means authorised to encourage Lord Grenville to believe that he could on so narrow a basis found any proposal to the body of Mr. Pitt’s friends which would be likely to be deemed satisfactory. And as the whole of Lord Grenville’s communications to me (independent of what related to myself personally) were declared to be intended for the purpose of ascertaining amicably and confidentially the prospect of success in any case in which he might find himself

enabled to make a more formal and distinct proposal, I felt myself bound in fairness to Lord G[renville] not to mislead him into a proposal which, according to what I know of the dispositions of those with whom I acted, was not likely to be favourably received.

"I regret the result : in which I really think that predominancy which your Lordship and I have wished to see of Lord Grenville's power and principles in the administration of the country, is full as nearly concerned as the interest of any individuals. The House of Commons' arrangements certainly are not such as to diminish the objections of those who lamented from the beginning the preponderance of that part of the Government which they viewed with distrust. And it is needless to add that neither you nor I can contemplate without pain Lord Grenville at the head of an administration, the distinctive character of which is that it comprehends, without exception, every political and personal enemy that Pitt ever had; and excludes all those, with the exception only of Lord Grenville himself, and his immediate connexions, who had any share of his friendship and good opinion." *Copy.*

*[The original is published in the Lowther Papers. Pencilled corrections by Lords Wellesley and Grenville on the copy preserved at Dropmore, show that they did not admit the complete accuracy of Mr. Canning's narrative in its methods of representing matters of acknowledged fact.—Ed.]*

*Private.* VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 17. Richmond Park.—"Be so good as to read the first part of the enclosed letter, which I received yesterday from Bathurst. It is, I fear, quite necessary to make out and complete the appointment without any delay. Let me beg you to give directions for that purpose, and you will, of course, cause a letter to be written to Lord Charles Spencer. I must also trouble you to inform me whether Bathurst should come to town—previous to the Bristol election—to kiss hands, and when. If you could send a line to me in Clifford Street before five o'clock to-day you would much oblige me, as it would enable me to write to Bathurst by this evening's post."

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1806, October 18. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to submit to your Majesty the warrant for a new Commission for the Admiralty, with the names of Mr. Dickenson and Captain Freemantle in the room of those of Admiral Sir Charles Pole, who is to hoist his flag in the channel fleet, and of Sir Philip Stephens who retires, and to whom it will be humbly submitted to your Majesty in Council to grant such allowance as his long services may be thought to entitle him to expect.

“ Lord Grenville takes the liberty of sending this warrant without having previously mentioned the arrangement to your Majesty, because it has only been settled within these two days, and it is important that the Commission should be sealed before the new elections take place.” *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 19. Wimbledon.—“ I have just received letters from Thornton, brought by General Deaken; and the Prussian declaration of war, published at Erfurt on the 9th, in consequence of an answer not having been received on the appointed day to the King of Prussia’s demands. An extract of a despatch from Wynne (the original is not received) and a German paper mention some of the movements of the armies. Soult and Davoust with a corps of 16,000 men had advanced to Holt, and General Jauntrien, not having force enough to resist them, had fallen back upon Prince Hohenlohe. A letter from Prince Hohenlohe in the German paper takes notice of a slight affair, in which the French lost 10 men. War then may be considered as having actually commenced. This is all that is material in the papers which have been received, and which I could not delay sending to the King.”

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to THE SAME.

1806, October 20. Dublin Castle.—“ From a conversation I have had with Mr. Elliot I find that Lord Leitrim and Lord Portarlington stand first in the consideration of his Majesty’s ministers among the candidates for the representative peerage of Ireland; and as Lord Portarlington, in the interview I had with him, did not press for a promise of the support of government for the first vacancy, I would beg leave to submit to your lordship that Lord Leitrim should be assured of our support for the first vacancy which may occur, it being understood that Lord Portarlington should be supported in the one next immediately succeeding; although it may be inconvenient to hold out any direct promise beyond the first election which may follow that of Lord Charlemont.”

EARL FITZWILLIAM to THE SAME.

1806, October 20. Wentworth.—“ As Denison, the former candidate for Hull, did not choose to engage again, I have done what I can to secure a peaceable election to the two old members, and hope I have succeeded.

“ Pray, don’t let anything be done about Scarbro’, I mean for the two present members, both enemies; as I have in contemplation to send one of my own nephews.

“ We are engaged in the tremendous business of a contest for this county; Mr. Fawkes is the new candidate. I don’t suppose government can do much, or anything; but I solicit at least for the countenance of government for Fawkes.

I believe he will carry it beyond all expectation, the trustees of the Cloth Hall at Leeds have sent a deputation to him to promise their support; and, from appearances, he will have the general support of the manufacturing district."

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, October 20. Downing Street.—"I enclose a letter I have received from Lady Townshend. She had applied for the government interest at Yarmouth. It was engaged to Mr. Anson and Mr. Jervis. From what the latter said to me yesterday I doubt whether they will both stand; and if I am left at liberty to support Lord James Townshend by the retreat of Jervis, I shall for many reasons be glad to do so; and still more if it has any effect in smoothing your difficulties in the county. You will perhaps have the opportunity of conversing with Lord Anson and Mr. Coke on the subject; and, of course, I put myself entirely into your hands to do whatever is best for government, and consistent with my former engagements." *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 21. Dublin Castle.—"The Lord Lieutenant, who returned from his excursion to Connaught last night, will write to you in the course of this morning on the subject of the next candidate for representative peerage.

"There is, I fear, little prospect of our securing any of the Irish seats which are to be disposed of for pecuniary considerations. The price we are authorized to give is, I understand, much below what was paid here in the present Parliament, and is very short of what will probably be offered now. We have commenced a negotiation for Tralee, but suspect we shall be outbid by Isaac Corry, who is anxious to buy a seat in the event of his losing Newry, and who will, at my suggestion, apply to you for your assistance in the accomplishment of this object, in case he does not get Tralee.

"Newport is very solicitous for your interest with Lord Mountnorris in favour of Carew and Colelough."

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1806, October 21. Oxford Street.—"I think your letter might safely be placed in any hands; but I will only read it to the Colonel. He will consider the restoration of his own production as an act of kindness, and I suppose you feel as little inclination as myself to retain that composition; if so, I will return it to him upon receiving it from you. I shall appoint to-morrow at one o'clock for seeing him.

"With respect to the other point I had written to Arthur; but I cannot expect his answer before Thursday morning. In the meanwhile, if time should press, I wish you to fill the seat according to any other arrangement which you may have in contemplation."

## LORD GRENVILLE to LORD HENRY PETTY.

1806, October 22. Downing Street.—“I return you the papers respecting the proposed medical regulations. The subject will, in my judgment, require much discussion, and consideration, before government shall be pledged to it. There is no doubt that it is very desirable to secure the benefit of a regular education to all who are to practice in the different branches of physic; but, considering how very difficult and expensive such an education is, and what uphill work a physician and surgeon has to struggle with in his outset, I should not like to add to the expenses of his setting out.

“I should recommend that the matter should be referred to a committee of the House of Commons, and that a few members of real talent and understanding (and grounded if possible in the true principles of political economy) should be requested to give their attention to it; for the matter is one of infinite importance. Aid that is not the best is still often very valuable to those who have no means of getting better; and we should have to reproach ourselves for ever if we had made the attainment of that more difficult in such cases.” *Copy.*

## THE SAME to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, October 22. Downing Street.—“I am happy to hear that everything is so satisfactorily settled at Hull. I have had no application respecting Scarboro, and your nephew would, of course, be entitled to my best wishes.

“Phipps is a decided enemy, and I have always heard that his is the weakest interest. The Duke of Rutland has hitherto been against, but there are strong appearances of his being now inclined to support us.

“In Yorkshire my wishes would of course be for Wilberforce and Fawkes. I do not know whether there is any hope that the thing may take this course. I do not suppose that my wishes (be they what they may) can have the smallest influence in that immense body of voters.” *Copy.*

## W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 22. Lynn.—“Though appearances here are sufficiently promising, and friends warm and sanguine, the undertaking is a very arduous one, and the event anything but certain. My consolation is that the risk to me in point of expense though great, is limited, and that, in any event, no complaint will be made of me as not having acted fairly and liberally. It is the best I could hope from a step not dictated originally by any very considerate prudence.

“All agree that great exertions are necessary, and there is as great a call (not without some mixture of complaint) for evidences of the government influence. Thetford stands as a strong example, where the whole town has been carried



by a man having a brother and his nephews, one of them his son-in-law, in one of the principal offices of government.

“Mr. Howard is another great instance who has been active beyond measure, and beyond his usual character, still more, contrary to his usual character, is said to be likely a large contributor to the expense.

“The Mr. Grigson also, whom I mentioned to Freemantle the other morning, has been and continues to be most active. Would there be any objection to removing him from his appointment (a control commissary at 15s. per day) and substituting in his place a man well known here, and known also as a friend of mine, and whose appointment would be very popular, at least at Norwich; a Mr. Charles Reynolds whom I have long wished to provide for, though I have not liked to trouble you.

“But a worse business than all (of another sort) has broke out in the discontent of Lord Townshend, who threatens to withdraw from Coke and me the whole of his interest, in consequence of the disappointment at Norwich. Is it possible to pacify them by the offer of a seat for Lord James in some other place, suppose in lieu of that which I shall leave open in case of my success here. I am the more distressed at this because I fear I have been myself in some degree to blame in not mentioning to you Lord Townshend’s wishes earlier. It would be a great consolation to me to know that your answer to Anson had preceded the time when I could possibly have spoke to you about Lord Townshend. But, in the mean[time], pray write to Lady Townshend, as their defection may probably make the whole difference of success or failure.

“I must break off, as there is a whole company below clamouring for me to begin a canvass.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, October 24. Roehampton.—“You sent to me on Wednesday last two long papers from Mr. Lushington on the subject of the alleged sufferings of the West India planters under the actual system of taxation: (1) by the *quantum* of the taxes; (2) by the mode in which the duties are levied upon the quantity without regard to the quality; and (3) on the war tax on exports, which is asserted to be a tax entirely on the planter, and not on the purchaser.

“Mr. Lushington states his case so diffusely, and in terms so little conciliating, that it is difficult to know how to answer him; but he is more especially angry that you have not even acknowledged his remonstrances; and perhaps if it be not done, you will think proper to direct Mr. Fisher to write in your name, that his letters of the 13th August and 12 October have been received, and will be duly considered with all the other representations on the subject, previously to the opening of the ensuing session of Parliament. In fact we have had much

discussion on the subject, and I have collected many accounts and much information to be submitted to you respecting it, and mean to put the whole into some connected abstract. But it will be difficult, if not impracticable, to give any satisfaction to the complainants without too much loss and risk to the revenue. In the meantime Mr. Lushington repeats *coarsely* in every page that government acknowledges its own ignorance, and refuses to be informed; that the planters are degraded and used worse than the negro slaves; and finally he intimates that unless some prompt satisfaction shall be given, he will communicate to the public the contents of his letter to your Lordship. I really should not be sorry if he were to carry that threat into effect, as soon as we have settled some outline of proceeding; and when Lord Penrhyn, and others concerned, shall have returned to town, I believe the best move will be for me to sacrifice two or three mornings to a discussion with them.

“There is an opposition at Oxford, a Mr. Lockhart, and at Woodstock, Mr. Annesley, a neighbouring gentleman of some weight. But I believe there is no danger as to the ultimate result; and there is a severe contest at Windsor, which will subject Colonel Vansittart to great expense.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, October 24. Downing Street.—“I send you a letter from Lady Downshire and my answer. I never have heard anything from Lord de Clifford, and I suppose it is best therefore to support Lady Downshire.

“A seat is secured to me for Corry if he should fail in his Irish arrangements. All looks well here. In case of failure at Waterford, Lord Buckingham brings in Newport. If you write to him pray say so; I have not time.” *Copy.*

EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 24. Wentworth.—“Fawke’s canvas goes on beyond all expectation; which of the two old members will go to the wall, I know not, but I am inclined to think Wilberforce will be the strongest in point of numbers; but, taking the purse into consideration, whether he will be the most successful is another question.

“Scarbro’ will not do; I have given it up. I have done my best to keep Hull quiet.

“To my great surprise, I find that Lord Sefton will not stand for Liverpool; and that Gascoigne and Tarleton will come in, for want of a friend to Government offering. A Lancashire gentleman, now become a Yorkshireman (Mr. Hodgson) has desired me to give him a letter to Mr. Heywood, which I have done, as a candidate, in case the post is not already occupied by some other friend. Should it prove so, let me beg in that case the assistance of Government for Mr. Hodgson.”

## W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, October 24. Holkham.—“Great as your state of hurry and fatigue is, it is hardly equal to mine. I have seen Lady Townshend and pacified her, more by my contrition than by my defence, in respect to myself; but I don't know that her purposes relax with respect to withdrawing her support for the county, which must nearly be decisive. The best of all arrangements would be the procuring a seat for Jervis, or his withdrawing, which your letter seemed to give hopes of. The next would be the providing a seat for Lord James; but I cannot equally urge this, because it would give at last but incomplete satisfaction. The Townshends certainly were ejected from Yarmouth in a way of which they might complain, though not of you; and which one does not like upon general principles.

“My own mind upon this subject is rather lighter from thinking, upon the whole, that nothing was lost by my neglect. But this tells nothing as to consequences in the county, which certainly may be conclusive if they choose to make them so; and their not choosing to make them so, should that be ultimately their determination, is not a reason while [why?] less anxiety should be felt to favour their views with respect to Yarmouth, if it be possible.”

*Postscript.*—“There is a Mr. Oakes, the Receiver at Bury in Suffolk, who has certainly been unfriendly, and been said to be active against us.”

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1806, October 24. Norwich.—“I take the opportunity of a messenger whom I am sending back to say, that letters from Rainham still continue to threaten opposition for the county, though I think unreasonably, and therefore I hope not seriously. The whole question, as it respects Government, is whether you could have felt yourself at liberty to set aside Jervis or Anson in favour of Lord James Townshend. Jervis, I conceive, you certainly could not, placed as he would seem to have been under the protection of Lord Howick; and Anson not more so, with the pretensions which his brother has from property and connexions. The rest would be mere resentment to me, for not having sooner apprized Lady Townshend that nothing could be done. My own mind is considerably more at ease from the persuasion that no real mischief has happened from my neglect. Should it happen that, in the confusion which is now likely to arise to the borough, two other candidates, Harbord and Lushington, being said to have appeared, Jervis should withdraw, I should then strongly importune you to let the Townshend application prevail. It would be a great relief and a great gratification to me to be instrumental in rendering this service to a family I am so much connected with, and to such a very early friend

as Lady Townshend. The business here, unless this defection should take place of the Townshend interest, I rather think will succeed; though not without a contest, and probably a very severe one. Dangers however are threatening from every side, and one is from a contest here in the city. The sitting members are the persons to be supported by Government; though I, individually, positively refuse to take any part. Patteson of the House of Commons is the person who has been put up, and by a portion of my former friends; but I think he will hardly persist.

"In letters to-day, as well as in others, I talked to you about government influence. The Bidwells pursue us everywhere. Another brother, likewise a brewer, has been doing all the mischief he can in a town which I have been canvassing to-day, Dereham. Grigson likewise meets me at every turn. He has been most active and inveterate. An admonition now will be of no service. He has done his mischief. The use to be made of him is as an example, and in that way he would be most valuable. The mention in the county papers that Mr. Charles Reynolds was appointed to the place so and so, lately held by Mr. Grigson, would be of sovereign effect. One odd condition has been found in the whole of this, of which one has said nothing because there did not appear to be any remedy, namely, that some of the most active and eager opponents have been the connexions of part of the Ministry. The most zealous canvasser in my neighbourhood has been Dr. Hay of Christ Church, Bragge's brother-in-law. I am anxious to return on various accounts, but I fear it will not be possible for me before Tuesday or Wednesday."

LORD GRENVILLE TO W. ELLIOT.

1806, October 25. Downing Street.—"You will see what I have written to the Lord Lieutenant about Lord Ely. I own I think, if the matter is open to compromise, it would be far better to do it, supposing that Newport's election as well as Colclough's could thus be secured.

"No more than the sum we mentioned is, I understand, asked here for the generality of cases. In some instances, perhaps, more may be given.

"Lord Mountnorris is pressing me for an English peerage which he cannot have; and this makes me rather shy of urging him much about the Wexford election." *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 25. Dublin Castle.—"I am sorry that I cannot report to you any successful progress in my negotiations for the close seats.

"Mr. Justice Day, who, in his capacity of trustee for the Denys' family, has the management of the borough of Tralee, assures me that he had two proposals, each of which exceeds

the offer I was authorized to make by more than 1,000*l.* Both the parties however with whom he is in treaty are, as he states, likely to be friendly to Government.

“Lord Enniskillen tells me in confidence that he has for a long while past been in treaty with Mr. Knox, the candidate for the county of Tyrone, who wants a seat for his son; and that he has also had a considerable offer from Fitzgerald, the late Prime Serjeant. If this negotiation with them should be broken off, he will apprise me of the circumstance. At the same time I fear he will expect a greater price than I am authorized to propose.

“Pennefather has not yet given me a positive answer with respect to Cashel.

“Handcock has promised to communicate with me on the subject of Athlone in the course of a few days. I have, nevertheless, very little hope of his acceding to our terms.

“The state of Dundalk you will learn by a letter which the Lord Lieutenant has received from Lord Roden, and which he has transmitted to Lord Spencer.

“Lord Charleville has been twice written to about Carlow, but I have not yet heard from him. Lord Hardwicke, while he was in Ireland, had views upon that seat for a private friend; and I suspect that the negotiation, which he commenced with Lord Charleville, is still pending.

“You promised to ascertain whether Portarlington can be secured, and will probably avail yourself of the intervention of Lord Dorchester, who has great influence over Lord Portarlington.

“Grattan will, I think, certainly be selected for Dublin, but there will be a hard contest between Latouche and Shaw.

“Peter Latouche has relinquished his pretensions to the county of Leitrim, though he had a fair prospect of being returned. Mr. White therefore (the son of Luke White the candidate for the county of Dublin) will come in without opposition.

“Mr. Ruthven (whose name was Trotter, and is the brother of the person who was private secretary to Fox) is supported by Lady Downshire for Downpatrick, and has by much the strongest interest there. I have therefore ventured to give him an assurance of the countenance of Government. By aiding Lord de Clifford in that borough we should offend both Lady Downshire and Mr. Ruthven, without being able to render Lord de Clifford any essential service.

“The Attorney-General, after having given the subject very mature deliberation, declines coming into Parliament, stating that he could not do it without sustaining such a loss in point of professional emolument as would most materially affect his fortune. I have since made the proposal to the Solicitor who has asked a little time to consider it, and the Chancellor has promised to talk to him upon it. It will be

absolutely necessary that we should have an Irish lawyer in the House, and I most anxiously hope you will be able to retain a seat for the purpose."

*Postscript.*—"I forgot to mention that I had in my interview with Lord Enniskillen an explanation with him in respect to his political inclinations, and he assured me that he was to be considered as friendly to the present Government. Under these circumstances I presume you would not disturb him in his county. Mr. Brooke, a gentleman of the county of Fermanagh, would stand in opposition to Lord Enniskillen's brother, if he were assisted by Government."

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 25. Phoenix Park.—"I have the honour to return your lordship the enclosed letter from Lord Dillon on the subject of the Constablership of Athlone. No application has been received by the Government on this side of the water for the reversion of that office, but I conceive that, should such an application be made, the same answer will be returned to it as has been given to all requests for reversionary grants by the present Government; and I think your lordship may with perfect propriety state this to Lord Dillon."

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, October 25. Downing Street.—"What your grace proposes respecting Lord Leitrim and Lord Portarlington will, I think, be perfectly satisfactory. Lord Ely has applied to me offering friendship and support, and proposing to compromise the county of Wexford by returning one member each. I told Sir Robert Wigram, who came to me for this purpose, that I could have personally no indisposition to Lord Ely, but that if engagements of a different nature had been entered into, he must know that they must be fulfilled; and that on that subject I could only refer him to the Government in Ireland, who could alone judge of local circumstances that might make such a proposal proper to be accepted or not.

"I imagine that he, like many others, finds that the support of Government is indispensably necessary to the maintenance of his own interest."

*Postscript.*—"Every thing seems to promise well here. We have, however, an untoward circumstance in Westminster. The Duke of Northumberland is so offended at Sheridan's standing, that he withdraws Lord Percy. I mean, if I can, to induce Sir Samuel Hood to offer himself; but I fear no other candidate will have as quiet an election as Lord Percy would have had. I heartily wish Lord Tavistock had been of age."

*Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 25. Seymour Place.—"I enclose Lauderdale's answer which I have just received. I conclude that your determination will be to support Colleade and Allen.

“In my way here I met Lord Thanet, who had just left a meeting of the Kentish people. They intend to support Lord Marsham in conjunction with Honeywood, if Lord Romney’s previous engagements do not stand in the way. If Lord Marsham stands for the county, some other candidate will be proposed on the same interests for Hythe. I thought it necessary to mention this in consequence of what passed this morning about Sir William Geary, as you probably will think it right to suspend any determination about the second candidate till this is settled. Any thing will be better than Knatchbull.”

*Private.* VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to THE SAME.

1806, October 25. Richmond Park.—“The intelligence received last night from Holland is, I daresay, far beyond the truth; but still it is too probable that success has hitherto been on the side of the French. Under these circumstances, it seems to me very questionable whether we should be justified in sending *just at this moment*, so large a proportion of our best infantry as 4,000 men in pursuit of what may be deemed a new object, and with a view to interests separately and exclusively our own. Of the importance of that object I think as highly as any one, and I am also fully aware of the strong objections which apply to the employment of British troops on the continent in conjunction with those of other powers. But if Prussia is hard pressed, she can only be saved by powerful co-operation; and Austria ought to afford it instantly, if she hopes to save herself. The inducement to afford it will not, I fear, be effectual without some military as well as pecuniary aid from Great Britain. I mean by demonstrations on our own coasts, and strong diversions on those of the enemy. If *Prussia* signs a second treaty of Presburg, *Austria* is lost.”

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1806, October 26.—“Having heard nothing more from you respecting Canning, I suppose that the affair is at an end. Pray let me hear to-night from you, as I shall probably go out of town to-morrow. If you wish to see him, he can be in town to-morrow or next day.

“I send a letter from Colonel Wood, which I have marked with a pencil where he appears to me entirely to mistake your letter, which I read to him without comment. You will judge whether you will give the Colonel a copy of your letter to me. It would perhaps be the easiest mode of removing his error, which *cannot be* otherwise than sincere.”

*Enclosure.*

*Most confidential.* N. WOOD to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, October 24. Pall Mall.—“For the purpose of preventing mistakes, as your lordship was pleased to express

a wish that I would commit to writing the subject of our conversation at the time you were so obliging as to read to me Lord Grenville's letter; in compliance with your desire, I have now the honour of stating what, to the best of my recollection, passed upon the occasion. I begged your lordship would assure Lord Grenville that I was perfectly satisfied that his lordship must have had substantial reasons for disappointing my expectations of being immediately appointed to the government of Malta; and that I felt myself much flattered by Lord Grenville's very handsome and friendly assurances of his disposition to forward my views, so soon as an opportunity occurs. I begged of your lordship to add, that from the high respect which I had for his lordship's abilities; from the sense which I entertained of his lordship's just discernment of what, at this very critical and trying period, was the line of conduct to be pursued most conducive to the honour and to the security of his country; exclusive of any views of my own, I had determined to give Lord Grenville's administration the whole of my political support.

"That, in pursuance of this, it was my determination to fill the four seats, *my own property*, with gentlemen as much attached to his lordship's administration as if they had been named by the Treasury.

"That in respect to Gatton, I meant to bring in a new connection of my own in conjunction with myself, by which means both seats would remain at my own disposal, and might be vacated whenever Lord Grenville might think my services might be employed more beneficially to my country in some other situation.

"That in regard to Shaftesbury, notwithstanding that his lordship and the public had been informed of a very formidable attack making against my property by two gentlemen sent down by Mr. Calcraft (an agent of government), and notwithstanding that this unexpected opposition must give me a good deal of trouble, and incur a very considerable expense, yet that I could assure his lordship I had every reason to believe that those deputies of Mr. Calcraft stood not the smallest chance of success; and that I had in consequence named two gentlemen—equally attached to Lord Grenville; so that, at all events, Lord Grenville may reckon on Shaftesbury, the same which ever way the issue of this contest may terminate.

"It is, however, a favourable opportunity of calling Lord Grenville's attention to the very particular situation of the borough of Shaftesbury. About five years ago, this estate was seized by a writ for a debt to the Crown, due from Mr. Paul Benfield, and sold by government to me for the sum of 35,000*l.* At this time, this property stands me upwards of 60,000*l.*

"During these last four years I have had upwards of 30,000*l.* of my purchase money, in consideration of my agreement for the purchase of this Shaftesbury estate, lodged in



the Exchequer, and to this hour have never had conveyed to me a single cottage of this property.

"It is in this situation, and under the circumstances already mentioned, whilst I have an agreement with Government for the purchase of this estate, and, including interest, upwards of 32,000*l.* lodged in the Exchequer, that an agent of Government sends down two gentlemen to combat with me, and to rob me of the political interest which, it is obvious to every person, could have been the sole and only object for my making the purchase.

"Far be it from me however to impute to Government the smallest blame upon this account. From circumstances within my own knowledge, Government was not apprized of what Mr. Calcraft had done; and unfortunately Mr. Calcraft had suffered himself to be circumvented by a Mr. Messiter, a most worthless Shaftesbury attorney; who, at the same time that he stood pledged to me by the most solemn pledge and engagement to support my interest, came up to treat with Mr. Calcraft for the sale of my borough, and positively pledged himself to bring in two members. Mr. Messiter's letter pledging himself *for ever* to support my interest, I put into the hands of Lord Moira to show Lord Spencer; and a stronger instance of depravity and villainy seldom occurs."

LORD GRENVILLE to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, October 26. Downing Street.—"I return you the original of my letter to you respecting Colonel Wood. I need hardly observe to you how very far that letter is from containing the assurances which Colonel Wood seems to have understood it as expressing, but which it would be quite impossible for me to give; as indeed I there explain. The particulars respecting other points to which he refers cannot, of course, be entered into by me. I was totally unapprized of the circumstances stated in his letter, and certainly have never had any intention of acting with hostility to Colonel Wood." *Copy.*

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 27. Phoenix Park.—"It gave me much satisfaction to learn from my friend Adam that he has determined to come into Parliament; and from an intimate knowledge of the integrity of his mind, and of his earnest zeal and support of the principles upon which the present government acts, as well as from an entire confidence in the solidity of his judgment and his talents, I am persuaded that in the great chasm which has been left by the sad loss we have sustained, you will find him a very valuable acquisition to your strength in the House of Commons. Mr. Adam certainly makes no inconsiderable sacrifice of professional emoluments by his determination, and I am sure your lordship will be as anxious as I can be that the interests of his family should not

eventually suffer by it. I think it, however, but a justice due to him to state to you, that in a conversation he had with Fox in my presence, on the formation of the present administration, he told him that his views were directed towards an honourable retreat in his own country; and that he trusted he might look to one of the higher legal offices in Scotland whenever such might become vacant; which Fox, without hesitation, acknowledged to be an object of reasonable and fair ambition, and to which he was ready to give his most cordial assistance."

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 27. Dublin Castle.—“The negotiation, in which Lord Enniskillen was first engaged, is broken off, and he tells me that he has had a fresh offer of 5,000*l.* for the Parliament, but will give the refusal, *at that price*, to Government. I shall therefore thank you to let me be informed, as soon as you can, whether you have any friend who will lay down that sum. You are, however, to understand that Lord Enniskillen will reserve the seat for his brother Colonel Cole until he is able to ascertain the result of the county election; but, with the support of Government, I conceive Colonel Cole's return for Fermanagh will be secure.

“Mr. Dupré had promised his second votes in the county of Derry to Mr. Ogilby, who declines standing, and is warmly in Colonel Ponsonby's interest. The Chancellor is consequently most anxious to obtain Mr. Dupré's second votes for Colonel Ponsonby, and you will oblige him much if you can assist him in the accomplishment of this object.

“I enclose Lord Charleville's answer relative to Carlow. He states that he imagines the gentleman to whom he has disposed of the seat is friendly to administration, but I suspect that he has sold it to Lord Hardwicke's friend.

“I am afraid the Solicitor-General will decline coming into Parliament, though I have refused to take his answer to-day. At any rate I trust you will reserve a seat, as it will be absolutely necessary to have a lawyer in the House for Irish business.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, October 27. Downing Street.—“The politicians on your side of the water seem much more eager than ours. There is therefore no remedy, and we have only to hope that those who bid so high will be favourably disposed to us when they come.

“I would by no means wish to disoblige Lord Enniskillen, but, on the contrary, to cultivate the favourable dispositions he expresses.

“I wrote to Lord Dorchester. His answer was that he would write to Lord Portarlington, but I have heard no more of it,

"I had anticipated your decision about Downpatrick, and am clearly of opinion that Lady Downshire must be supported.

"I hope we shall be able to keep a seat for Bushe, and he ought undoubtedly to be in Parliament.

"Lord Mountnorris came to-day. Lord Valentia is come, and Lord M[ountnorris] states that he could come in for Wexford—or that he has an offer of a seat for him if he will join Lord Ely. Their interests cannot be settled at a distance, and so I told him, and recommended him to let Lord V[alentia] close his travels by a trip to Dublin. My advice would be to support Carew and Lord Ely's man there; for Colclough is not likely to be ever of any use to us here, being a resident in France, whether compulsorily or by choice I do not know." *Copy.*

#### THE SAME to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, October 27. Downing Street.—"I take the liberty of submitting herewith to your Royal Highness the list of the Scotch Peers which is to be proposed for the support of the friends of government, and humbly to suggest that if your Royal Highness should be disposed to vote on this occasion it might be necessary that the Lord Chancellor should receive your Royal Highness's commands when he should have the honour of attending your Royal Highness for the purpose of administering the oaths of qualification.

"Your Royal Highness will have heard the unfortunate news from Germany. We have as yet no particulars; but, although some exaggeration is perhaps to be allowed for, yet I have no doubt it will turn out to have been a very considerable defeat." *Copy.*

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 28. Eden Farm.—"We yesterday had an application which embarrasses me, more especially as I am urged to decide it on Thursday morning. Messieurs Gordon and Murphy received (in last June) licences for ten neutral ships to go from Cadiz (with quicksilver) to Vera Cruz, to return to British ports with four millions of dollars to the account of the Spanish Government. It was a hardy measure, but you thought it expedient at the time, partly on the disputable ground of resulting advantage to our circulation and trade, and partly as a fulfilment of the contract made by Mr. Pitt. I supposed however that the transaction was then closed. A claim is now brought forwards for ten more licences for ten more neutral ships to go from Spanish ports to Spanish settlements with quicksilver, to bring back six millions of Spanish dollars. I should not hesitate if the vessels went from British ports with British manufactures, to bring the dollars to British or neutral account. On the whole a short opinion from you will much relieve me.

“Another embarrassment! The Honduras settlers apply for permission to import American beef and pork in American vessels, on the allegation that they must otherwise be starved. If we give way we must have a Bill of Indemnity, and (what is worse) Trinidad and the other settlements will make a similar application.

“The American Commissioners are at present very frequent, very earnest, and very long in their conferences, and seem desirous to arrive at some practical arrangement.

“I expected the Prussian catastrophe, but I grieve at it; more especially as their struggle seems to have been made with a display of courage beyond expectation.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, October 28. Downing Street.—“We had given notice to Gordon and Murphy (according to the reservation in their contract) that we shall not want the further supply of dollars. Vansittart can explain the whole to you. I should certainly be against giving them any licence not actually required by contract.

“Will not the bill of last session authorize all that is wanted for Honduras? I am totally against breaches of the law and indemnities.” *Copy.*

#### THE SAME to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, October 28. Downing Street.—“I cannot resist the impulse of writing to you to press you in the strongest manner that all the friends of Government in Yorkshire may, as much as possible, be induced to vote for Wilberforce jointly with Fawkes. Independently of my own long friendship and sincere regard for him, I really think that his character is such as would render his rejection much to be lamented.

“Lascelles, though undoubtedly a man of fair and honourable character, is a decided political enemy; and as such a natural object of our opposition. Both the sentiments and conduct of Wilberforce have been uniformly friendly to the present Government; and, in the last session, he gave us active and useful assistance by speaking on the military questions. It would give me great pain if he had reason to think that there was any slackness on the part of Government in giving him in return such aid as is in our power; and it would certainly be very impolitic to suffer, if we can prevent it, the election of Lascelles, a decided enemy, instead of Wilberforce who has uniformly supported us.”

*Postscript.*—“You will receive by this post the melancholy bulletin of the Prussian defeat, as stated in the *Hague Gazette*. A little exaggeration may perhaps be allowed for in news from that source, but of the substance there is no room to doubt.” *Copy.*

## W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 28. Yarmouth.—“I find by the canvass this morning, what was not quite clear from the last letter which I received from Lady Townshend, that the Townshend interest may be expected to be exerted against us to the full extent in the county. If so, notwithstanding all our general success, and the effect that may be produced by a more vigorous exertion of the Government influence, it is impossible to say what the event of the election it to be.

“I shall write to Lady Townshend, if I possibly can this morning, to say that, if such is their determination, and that notwithstanding all the concern which I have expressed and felt, and all the proofs which I think there are that nothing has really been lost through me in a business which they never distinctly explained to me, they are resolved to avenge upon me the quarrel which they have with Government (for such is the footing on which Lady Townshend put it) there remains nothing but that we should make war to the utmost in our turn; and that, even if a compromise at Yarmouth should take place, there will be no endeavour to turn it to their advantage.

“Jervis, I understand, still hesitates, at least did an hour or two ago, being uncertain whether Lord St. Vincent means to assist him in point of expense. The difficulty in that case of bringing in another candidate to support Anson may make a compromise desirable, and then the question will arise between Lord James Townshend and Lushington; for, as I mentioned in my letter of last night, or rather this morning, Lushington will be far preferable to Harbord.

“A vessel that left the Dutch coast on the 20th (I don't know from what part) says they had at that time no report of any action between the French and Prussians, though such an account was hourly expected.

“Comte d'Artois writes me word of an intention of raising foreign regiments, and wishes, of course, that an opportunity should be given, in that case, for recommendations which he would have to offer. I have discouraged hitherto any such intention, and take it for granted that none such exists, at least that nothing will be done about it till I come back. But, in fact, till the foreign regiments now subsisting are filled up, there is no room for any such step.”

## LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, October 29. Eden Farm.—“I have just received from Messieurs Gordon and Murphy a copy of their contract. They do not set up any demand on Government to take a further supply; but they contend that, by the agreement with the Treasury, they are entitled to licenses for whatever number of neutral vessels they may require or think necessary to accomplish the bringing of the ten millions of dollars from South America; and that those vessels may be sent from

any port in Europe; consequently, from the port of an enemy, with the merchandise and produce of an enemy, to bring the treasure of an enemy. Mr. Vansittart is to meet me at the Board to-morrow; I certainly should be glad if it were practicable to resist the requisition.

*Private.*—"It has been intimated to me that Lord Glenbervie would be glad to give up his time and attention to the appeals at the Cockpit, with a disposition diligently and honourably to serve under your government, and with reasonable expectation to be compensated\* for a service so material, and so necessary, under the circumstance of Sir William Scott and the Master of the Rolls being ill-disposed at present towards us. Lord Fitzwilliam had consulted me some months ago as to the expediency of employing one of the judges, but there were obvious objections to it. I do not think Lord Glenbervie open to any objections, and his being out of Parliament would be an advantage. He is conversant in the business, is a well-grounded lawyer, very temperate, and formerly practised at the Cockpit. And if proper in other respects, it would be an inducement that, by his removal from his late office, he is left most incompetently provided for; having only 600*l.* to Lady Glenbervie, and 600*l.* to his son, yielding together only 800*l.*"

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 29. Dublin Castle.—"Lord Ely called on me immediately after I had received your letter of the 25th instant. As we are positively pledged to Carew and Colclough, I explained to Lord Ely that the interest of government was engaged, and that I regretted he had not made an earlier application. I have since consulted the Chancellor on the possibility of prevailing on Colclough to relinquish his pretensions, but he thinks, perhaps with some reason, that even if Colclough were to consent to such an arrangement (which is not likely) the support of Lord Ely's candidate would render Government unpopular with the Catholics. I was very anxious in the spring that some understanding should be had with Lord Ely with a view to the general election, but Newport and some of our *eager* friends were persuaded we should carry both members. This I *still* doubt. Carew is by much our most respectable candidate. The Colclough family were one of very suspicious politics; and John Colclough, who now stands in consequence of the continuance of his brother's imprisonment in France, was accused of a strong leaning to the side of the United Irishmen at the time of the rebellion. However, he is perfectly cured, I believe, of this frenzy; and the interest of his family in Wexford has the countenance of the Ponsonbys.

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\* A fund for the payment might be made from the King's prize-money.

"I have seen Handcock, who means to be returned for Athlone himself. If he should alter his intention, he is to inform me of it.

"Your letter of the 24th instant (by a messenger despatched by Portpatrick) has just reached me. I will advise Corry and Newport of seats being secured for them in the event of their failure in their present objects. If it had been practicable to have compromised Wexford, we could not have assisted Newport by the arrangement, as Mr. Boulton (not Aleock) is his antagonist at Waterford.

"As upon mature consideration I thought it best that Government should support Lady Downshire's candidate for Downpatrick, I made the intimation to a friend of Mr. Ruthven's yesterday, and am very glad to find the decision has your approbation.

"This morning's post has brought me the enclosed letter from Parnell. Pray have the goodness to apprise me by *express*, whether if Coote should offer himself, he is not to have the aid of Government *against Pole*.

"The answer of the Solicitor-General as to coming into Parliament is the same at the Attorney's.

"I really know not what under these circumstances is to be done, for it is absolutely essential that Newport should have the aid of an *Irish* lawyer in Parliament. If Hawthorn were brought in, perhaps means might be devised of compensating him for his assistance by giving him fees on the drawing of Bills. One of the law officers however would have carried much more weight and authority in the House, and either the Attorney or Solicitor would have been a great acquisition in point of strength. The former would, I am convinced, prove the best legal debater since the days of Thurlow and Wedderburn."

*Enclosure.*

H. PARNELL to W. ELLIOT.

1806, October 28. Emo Park.—"As the information I have received by this day's post gives me reason to suppose that Colonel Coote will be a candidate for this county, and thereby give rise to a contest, I beg leave to solicit, as a very necessary measure to be taken on my part, the active support of Government.

"At present it does not occur to me that it would be requisite for me to desire any other application than one to the Bishop of Ferns, and a second to the Bishop of Ossory. Lord Temple has given me his interest, and Mrs. Coote has given me the interest of her son Sir Charles Coote, in consequence of my connection with Government.

"You will have better opportunities than I have of ascertaining how far the assistance of Government may be made of service to me, and I shall feel it to be a very

particular act of kindness if you will have the goodness to take such opportunities as may occur to promote my interest.

“The success I have met with on my canvass leaves me not the smallest reason to doubt of my success. Nor can I imagine that Mr. Pole is in the least danger. The whole of the resident gentlemen, with a very few exceptions indeed, being engaged to him or me.”

*Private.* LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 29.—“I enclose the outline of an article on the pressing of American seamen, drawn up, as you will see, very hastily and imperfectly by Lord Auckland and myself at our last meeting. The wording, of course, is objectionable, but we are both anxious to know whether the *substance* and *general form* of it are such as you would approve. Of course such an experiment could only be made for a given period, and that a short one; but as we meet the Americans *to-morrow*, and are likely to talk chiefly on this article, we wish to know by that time if you have any insuperable objection to the *substance* of it, that we may not intentionally deceive them as to the final result of their demand on this part of the subject.

“We have delivered in a very long and detailed statement of the progress of our negotiations; but, to save you the trouble of reading through it at present, I thought that the best method was to consult you on this article separately.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, October 29. Downing Street.—“I have not answered your letters in the daily expectation of seeing you here. It would have been a thing personally agreeable to me if Jervis, by retiring, had enabled me to support Lord James Townshend at Yarmouth; a course I should certainly have been desirous of following from the beginning if I had known Lord Townshend's intention in time. If that cannot be, I am sorry for it, but cannot break my word for them any more than for anybody else.

“I know nothing of any project of more foreign corps, and certainly do not feel more disposed to such a plan than you are.

“Grigson I enquired about, and learn that he has been two years and more out of his office; we have therefore no control over him. The others I will enquire about.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD HOLLAND.

1806, October 30. Downing Street.—“I own I feel great difficulties on the first view of the proposed article about pressing. They arise chiefly from my strong sense of the impossibility of obtaining anything like a fair execution of the American part of this stipulation.



“The whole must, I think, be considered by the Cabinet before you can pledge Government to it.”

LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 30. Foreign Office.—“I should be very sorry to do anything that would pledge the Government upon so delicate a question till the Cabinet had been consulted, and as that should be speedily done, was anxious to let you know to what point we were likely to bring the American Commissioners. They wish to have something specific to state to their Government by next packet, and if the Cabinet can sit upon this part of the subject next week, I must trouble you before-hand with one more communication, as I should like to ascertain your view of this point before we met there.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 30. Dublin Castle.—“Pennefather has been offered 5,000 guineas for his seat by Bagwell. He will, however, let us have it for 4,000 *guineas*, provided his son is substituted in his place at the Board of Stamps. Pray let me have an immediate answer *by express*; and if you accede to the proposal, I shall thank you for the name of the person whom you wish to be returned.”

*Postscript.*—“Your letter of the 27th instant reached me a few minutes ago. It will, I fear, be quite impossible to make any compromise about Wexford, for the reasons I stated to you in my letter of yesterday. We could not without the intervention of the Chancellor ask Colelough to release us from our engagement, and the Chancellor is averse from such an arrangement. One of his reasons, in which I confess I think there is some weight, is that the dereliction of either of *our* present candidates would offend the Catholics, Lord Ely being a leading person in the Orange interest. The Chancellor, however, is much too sanguine in his impression of our chance of carrying both candidates.

“Since I wrote the above the Chancellor has been here, and says Sir Frederik Flood has promised his interest to him in support of Carew and Colelough, which is a material step towards success.”

*Postscript. Private.*—“Frederik Ponsonby, Lord Besborough’s second son, comes in for the county of Kilkenny instead of George Ponsonby, and the Chancellor seems to entertain an idea of setting up George Ponsonby for the King’s County, which would interfere either with Sir Lawrence Parsons, or Mr. Bernard, both a part of Lord Rosse’s interest. The Chancellor’s nephew must, I presume, be supported, but the arrangement would, I am afraid, give great umbrage to Lord Rosse.”

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 30. Wentworth.—“I grieve that one must not withhold one’s credit from the disastrous accounts from the Continent; without a miracle, the whole continent is subjugated, and it remains for these little islands to maintain their independence by their spirit and energy, for without both spirit and energy, local circumstances will avail but little, when all the resources of this amazing power are directed to one object; but to the business of the day.

“Fawke’s friends are more inclined to Wilberforce than to Lascelles, but circumstances and appearances must direct their conduct. It is a great object to get the business settled without incurring all the inconvenience of a poll. If it goes to a poll, it will cost each party from 50 to 60,000*l.* At least this is our calculation; and probably Fawke’s expense will be less than either of the others, as the numerous corps of freeholders in the manufacturing country declare their intention of bearing their own expenses. Perhaps many of the same people may give Wilberforce a second vote, and exonerate him likewise from all charge. Notwithstanding this, we must look to the calculation above stated as the probable result of the poll; a consideration so serious, that if circumstances arise likely to save it, the parties most probably will profit of them.

“As yet Wilberforce and Lascelles stand distinct, and without connexion or communication; at least so I collect from appearances as well as from public declarations. But I am afraid the private conversation of W[ilberforce] will not do much to strengthen the favourable disposition of Fawke’s friends towards him. To a particular friend of mine, one he knows to be so, and not to be his friend, he acknowledged a preference for Lascelles. If he holds such conversation to a friend of mine, what must be his language to a friend of Lascelles, or to a friend of his own. It is an acknowledgment that will raise a spirit of hostility to him in Fawke’s friends, and will convert their favourable disposition towards him into a very contrary sentiment.

“I undertake for nothing, but it will be morally impossible to give him a helping hand, if he utters these predilections, as we shall all be suspicious of his acting accordingly.”

*Private.* H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE SAME.

1806, October 30. Ledstone Hall.—“Many thanks for your kind letter which last night’s post brought me. I shall most certainly vote for the whole of your list, excepting one, which is Lord Glasgow; and that I cannot do, as Lord Glasgow made the strongest professions to me in order to obtain my vote upon the general election, and never once, when called upon to fulfil his engagements, would act as he had engaged to do. I hope you will not therefore object, supposing that he should

stand, of which I think that there is some doubt, to my giving in that single instance my vote to Lord Strathmore, to whom I have promised it; as he has been attaching himself to me personally, and from his language, means to be with us as far as one can possibly form any judgment; but rather seems to wish to put this change in his sentiments to the score of personal attention and regard to me. I was going to take up my pen the day before yesterday in order to have written to you, as well as to Wellesley, upon that most infamous and scurrilous letter of Mr. Paul, in Cobbett's paper of Saturday, which contains a mass of falsehood and misrepresentation from the very beginning to the end, had I not at the same time received a letter from McMahon stating to me what had passed between you and him upon the subject, and how satisfied you were, which I was confident you would be, of the whole being a most abominable fabrication, devoid of truth, and framed only to answer, from disappointment, his desperate and contemptible views at the present moment. Pray say every thing to my friend Wellesley from me, and tell him that I should deem it both an insult to him and to me were I to think it necessary to address one single line to him in order to clear myself from such atrocious and evident calumny. Should you consider it necessary that any thing should be done about it, I will beg of you to give your advice and orders to McMahon, which shall be strictly attended to, as no step shall be taken without your consent and without your approbation.

I cannot help thinking from some little hints and some information which has reached me that the King is not quite in good humour at the dissolution; and I further learn from authority upon which I can rely, that the last desperate effort of the leader of the present factious opposition, is to be (as I foresaw and distinctly foretold some time since to you) directed at the Government through me, upon the investigation so long protracted. My information likewise tells me that this has operated very much upon the King's mind. I hope that it will be in your power to prevent its being very material, as should it be so, it must be very prejudicial to my interests and character, and from which the Government cannot be entirely exempt, besides the cruel injustice of such a line, and at such a moment. You will readily imagine my anxious uneasiness upon this distressing subject, through which I feel myself supported by the implicit reliance which I have placed in your attachment, and in your watchful care of my honour, interests, and character, all which are entirely involved in this question. Under all these feelings of distress, I naturally look to you for the earliest and best information, and I have not the smallest doubt that you will see the pressing necessity of terminating this most important affair before the meeting of Parliament. There are many other topics I wish much to talk over with you.

but which I will not trespass upon you at the present harassing moment, but reserve them till we meet. Some of them I entrusted to the communication of my friend Lord Moira, preferring that mode to the troubling you with a letter at this time. If upon any occasion, either public or private, you wish me in town, I will readily obey your summons."

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 30. Norwich.—"It is too late I fear, but if it were possible to make Jervis retire upon a compromise, it would save two members for Yarmouth, one possibly for the county, and Lord Townshend's vote (Loftus) for Tamworth.

"You really must exert the Government interest. Sir R. Kerrison here is doing nothing.

"An example made of Mr. Grigson would be very useful."

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, October 31. Downing Street.—"I now understand that both Jervis and Anson have declined. It is provoking to think that, if they had known their own mind a little sooner, we might have secured two members for Yarmouth, as well as retained Lord Townshend's support of you in the county. But these are things one is unavoidably exposed to in the course of a general election.

"I do not know what to do about Kerrison short of removing him; and to Grigson we cannot do that, because he has long since ceased to hold any office." *Copy.*

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 31. Phoenix Park.—"I have conversed with the Chancellor and Mr. Elliot on the subject of Lord Ely's proposal of a compromise in the county of Wexford, and find from them that matters have proceeded too far to admit of our coming to an understanding with Lord Ely in this late stage of the business. The Chancellor in particular considers the Government through him, too decidedly pledged to Mr. Colclough and Mr. Carew to allow of its receding. I cannot help thinking that if Lord Ely's offer had come at an earlier period, that a compromise would on many accounts have been desirable.

"By a letter I have from Lord Spencer, of a subsequent date to your lordship's, I find that Sir Robert Wigram is coming here, and that I am likely to see him.

"I very much regret to find that some confusion is likely to arise in Westminster from the unaccountable offence taken by the Duke of Northumberland, and have written to my agent to give all possible support to Sheridan and Sir Samuel Hood."

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO THE SAME.

1806, October 31. Dublin Castle.—“I have been told that Lord Delvin perseveres in his views on the County of Westmeath, and states himself to have the support of government. Smith and Rochfort have, as far as I am informed, the best interest, and the latter has assured the Chancellor of their friendly disposition towards the present Administration. Under these circumstances, and in consequence of the few lines I received from you in answer to my note from Salt Hill, I am afraid I have done enough to pledge us to the late members. As Lord Delvin is a connexion of Lord Buckingham's, I cannot help feeling considerable anxiety on this subject, and hope you will have the goodness to send me some explanation on it. I have not had any communication whatever from Lord Delvin, which led me to hope he had abandoned his intention of offering himself.”

*Postscript.*—“George Walpole is arrived here to offer himself for Dungarvan. As the Lord Lieutenant has had a letter from Lord George Cavendish pressing, on the part of the Duke of Devonshire, for the support of Government in that borough Walpole must, I suppose, have what assistance we can give him.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO W. ELLIOT.

1806, October 31. Downing Street.—“I have just received your letter. I am sorry about Lord Ely; but I see no remedy.

“I have no means of doing anything with Dupré, who is hostile to us both in politics and in the county.

“I never have received any application from the Cootes; nor, as I perceive, has any such been yet made to you. Under these circumstances, and with the great doubt that hangs over their success, I do not feel much disposed to countenance them in opposing Pole, who, I should think, is not by any means a decided enemy.

“I do not know how to help about an Irish lawyer, but I should think the suggestion as to the mode of paying Hawthorn rather doubtful. When next we appoint an Attorney or Solicitor, we must make our stipulations with them accordingly.” *Copy.*

THE SAME TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1806, October 31. London.—“I have never sufficiently thanked you for the paper you sent me on the subject of the attack on Spanish America, and the precision and distinctness of which has really been invaluable to me.

“I now send you a project on this subject, on which I earnestly wish for your opinion with the least possible delay. The fact on which it is founded is this. Including Achmuty's force of 3,000 men, and what has sailed at different times from

the Cape and St. Helena, there will be at Buenos Ayres 5,500 men. Add the 9th Dragoons, now embarked for the same place, 700 men ; and the whole may be put at above 6,000 men. As this force will, of course, have taken Montevideo, I reckon 3,000 men, with the possession of that fortress, sufficient to maintain themselves there. The garrison of the Cape is also, even after the sailing of these troops for Buenos Ayres, full 4,500 strong, being at least 1,000 more than is necessary.

“ Now, working on these data, No. 1, of the enclosed requires only the sending out one regiment of infantry to Madras to replace that which goes from thence on the service proposed ; and the shipping arrangements for the transport of this regiment out to India, and of the 4,000 men from Madras onwards, are already made, and the orders go out to-morrow.

“ No. 2 supposes us to have 3,000 or even 3,500 at Buenos Ayres, a like number at the Cape, and all the rest to go on to India. From Buenos Ayres to the Cape they will go in their own transports, which brought them from the Cape to Buenos Ayres. At the Cape they will be to find 50 and 60 gun ships, in sufficient number for their future transport.

“ The whole force and transport of No. 3 is therefore thus provided for.

“ That of No. 4 requires nothing more than the sending out 2,000 Europeans from hence next autumn, and transports for 7,000 men ; which, with so much time before us, are both easily managed here.

“ If this force, large as it is—comparatively with the resources of Spain in America—shall yet be deemed insufficient, a re-inforcement of 5,000 sepoys from Bengal might sail in July, and follow the track of the other. Indiamen can—for I have ascertained the point—be easily taken up here for their transport ; and these, being armed, are their own convoy ; and being big-bellied, will each carry 500 men at least, and with them as much water and rice as that number of men can consume.

“ Here is the rough outline of the plan ; pray consider it fully, and suggest all you think material in objection, and in improvement.” *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 1. Dublin Castle.—“ Mr. Brooke is, I find, determined to offer himself for Fermanagh. The Chancellor seems much interested about him, and thinks he will succeed. We must support Lord Enniskillen, and therefore if we assist Mr. Brooke, our exertions will be directed against General Arehdall, to whom, so far as the Government on this side of the water is concerned, no engagement has been made. I shall be obliged to you, however, to inform me whether any assurance was given him in England ; and also whether, if we should be perfectly unpledged, you will approve of our going with Brooke. He is, I understand, a man of considerable property and respectable character.”

*Postscript.*—"Lord Ely was with me yesterday, and offered to purchase a seat for Colclough if he would relinquish his views on the county. I made the proposition to the latter through the Chancellor, but it has been declined. I suppose Lord Ely feels his prospect of success much diminished by Sir F. Flood's declaration against him."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, November 1. Eden Farm.—"I have just heard from Mr. Eden that, at the close of yesterday's polling for Woodstock, Mr. Annesley handsomely declined giving any further trouble. He had, however, obliged us to send down all non-resident votes. Sir H. Dashwood and Mr. Eden were to be returned this morning, and the latter is now sitting down to a noisy dinner with his constituents till midnight."

*Private.* LORD HOLLAND to THE SAME.

1806, November 6.—"As I shall not meet you at the Cockpit to-day, I am unwilling to defer saying that, upon enquiry, I find General Carleton never had any quarrel whatever with the Duke of York; and that I am confirmed by several persons' report of him in the opinion that his appointment would be attended with credit to the Government, and great advantage to the public."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, November 2. Eden Farm.—"Mr. Eden is not yet returned from Oxfordshire, but as soon as he comes will be disposed to give every aid in his power in Westminster.

"It is very material that the tradesmen of all persons who deal much with London tradesmen should have circular intimation. I have made a list of above thirty who have long been employed by this family, and have sent round to them without reserve or scruple, and it would be of consequence if this were done by many.

"I shall be in town early on Tuesday, and shall stay till Wednesday evening, and shall be both mornings at Whitehall, which I mention in case you should have any commands."

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, November 2. Dublin Castle.—"Marsden is going to London in the course of this week. He will be able to give you full information on the state of things here, and there are a few points of business on which I have requested him to communicate with you. He has been of great service to us, and we still continue to receive from him the most cordial assistance. I shall therefore feel myself much obliged to you for any attention you may have an opportunity of showing him.

“George Walpole’s note intimating to me his intention of offering himself for Dungarvan took me quite unawares, and I almost regret having acquiesced in giving him the support of government. I have not yet had any complaint from the Beresfords, but it is not unlikely they may be offended; and I think it would have been better for government to have been neutral. At the same time Lord George’s letter to the Duke was urgent, and if we had declined assisting the Devonshire interest, we should have incurred the displeasure of that quarter.

“Freemantle informs me that Curran has views on the city of Cork. You will not find him an acquisition in Parliament. He will, if I am not much mistaken, prove a great embarrassment to government, and I think he will fail as a debater. There is no engagement on this side of the water to prevent his standing for Cork, but I perceive the Hutchinsons are very adverse to the idea of a new candidate.”

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 2. Eldon.—“The messenger found me yesterday evening, but so wore down by fatigue that it was in vain for me to attempt to do anything till this morning. You might well have expected me in London. I wish with all my heart I could go there now; but after the defeats we have sustained in different places, it seems so important to the Government, as well as to myself, that we should not be defeated here, that it will be best, I believe, even at the price of some neglect of more important concerns, that I should leave nothing untried to ensure success; and that I rather think we shall accomplish. Lady Townshend, as I told you in my last letter, was softened in her hostility; though from causes which may aggravate my vexation for not having given myself more than I did to the consideration of the subject of her application. Kerrison, I believe, will now do all that he can. I hope only that he has been put right on the subject of the Norwich election, in which I should be sorry to have it happen that my *opponent* Fellowes or Smith was supplanted by my *friend* Patteson. So much for elections.

“Now for what is more important matter that makes the subject of your letter.

“I wish with all my heart that I could have been in town to discuss more the particulars of the plan with which my opinion does not thoroughly go; though I have not enough considered or informed myself of the question to make my objections, even in my own opinion perhaps, of considerable weight. I do not, in the first place, see the great advantage of introducing the Manillas into the plan. As a conquest in itself it is, I apprehend, but of little value; and I should doubt whether, as a place of refreshment, it was worth the time and force that must be employed for the reduction of it.



“ But the part of the plan which might most be doubted is that of sending the troops across the Atlantic from Buenos Ayres. There are great difficulties about these troops at any rate from the want of proper transports. Many of the transports now at Buenos Ayres, or going there, are not coppered ; nor of a description otherwise to qualify them either for the going round Cape Horn, or for the easier but longer voyage of circumnavigation by the Manillas. The circumnavigation, even in a higher latitude, is more than they would be equal to ; and, at all events, ships not coppered will not stand service in those seas on account of the worm. There must be a change of transports therefore ; and, in that case, the better passage from Buenos Ayres (the time of year suiting) must, I think, be round Cape Horn. The passage round Cape Horn from Buenos Ayres for a single ship, is not, as I recollect, more than five or six weeks. The whole passage to Panama could not be twice as much. From Buenos Ayres to Panama by the Manillas must be, I know not what. For the going across the line to the Manillas, as I think is the case, besides the great increase of distance, carries them out of the course of those winds which recommended so much to me the eastern passage from hence as compared with the western. In the present ships the thing is impracticable ; and in others wholly, I conceive, unadvisable. Nor do I see the purpose of it. If the Manillas cannot be reduced without so great a force, the attempt is not worth making. If it can, it can never be desirable to drag this force from Buenos Ayres all across the Atlantic merely for the sake of a rendezvous.

“ What I should recommend would be that a part only of the force proposed to be taken from Buenos Ayres should be sent on the intended expedition ; that they should go round Cape Horn in ships that must be supplied from here ; and that the remainder, in the ships now there, should either be restored to the Cape, or brought home.

“ The troops last furnished from the Cape will probably have been sent back upon the arrival of the force under Achmuty, so that you must not calculate upon finding at Buenos Ayres the whole of the force that has at different times been sent there ; nor, if you did, would it amount, as I conceive, to what you lay it at, namely 6,000 men.

“ The force thus to be sent, say 1,500 or 2,000, might serve as a reinforcement to Craufurd ; and with the 4,000, partly Europeans and partly sepoys, which you suppose to go from the Manillas, would make quite as much as would be necessary in those seas.

“ I am in fact not enough acquainted with all that ought to enter into a plan for the reduction of Mexico to know what proportion the force on the east ought to bear to that on the west ; nor which ought to be the principal attack and which the feint. By the plan of sending Sir A. Wellesley to India, you seem to consider the western attack as the principal.

“ At all events I should think that the force which I have above supposed, namely a mixed force of 4,000 from the Manillas, 2,000 or 1,500 sent by Cape Horn from Buenos Ayres, and the 3,500 under Craufurd, even after some reduction of their numbers by accidents and a garrison perhaps left in Chili, would be sufficient. More certainly would do no harm ; but we must consider what may now come upon us at home ; and, therefore, if more were thought to be wanted for operations on the western coast of America, I should be disposed to make up the deficiency in sepoy. It may very possibly happen also that so many as 3,000 may not be wanted for Buenos Ayres.

“ The result according to my plan would be that, supposing an attack on Mexico resolved upon, the only steps to be taken from India would be the embarkation of a mixed force of Europeans and sepoy of about 4,000 men ; and the only steps from hence the sending a number of coppered transports for the conveyance round Cape Horn of about 2,000 men, with the proper orders to Craufurd for proceeding higher up the coast, or rather (as the east course is now, I understand, likely to be adopted for the armament with him) for making the coast higher up, that is more to the northward, and doing in fact what I wished him to have done originally.

“ You will do well, I think, to consider this, and particularly the question of sending the troops from Buenos Ayres to the Manillas. The Manillas I should be disposed to leave out altogether ; but, at all events, I should leave them to be taken by the troops sent from India.

“ In respect to transports we have a large supply, I apprehend, as Sir G. Shee, in a letter some days ago, told me of the return of about 30 in consequence of an order sent out some four or five months since to the Mediterranean. Enough would otherwise easily be collected, before they could be wanted.

“ Whatever is finally determined will be executed by Sir George Shee as well in my absence as if I were upon the spot. Perhaps too, if I were present, I could suggest nothing but what I have done.

“ The destination of Craufurd’s armament being eastward, that is if the passage is to be to the eastward, Calloa has a further preference over Valparaiso, and a further still with a view to the operations now in question.

“ Have any steps been taken, or thought for, for giving assistance to Miranda ?

“ What an idea of the effects of this running after elections, that I have delayed till now to speak of this.”

#### EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 2. Wentworth.—“ The county is settled ; Lascelles has withdrawn. An extraordinary event has happened at Hull. Denison is chosen and Thornton thrown

out ; it happened without my interference, or even knowledge, and I venture to say without Denison's ; but the populace would have a third man, and Denison as a favourite of theirs was put up."

LORD GRENVILLE TO W. ELLIOT.

1806, November 3. Dropmore.—“ Lord Delvin has had no communication with me, and I have told Lord B[uckingha]m that government supports the present members.

“ When Walpole applied to me for government support at Dungarvan I referred him wholly to you, and you best know what has passed with the Beresfords ; but I rather think a neutrality would be best till it appears where the interest at Dungarvan really is. If however, the Lord Lieutenant is pledged on this subject, of course nothing more remains to be said upon it, and I have by no means a decided opinion upon it.” *Copy.*

W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 3. Eldon.—“ As the Yarmouth election is very likely to be set aside for treating, it may be as well to have in view the possibility of an arrangement with the Townshend family ; and the knowledge that such an arrangement is in any degree in view may have its effect at Rainham, where still much is wanting.”

*Postscript.*—“ You have not forgot what we said about Sir F. Vincent's seat.”

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM TO THE SAME.

1806, November 3. Wentworth.—“ There being a vacancy at the Board of Taxes, let me beg it for Colonel Baldwin.

“ The disasters in Germany, I find, exceed even the French reports ; these are only preparatory to the destruction even of the Russian empire ; there is an end of the old world, we must look to the new.”

MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE SAME.

1806, November 3.—“ I hear so bad an account of Sheridan's cause that I think it is highly probable the tailor will beat him, if very great exertion be not made. Any candidate of a different stamp would certainly secure the election. But the general voice is most undoubtedly adverse to Sheridan ; between whom and Paull little difference of character is felt. I conclude that you have the best information on these points ; but if mine be not very incorrect, Paull will certainly represent Westminster, unless a most vigorous effort be made immediately.

“ I wish you could start a fourth candidate of character tomorrow. Surely such an object as Westminster ought not to be sacrificed to the vanity of any man.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, November 4. Downing Street.—“ I received your grace’s letter this morning and am satisfied that nothing could be done about Lord Ely in the present state of that business.

“ Will you excuse me if I take the liberty of troubling you on another subject. Tierney has been obliged to decline the contest at Southwark, and, unless a seat can be provided for him, will consequently be out of Parliament. It has occurred to me that during Adair’s absence at Vienna his seat is wholly useless to him, and Government lose the benefit of his vote. If under these circumstances it suited your arrangements to let Tierney occupy his place, it would relieve me from a very great embarrassment, as I had not in any manner calculated on the chance of Tierney’s failure, believing, as he did, that the contest would lay wholly between the other two. I have therefore ventured to lay this idea before you just as it occurs to me ; but if it should interfere with any other plans which you prefer, I must endeavour to do the best I can, to find some other mode of bringing him in.

“ I have just heard of the probability of a contest in Surrey. I have written to Lord Onslow to request his support for Lord William Russell, and I need not add that every exertion in my power shall immediately be made.” *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 4. Dublin Castle.—“ Parnell states that he believes Lord Portarlington will let us have his seat for 4,000*l.* British, provided he is given to understand that he is to have the support of government for the representative peerage on the *second* vacancy after Lord Charlemont’s election. If you approve of my closing with this proposal, I shall thank you to let me be informed, without delay, of the name of the person you wish to be returned, and at what bankers the money is to be lodged.

“ From Parnell’s description of the different interests in the Queen’s County, I conceive Coote’s success would be so dubious, that I shall advise Lord Castlecoote to desist from the attempt ; and I do not expect to find much difficulty in dissuading him from persevering in so unpromising an undertaking.

“ There is a great embarrassment about the county of Louth. Lord Jocelyn is only nineteen, and by the law on this side of the water, the return of a minor cannot be sustained, if it is challenged. Mr. Balfour, a gentleman of considerable property, will, it is apprehended, avail himself of this advantage, and become a candidate against Lord Jocelyn. Under these circumstances Lord Roden wishes his brother, Mr. John Jocelyn, may be permitted to resign his seat at the Board of Customs with the view of representing Louth till Lord

Jocelyn comes of age; but that Mr. Jocelyn may not be deprived of the emoluments of his office, Lord Roden solicits that Mr. Metye (his deputy in the Auditor's office) may be appointed a Commissioner in trust for Mr. Jocelyn. Such an arrangement, in the very commencement of our reform in the revenue departments, seems both to the Lord Lieutenant and me quite inadmissible. The Chancellor too is entirely of this opinion, and we think you will be in the same sentiment.

"Pray do not let us totally despair of having an Irish lawyer in Parliament. It is, as Marsden, who sails for England to-night, will explain to you, of the utmost importance, that Newport should have legal assistance in the House."

*Postscript.*—"I learn from Parnell that Tyrwhit has had some negotiation with Lord Portarlington about his seat."

#### W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, November 4. Near Lynn.—"I must again come upon the subject of elections; and not the less so because within the last four and twenty hours our stock has rather fallen.

"In the parish of Methwold, near this place, there are about forty voters, every one of whom, with hardly an exception, have been engaged against us, that is as single votes for Mr. Wodehouse, under the influence of the clergymen.

"As this influence arises, in part at least, from the threat of taking the tithes in kind, it will be perfectly fair to counteract it, if possible, by influence not so properly of a different kind as operating in a different direction, and founded on the circumstance of Methwold being altogether crown land, the leases of which are only about to be let.

"What is desirable is, therefore, not that letters should be written to these people, which would be of no effect, but that a man should be sent down from the proper Office, using the influence more or less which would be used by any other landlord, and which is quite as good as that which, there is reason to think, makes the greater part of the influence now possessed by the clergymen.

"I wrote to Fordyce about this yesterday, stating the general fact, but am not sure that he was the proper person to be applied to, nor that he might be disposed to act with as much zeal as he would upon a similar intimation from Lord Melville respecting a borough in Scotland. The person sent down need do little more, probably, than talk of the leases, and canvass the voters; the object of the canvass too being not to make them violate any promise which they have *bona fide* given, but to neutralize them, by making them give their second votes for me. I say *me* expressly, because such is the footing on which Coke not only consents but is eager to carry on our canvass. A second vote for Coke is, however, not without its use, as it enlarges the fund out of which I am

supplied, and may quiet a jealousy which his friends may feel, though he himself is a stranger to it, of not seeing him high enough on the poll. Though a vote thus neutralized between Mr. Wodehouse and me might in one view as well, or better, stay at home, the agent must be cautioned not to propose that condition, except in the case of persons who, from age or infirmity, would prefer that course. In general, we take at our expense those who vote for Wodehouse and Windham, but leave to Mr. Wodehouse those who vote for Wodehouse and Coke.

“The agent who comes down for this purpose should set off without delay, as the election will begin on Thursday 13th, and these voters may possibly be among the first sent up. His very appearance, with only a general intimation of the wishes of Government standing in the place of landlord to these people, would, in conjunction with agents of ours, or even without that aid, effect probably all that was necessary.

“Pray put this without delay into the hands of Mr. Freemantle; and at the same time suggest the utility of a letter to Mr. Whisk the head Commissioner of Excise, whose brother, a clergyman here, has been doing us all the mischief he can. *Mr. Howard*, I am afraid, you have been able to do nothing with. His activity through an agent of his, a Mr. Bellamy, has not at all relaxed.

“Oakes, the Receiver of Suffolk, I likewise mentioned to you. I have written to him, but a letter, if not already sent, should come from Mr. Freemantle. Letters to the Fishers and others at Yarmouth would likewise be serviceable, hinting the necessity of making up in the county for what they have done in the city.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, November 5. Downing Street.—“Archdall has always supported us, and I do not think it possible for Government to turn against him. What I should recommend is that Lord Enniskillen should be supported, and that we should be neutral between the other two; but you will do what you think best. You will hear that Lord Ponsonby is dead.”

*Postscript*.—“We are in a scrape at Westminster; but I still think we shall get through it.” *Copy*.

*Private*. The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 5. Phoenix Park.—“Before I left England I mentioned to Mr. Fox my wish that Robert Foote Esquire, of Charlton Place, Kent, who married my first cousin Miss Keppel, might at a proper opportunity be recommended to the King as a fit person to be created a baronet of the United Kingdom. Some difficulties, I believe, arose, at that period from the numerous candidates for the baronetage; and I now beg leave to renew, through your lordship, to his Majesty’s ministers,

my wishes in favour of Mr. Foote. At the same time if any obstacles of which I am not aware should stand in the way of this request, I beg to be understood as by no means desirous of pressing it."

VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1806, November 5. Downing Street.—"I received the enclosed letter last night, Sir Francis Vincent confirms the promise, what is to be said about it?"

*Enclosure.*

W. WOLSTENHOLME to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

Ibbotson's Hotel, Vere Street.—"I beg leave to address you as the successor of Mr. Fox in office, as well as presuming to hope from the acquaintance I have the honour of, on the the subject of a baronetage promised me by Mr. Fox.

"Soon after Mr. Fox came into office he was so kind to promise me, in the first instance, a baronetage which had also been promised me 23 years ago, and I am assured by Sir Francis Vincent my name was accordingly included in a list of ten persons in Lord Grenville's hands. On the first list of five coming out, I again waited on Mr. Fox, who informed me the list in which my name was included was thought too large, and was therefore by agreement cut in half; but that it would be done shortly, and that *I might depend on it*. Nothing doubting, I therefore requested to change my name from Breton to Wolstenholme, being my mother's, who was the last heiress of an old baronet's family of that name. This was accordingly done immediately, and concluding the other as good as done, I paid all the fees of Office.

"My reason for now troubling your lordship is that, *having seen a list* of the other five baronets mentioned to be deferred by Mr. Fox, to my great surprise I find my name after all not included. For the exactness of this statement I beg to refer to Sir Francis Vincent.

"And I request the favour of your lordship, if 35 years invariable attachment to Mr. Fox and his friends allow me to take that liberty, that you would do me the honour to confer with Lord Grenville on the subject, and give me candidly an answer whether I may expect Mr. Fox's promise to be fulfilled by adding my name to this list."

LORD GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1806, November 5. Downing Street.—"A part of the statement you have sent me is undoubtedly true. Mr. Wolstenholme was included in the first list of baronets of which he speaks, but which was so large that it was utterly impossible to carry it into the King. Five or six names were therefore selected from it by Fox himself, every name upon that list

being recommended either by the Prince of Wales, by Lord Moira, or by Fox. Six names have now been carried in; one only was a personal engagement of Pitt's, which I was induced upon a statement of the ease to confirm; two are professional which you recommended; one, General Nugent, although a near connection of mine, had been promised in the former government, at the Duke of York's desire, and as a compensation for the red ribbon which he was thought by the Duke of York to have earned by his services, but which the King objected to give him on account of his birth. And the two others were recommendations, one of the Prince of Wales who urged it with no common earnestness, and had, I fear, actually committed himself by a written promise on the subject; and the other of the Duke of Devonshire, which had been in the original list, and which Lord Spencer told me was particularly desirable to the Duke just now, because of some connection it had with the town or county of Derby, I forget which.

"I have given you the trouble of reading this long statement, because you will see that it is not my fault if Mr. Wolstenholme has been necessarily omitted in this batch of baronets.

"I certainly never knew, nor understood, that any positive promise was given to any of those who were postponed in the first list, that they should be included in the second; nor should I have wished to give such a promise, knowing how one is hampered by them as in the present instance.

"But, under the peculiar circumstances of this case, I have no objection now to engage myself that I will positively include Mr. Wolstenholme's name in the next recommendation; but I fear it is impossible to add him to this, which, though I have hitherto spoken of it as the second, is in fact the third list I have had to propose to the King since February." *Copy.*

#### LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1806, November 5.—"I send you a letter from D'Entragues. As the probability is that you will not be able to read it, I just mention that it is to inform you that Dumourier is preparing to set out, *taking his mistress with him*; which D'Entragues observes, and I think justly enough, is not an equipage well suited either in appearance or reality to such a mission as he is to perform." *Copy.*

#### THE SAME to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, November 5. Downing Street.—"I am afraid it is impossible for me to comply with your wishes about Colonel Baldwin, being under an engagement which must unavoidably have the preference.

"I rejoice in the quiet termination of Yorkshire. The event at Hull has opened a contest in Surrey which will be troublesome to Lord William Russell, to say the least. You



will see what a strange state we are in at Westminster. I have however, I hope, this day prevailed upon Sheridan's and Hood's committees to join; and with this, and proper exertions, I entertain little doubt of ultimate success. It is however material that you should give directions for all your interest to be exerted in their support." *Copy.*

*Secret.* EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 6. Wentworth.—“The Prince having now been here some days, I have the satisfaction of making a good report of the state of his health; and I do it, not merely upon my own observation, but upon the opinion of Mr. Walker, formerly his apothecary in London, and thoroughly acquainted with his constitution. After seeing the Prince at various times since he has been in the north, and after very minute enquiries, Walker is of opinion that there is nothing amiss of any importance. He is grown wonderfully abstemious both in eating and drinking, which Walker wishes he may continue to be, rather than that he should be urged to take more nourishment and wine. He is then managing his body well. I wish he had his mind in as good discipline, but it is in a wonderful degree of agitation on a variety of subjects. The events on the Continent, Southwark and Westminster elections, with Sir F. Burdett's and Paul's speeches, and matters of the same nature; all these things, one succeeding the other, keep his mind in a state of perpetual agitation, so that it gets not one moment's repose. To most of these however there will soon be an end, and it is to be hoped they will be forgotten; and against the others that he will get hardened.

“But there is still one thing that, I perceive, preys upon his mind more than all the rest; it is the business of the Princess of Wales; his anxiety to have it brought to a conclusion is extreme, but particularly to have it so, *before* the meeting of Parliament. He is impressed with a decided opinion that the business will be brought before Parliament, as a measure of Opposition; that it should be so seems his wish, rather than his fear; but the ground of his anxiety is, lest there should be a plea, apparently justifiable, for Opposition making this a subject of discussion in Parliament. The Prince conceives this would be the case, if the business remains till the meeting in its present unsettled state. The matter in question, the enquiry instituted, have become subjects of such publicity, that without the result being made as public, there will rest upon him the odium of being supposed to have brought charges without foundation, originating in nothing but injustice, hatred, and malice. Considered in this way by the public, Opposition will be justified in public opinion for bringing under discussion the subject, from the pretended desire of rescuing an innocent, injured, helpless woman from the disgrace attendant

upon charges however ill-founded. It is therefore not simply from the desire of giving publicity to the facts, and the means of rescuing him from public odium, but with a view to prevent the factious dispositions of Opposition having the advantage of such a cloak to their real motives, that he is continually expressing the utmost anxiety that the business should not be left unsettled till the meeting of Parliament. Surely there is much in what he feels on this particular point; a matter of this nature left undecided may well be made a subject of enquiry; but if decided, the substance of the decision can then alone be a ground of discussion, and not the state in which the subject stands. I submit these things for your consideration, repeating again, how heavily the subject weighs upon his mind."

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 6. Stratton Street.—“I am much obliged to you for your explanation about Mr. Wolstenholme, which is quite satisfactory.

“I have seen Whitbread. He is willing to do any thing in his power to secure the Westminster election, but he is discouraged by the appearances he met with to-day; and if he cannot be assured of a good understanding between Sir Samuel Hood’s supporters and Sheridan’s, and of a respectable and active committee, he very reasonably says that he should not like to engage himself in measures which otherwise would not be likely to be either creditable or successful. He is obliged to return to-night to Southill, but will come back on Sunday and give his best assistance, if I am empowered to-morrow to tell him that matters are arranged in such a manner as to afford a hope that his efforts may be useful. I will thank you therefore to let me know, as early to-morrow as you can, whether the union that was proposed last night is to take effect; and upon what members of the committees you can depend for active exertions.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, November 6. Downing Street.—“I most heartily partake in the satisfaction which you express in Mr. Adam’s resolution of coming into Parliament on the present occasion. I have the highest opinion both of his character and talents, and am persuaded that he will be of the greatest use to us in the House of Commons. He explained to me fully what had passed between Fox and him on the subject of his future views. He spoke to me with the utmost fairness and liberality on the subject, and I flatter myself he was not ill-satisfied with what I said to him upon it; to which I will only add, that if it were necessary to find a fresh motive for my good wishes to him, they would undoubtedly be still

strengthened in a very great degree by the interest which I know you take in what concerns him." *Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 6. Dublin Castle.—“I have succeeded in dissuading Lord Castlecoote from persevering in his views on the Queen’s County. He seems to think he should have had a very strong and powerful support; but from the best information I have been able to procure, I am convinced his success would have been very uncertain, and the contest most expensive both to himself and Parnell. He is desirous, however, of bringing his son into Parliament at a *cheap* rate, and wishes me to apply to you to endeavour to obtain a seat for him for 3,000*l.* I told him I should in consequence of his solicitation write to you on the subject, but that I could not hold out to him much hope of a favourable answer.

“I am anxious to hear from you in respect to Westmeath.

“There will be no contest in the King’s County.

“The College election is this moment over, and I find Knox has been returned by a majority of two votes. Government took no part, as both the candidates were hostile.

“It is not yet settled whether Curran is to stand for Cork.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, November 7. Office for Trade.—“By some mistake your note of Wednesday was not brought to Palace Yard till yesterday evening.

“I shall be here till one, when I must meet the American Commissioners. Our negotiation with them is at a stand-still and I am grieved at it; for, in the present state of the world, it appears to me that even a colourable reconciliation and friendship with the United States would be of an importance infinitely outweighing the objections to the article in question, after such amendments as might have been admitted.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, November 7. Downing Street.—“Sir Arthur Wellesley is the person I would name for P[or]tarlington, willingly accepting P[ort]a[r]lington’s offer. Freemantle will write to you about the details.

“The proposal respecting Jocelyn is utterly inadmissible.

“There is, I fear, no hope of our finding a *gratis* seat for an Irish lawyer. We have one or two friends thrown upon us quite unexpectedly; though, on the whole, I think things have not gone ill except in this horrible Westminster election, where Sheridan has involved himself and us in a sea of trouble.

“I wrote to the Duke to beg if possible a seat from him for Tierney. I trust Lord William’s election for Surrey will make this practicable; we shall be greatly distressed without it.

I suppose Freemantle explained to you that the recommendation of him for the last Irish seat you wrote about was merely as a temporary arrangement till a proper person could be found. *He* of course cannot be at further expense than he has already incurred in the borough.

“It must be distinctly explained that Sir Arthur Wellesley is to have the power of naming his successor as often as there may be a vacancy during the Parliament, as he is likely to be employed on foreign and distant service.

*Postscript.*—“Since I wrote the above, I find Wellesley has already been named to you for another seat; and I must therefore refer you to Freemantle, who will write to you to-day for another name.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1806, November 7. London.—“The Westminster election is doomed to be the plague of all governments. Paull had got too far a-head to make it possible—in the opinion of those who best understand the subject—to start a fresh candidate with any hope of success. Nothing was therefore left but to endeavour to unite Sheridan’s and Hood’s interests; and you will see by the papers how imperfectly, and with how ill a grace, this has been done.

“I confess I do not now entertain much hope of success; and besides this, the expense is beginning to be distressing to Hood, and we must call upon some of our friends for assistance, which is a most unpleasant necessity.

“Lord Duncannon’s corps is in Marybone, and he himself quite unfit for such a scene, nor has he any means of supporting the expense. Sheridan takes his own expense upon himself, but my distress is about Hood.

“Many thanks for Dingwall. It is of great importance, but, I fear, not quite enough to turn the election, as was once thought. Both parties are however sanguine.

“In general, the elections have gone as well as I expected; in some instances better; and even when our candidates have failed, it has generally happened that the persons chosen are also friendly.” *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 7. Stratton Street.—“I have not heard of anybody being proposed for the city of Derry by Colonel Ponsonby, but I do not think it improbable they may have proposed Alderman Leckey; with a view to assist their interest in the county. I know it had been desired both by poor Lord Ponsonby and the Chancellor. Alderman Leckey is a very respectable man, and once before represented the city.

“If there is an engagement it must be kept, but Sir George Hill is a sad fellow, and not to be counted upon for a moment.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to LORD FITZWILLIAM.

1806, November 8. Downing Street.—“Your report of the Prince gave me great satisfaction, especially as it shews that the improvement of his health has not hitherto abated that caution and temperance which I apprehend to be so necessary for him.

“I cannot wonder that this business of the Princess preys upon his mind; nor is it unreasonable that he should be impatient for its conclusion. But, on the other hand, he should consider that nothing but the most prudent and guarded conduct can possibly render that conclusion satisfactory to the public, or in any manner useful to remove the great injustice that has been done him. And if we take a false step in the business, the prejudice that will result from it must injure him as well as ourselves.

“We have received the Princess’s defence. It is a folio volume, of no small size and closely written. The King’s order was that a copy should be made of it, and the original returned to him. The consequence of this has been that it was not till three days ago that I received it, and not sooner than yesterday afternoon that I had finished reading it for the first time; and that without referring to the evidence and previous declarations to which it sends one at every turn. It is now gone from me into circulation, and must be read and studied by every member of our large Cabinet before we can even meet to converse about it.

“Nor when we do so is the line to be taken upon it by any means clear from difficulties. The paper is artful, though, in my judgement, in some parts of it highly unsuited to the occasion, and to the station of the Princess in whose name it is drawn. There can be no doubt that it is written for the express purpose of publication, and it will therefore be a matter of the utmost importance to decide correctly what line is to be taken upon it.

“I am confident that, in any case, there will be an attempt to draw the matter into Parliamentary discussion. Nor do I see much difference in this respect whether the matter be still depending or not. Indeed I think in the former case we should have one additional argument against a Parliamentary discussion of it, which would not apply in the latter case.

“I do not, however, for this or any other reason think delay advisable; but we must proceed, if possible, with the full concurrence of all our colleagues; and we must take care that we do what is in itself right and unexceptionable, lest we should make more haste than good speed.” *Copy.*

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 8. Phoenix Park.—“You may rely on my giving my immediate attention to the means of securing a seat in Parliament for Tierney, though, if my brother should

unexpectedly be defeated in Surrey, I may find myself much embarrassed. At all events, however, your lordship shall have a positive answer on the subject before the meeting of Parliament."

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, November 8. Downing Street.—"Mr. Fox had mentioned Mr. Foote's name to me among the persons whom he wished to be recommended for baronets. But when the list was to be carried in to the King we found it too large to be with propriety adopted all at once. He therefore (as the list consisted entirely of his friends, and those of the Prince of Wales and Lord Moira) made a selection, and left the rest for some subsequent opportunity.

"I have now been under the necessity of submitting to the King three professional creations of baronets, and one which was a personal promise of Mr. Pitt's, but which, as I knew it to be given as the reward of public service, I thought myself bound to confirm.

"To these four, two only could now be added, and the preference was given to a recommendation of the Prince's, about which he was particularly anxious, and had indeed, as I understood, been led to pledge himself more deeply than was perhaps to be wished; and to one of the Duke of Devonshire's, which Lord Spencer represented to me as peculiarly interesting to him at this time on account of some connection it had with Derby or Derbyshire, I forget which.

"I have mentioned these particulars to explain to you the only reasons which could have induced me to postpone a compliance with your recommendation of which I had a memorandum, and I trust they will be satisfactory to you.

"Whenever another list is proposed, Mr. Foote shall certainly be included in it; but some interval must unavoidably elapse, as three lists have been recommended since February last."  
*Copy.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806. November 8. Dublin Castle.—"I am told that a candidate has started under the protection of Colonel Ponsonby for the City of Derry. To the best of my recollection it was understood between you and Lord Waterford that Sir George Hill was to have the support of Government.

"The election of the City of Dublin begins on Tuesday. We shall, I fear, be able to carry only one of our candidates, but I flatter myself it will be Grattan.

"Lord Hutchinson has just been with me, and tells me he is going to the Prussian Army. This looks as if you did not entirely despair of the Prussian resources."

## LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, November 10. Eden Farm.—“I go to town at an early hour to-morrow, and am to meet the Russian merchants at a quarter before eleven, relative to the renewal of their treaty which is expiring. On looking into it, and into the correspondence respecting it, I am not aware of any material alterations that we can wish to propose; but as the treaty was made in 1797 by Sir Charles Whitworth under your instructions, you may possibly recollect if there were any particulars that you would now wish to be adverted to. Consul — informed me before he left England that the factory was well satisfied with the articles in the present form.

“At twelve o'clock I am to go with Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Fawkener to the West India Dock, on some considerations which the directors wish to explain to us on the spot. I shall dine and sleep at Mr. Wedderburne's, Upper Grosvenor Street, and shall be in Whitehall, or at Lord Howick's Office on Wednesday till about a quarter past two.

“Mr. Eden has done everything in his power relative to the Westminster election, and is in town till Wednesday evening for the purpose.”

## LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, November 10. Downing Street.—“I am very glad to hear that there is to be no contest for the Queen's County. I am afraid what you mention as to Coote is quite impracticable.

“About Westmeath I have written fully to you.

“I think the spirit of what has passed about Derry certainly is that Lord Waterford should be supported at Derry.” *Copy.*

## Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY to [LORD GRENVILLE].

1806, November 14. Thomas's Hotel, Berkeley Square.—“I have just received an order to join the troops at Deal, which will oblige me to go out of town to-morrow. But I am prepared with all the information to draw out the paper which I told you I should send you; and if you should be desirous to converse with me upon it afterwards, I can return to town.

“I have seen Mr. Frazer twice, and have received a letter from him on the subject of his views, since I last saw your lordship. He expressed a wish to be made commissary of the army; and when I had explained to him that the commissaries were now a distinct branch of the service, into which no person could be introduced without a breach of rule, he desired to be appointed a deputy-commissary, and to be sent to Guernsey or Jersey to wait till the period in which his services would be required; when he should expect to be appointed commissary. If this could not be done for him, he desired to be appointed inspector of the revenues at Buenos Ayres and Monte Video: and, upon the whole, his views appear to me not to be very moderate,

“ He has the share of a ship now at Falmouth in readiness to sail to the Spanish dominions in America, and he estimates his loss by not going with her at 1,500*l.* He is much embarrassed in his circumstances, and, at all events, cannot remain in England, which is the reason why he wishes to go to Jersey or Guernsey; and he refuses to receive such a sum as your lordship proposed to give him as compensation for his loss of time and of his business, in the service of the public.

“ As he must leave England, and as his demands are not very moderate, I rather believe the best thing to be done would be to allow him to go upon his voyage. He will be back in June next: and we may then avail ourselves of his services.

“ Mr. Frazer says that he understands that the Spanish Government are embarking troops in 74 gun ships at Cadiz and Carthagena to be sent to America; and it might be desirable to have those ports strictly blockaded. I also beg to remind your lordship of the expediency of sending a dispatch to Buenos Ayres to prevent Sir Samuel Auchmuty from sending the troops to the Cape.”

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 14. Phoenix Park.—“ I feel desirous of recommending to your lordship’s attention my old friend and near relation Lieutenant-General Keppel. After eight years’ arduous and faithful service in the West Indies, he returned home with a constitution much impaired by the climate, and naturally looked to some public mark of the approbation of his sovereign as the best reward of his services. In this, he has hitherto been disappointed. A red ribbon was the first object of his ambition, but he was informed that there were obstacles in the way of this which were not to be surmounted; and he would now feel gratified by a military government of the *second class*. Ipswich and Londonderry may probably become soon vacant, and I have reason to believe that the appointment to either of these would be highly satisfactory to him. But perhaps governments of this description are wholly in the patronage of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, and your lordship may not desire to interfere in the disposal of them. At all events it is not for me to point out the manner in which your lordship may most effectually be able to promote General Keppel’s object, should you think him worthy of the attention of Government. It is not emolument that he seeks, but some testimony that his conduct at Martinique was approved of. For his zeal and fidelity in the execution of the duties entrusted to him whilst there, I may refer your lordship to Lord Sidmouth; and were Mr. Pitt living, I am persuaded the General would receive from him the most unqualified approbation of his conduct.”



*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, November 14. Dublin Castle.—“ You will recollect it was settled that Lord Forbes and Sir Thomas Fetherstone were to have the support of Government in the County of Longford. Lord Rosse, who is the particular friend of Sir Thomas Fetherstone, has just been here, and is under great alarm about Lord Buckingham’s interest, which he has heard is likely to go with Mr. Neweomen. Perhaps you will have the goodness to ask Lord Buckingham, whether it is compatible with his arrangements to assist Sir Thomas Fetherstone as well as Lord Forbes.

“ Newport is, I hope, sure of his return for Waterford.

“ In Wexford, I believe, there will be no contest.

“ Lord Delvin has declined standing a poll in Westmeath.”

*Postscript.*—“ This day’s poll for the City of Dublin :—

|                  |       |
|------------------|-------|
| Shaw .. .. .     | 339   |
| Grattan .. .. .  | 301   |
| Latouche .. .. . | 270   |
| Gross Poll :—    |       |
| Shaw .. .. .     | 1,020 |
| Grattan .. .. .  | 958   |
| Latouche .. .. . | 901.” |

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1806, November 16. Stowe.—“ I send you by Charles a very valuable and interesting work, which has just fallen into my hands, in consequence of the sale of Sir Hugh Palliser’s books. It is a bird’s eye view of all the ports, bays, roads, rocks and shoals on the whole western coast of South America from California to Strait le Maire, in separate sheets which join on, one on the other. The author or draughtsman was the famous William Haek, who was for many years a pilot to all our adventurers in those seas, and who wrote a book on the hydrography of that part of the world, which is scarce, but which I hope to get. Sir Hugh Palliser valued this book very highly; and in many points it is very valuable as giving the general appearance of the coast, which cannot have been materially altered in many points of it; and coupled with the improved charts would give a complete coasting pilot. The book is most heartily at your service, either for your private collection, or for the public service.

“ I am vexed to see the *Saracen* still at Falmouth, because every day is now a material drawback on the operations of next August. I hope, however, that by this time your arrangements have been made, and that she is gone. Pray advert very particularly to the advantage of ordering Murray to carry Crawford’s force direct from their *rendezvous* through Bass’s Straits to refresh at New South Wales—Port Jackson; and to exchange their less active men for the seasoned flank companies of the New South Wales corps; and to take with

them 100 convict pioneers, who will be invaluable, as seasoned to work in the sun. It is impossible to conceive the dead incumbrance of those soldiers whose constitutions shall appear to have given way in the voyage ; and I am most anxious that the expedition should be cleared of them, and above all, that so soon as they shall have refreshed and got their wine on board, their course should be concealed ; for I am satisfied that the enemy will not expect them to hold the eastern course. With the same object I remind you that the Buenos Ayres troops must exchange their bad men at the Cape, before they go upon their ulterior destination. I have considered these various projects much since I wrote to you, and am more convinced than ever of the advantage of this course ; and indeed am satisfied perfectly with every part of your plan, except that I fear you have not provided for a supply of black troops. You remember that I have often pressed you to let me talk, or to talk yourself, with Colonel Stevenson on the subject of the capture of Senegal, which would, according to his ideas, enable him—who has turned his mind very much to this object—to recruit blacks for your West India regiments, in any numbers you might want. He would require a very small naval force, and only one white regiment of 1,000 men, who would not be detained from the West Indies more than a month by this conquest, which would be afterwards garrisoned by the African corps now at Goree ; and this capture would put an end to the constant annual sweep which the French frigates make of our African trade ships. I know that Stevenson is prepared with his plans for this operation, and for his subsequent recruiting, on which you must employ him, if you look—as you must—to a large operation depending upon blacks. I repeat, however, that you have never answered me whether I shall see him and talk over his plans, concealing from him the object, but adverting to the necessity of a large recruiting to complete the West India regiments ; or whether you will see him, in which case I will write to him to prepare his papers ; or whether you would drop this idea *in toto*. I must, however, observe that if such an expedition is to sail, it should be clear of the Channel by Christmas day ; and they would have done their business, and might be in the West Indies by the end of March.

“ My friend Captain Browne, who has been at Weymouth to vote—in right of his wife—for Lady Bath’s members, has communicated to me a conversation respecting Sir J. Pulteney’s support, which I have directed him to state at length to Fremantle for your information. I am delighted with Lord Althorpe’s success for Northamptonshire, and not the less so for having materially assisted him. I now hope that to-morrow will secure Sheridan *versus* Paull, and I shall then care very little for what remains of Irish and Scotch elections ; as I conclude from what I hear, that you will have two out of three in both those quarters.”

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 18. Wentworth.—“The collectorship of customs in Tobago being vacant, permit me to recommend Charles Wightman, Esq., a gentleman of the island, and of respectable character, as I am given to understand. I state this in this manner, because, though I may be desirous of furthering the wishes of the person at whose request I make the recommendation, I must confess I feel that some corroboration of the testimony borne by my friend to the character of Mr. Wightman will be advisable, if the office is of much importance; my friend being Lord Galway, a very good man, but one on whose observation much reliance cannot well be placed.”

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to THE SAME.

1806, November 18. Phoenix Park.—“Mr. Ogilvie, who will have the honour to deliver this to your lordship, is desirous of an opportunity of laying before your lordship a statement of his claims on the government of Ireland, which he urged to Mr. Fox on his first coming into office, and has since submitted to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who has expressed himself to me in terms favourable to Mr. Ogilvie.

“I confess, in the present state of the patronage of the crown in Ireland, I do not see the means of gratifying Mr. Ogilvie’s wishes; but if your lordship should be able to point them out to me, I shall gladly avail myself of any suggestions I may receive from you, consistent with what is due to the many urgent claims upon us, of which I have not failed to apprise Mr. Ogilvie.”

## W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1806, November 18. Norwich.—“Our prospects have gradually improved since the date of my last letter, the day before yesterday; and though our antagonists still hold out, I think I may nearly congratulate you upon the election being secure.

“Howard has been inveterate to the last. I have just seen letters from him to some tenants, insisting that they should vote singly for Wodehouse. Why is the receivership of Middlesex to remain in hands so hostile, and why is not the landlord Government to do to him what he does to his tenants?”

## VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1806, November 19. Stratton Street.—“We left it undecided yesterday, and I certainly am to blame for the omission, whether, as Jacobi had no powers to sign a convention, we should, notwithstanding, give the order for our cruisers no longer to detain and bring in Prussian ships.

“He has been here a long time, and he proposes, as the convention cannot be signed, that an answer should be written to his note respecting our readiness to come to an agreement, upon the terms proposed in it; and, in consequence of his assurances, to issue the order as before proposed. I have told him that the situation was materially altered by his want of power, and I could not consent to this proposition without further advice. I certainly, however, allowed him to perceive my inclination to consent to it. It seems to me a matter of little consequence to us, and it might be useful in appearance. Let me know whether you approve of it, that I may prepare a note accordingly.”

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 22. Dublin Castle.—“I have by this mail transmitted an official application to the Lords of the Treasury for his Majesty’s letter for the discontinuance of certain charges on his Majesty’s Civil List Establishment of Ireland, which, from the circumstances stated in my application, are no longer payable; and also for making a new arrangement of the salaries of the under-secretaries in my chief secretary’s Office, and of the salaries of the clerks in the civil department of that Office.

“I think it proper to acquaint your lordship that this arrangement, as far as it respects the salaries of the under-secretaries, occasions but a very small additional charge upon the civil list, and is desired chiefly for the purpose of stating those salaries in a more distinct and proper manner. Each of the under-secretaries has at present one thousand nine hundred fourteen pounds and eleven pence *per annum*; that is, a salary of one thousand pounds a year on the civil list, and an additional allowance thereupon of four hundred and fourteen pounds and eleven pence for extra trouble during the session of Parliament; the remaining five hundred pounds a year arises in the following manner. In the year 1798 it was found necessary to appoint an assistant under-secretary for law business, to which office a salary of one thousand pounds a year upon the establishment was annexed. In 1801 Mr. Marsden who filled this office, was appointed under-secretary for the civil department. It was not thought necessary to appoint any other person as assistant for law business; but the salary remained on the establishment, and the provision of 1,414*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* for each of the two under-secretaries being deemed inadequate to the labour and responsibility of those offices, it was arranged with the approbation of the Lord Lieutenant, that Mr. Marsden should continue to receive the salary of assistant for law business, paying the half thereof to the under-secretary for the military department, until a further arrangement should be made; and I have accordingly recommended that the different allowances beforementioned should be discontinued, and that

a salary of two thousand pounds a year should be granted to each of the under-secretaries, which is but a very small addition to what they now receive, and is made up to that amount to avoid the placing a fractional sum upon the establishment.

“The increase of the allowances for clerks amounts in the whole to six hundred seventy seven pounds four shillings and ten pence halfpenny a year; and is to be divided between several of the clerks who have served, some of them for many years, upon small salaries.

“I hope the proposed arrangement will have your lordship’s approbation, and that you will recommend it to his Majesty’s favourable consideration.”

#### The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1806, November 23. Stowe.—“I grieve to see the *Saracen* still at Falmouth, and Murray’s ships at St. Helens. I have had a very long letter from Colonel Stevenson on his Senegal project, and upon his plan for raising there a very large force of blacks for the West Indies. I could therefore now talk to him without the slightest risk of his seeing our ulterior object; but, as you have not given me one word of answer to my request to know whether *you* would see him, whether *I* should see him, or whether you would put by all idea of Senegal, I have not written one word of answer; but I am anxious that you should let me see him on this matter, for my brother Tom lends himself much to the idea as most eligible for the sake of breaking in upon the French annual sweep of our African ships. And you will remember that they must sail by the 1st of January. Stevenson, of course, must command the enterprise, and must continue there with a garrison of the African corps to superintend and direct the whole recruiting system, for which both in integrity and in knowledge of the business he is peculiarly fit. At all events let me have a short yes or no, *et liberavi animam meam*.

“I have sent Whitbread 100*l.* for his committee, and would gladly have given more, not to bring in Sheridan, but to keep out Paull.”

#### Private. W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1806, November 23. Dublin Castle.—“You will, I am sure, give me credit for feeling no small concern and anxiety in consequence of the enclosed letter from Lord Buckingham, and I rely on your kindness for the removal of the impression under which it seems to have been written. You can testify that I did not take any step without your sanction; and though I conceived Government to have been in a great degree pledged to the old members for Westmeath, yet as soon as I heard that Lord Delvin persevered in his views, and was reported to canvass with the authority of the English Government, I

declined exerting the influence of Government *here* until I had a fresh explanation from you on the subject; and the Lord Lieutenant even postponed answering a letter from Lord Belvedere, tendering his interest in Westmeath to Government, until I received your answer. In respect to Sir Benjamin Chapman, I remember Mr. Rochfort stating that he had considerable influence, and that he would probably be guided by the wishes of Government; but I had no channel of communication with him, and therefore never made any application to him; and indeed I should not, under any circumstances, have thought of proposing to him the retraction of an engagement. I shall write without delay to Lord Buckingham; but I must again entreat your good offices for acquitting me in his eyes of acting with very *zealous* political hostility towards a family for which I can never have any other sentiment than that of the warmest attachment and friendship.

“Freemantle will have apprized you of the embarrassment which has occurred with regard to Sir Arthur Wellesley’s seat, and which has, I fear, resulted more from trick than accident.

“Upon the whole our elections have gone on prosperously. Hitherto we have had but two reverses; the defeat of La Touche in Dublin, and that of Captain King in the County of Roscommon. I guess also that we shall be beat in Leitrim, where we now support Luke White’s son (Peter La Touche having declined) against Captain Gore, who was *aide de camp* to Lord Hardwicke. The Chancellor seems very sanguine about the County of Derry. Walpole is returned for Dungarvan.”

*Private.* The DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 24. Phoenix Park.—“I think it right to transmit to your lordship a copy of a letter which I have this moment received from Lord Roden on the subject of the borough of Dundalk.

“The reference to a former letter alludes to an engagement which he then stated he had entered into with Lord Stair in 1802, to return his nominee for six years. The seat will therefore be at the disposal of Government at the expiration of two years.

“The elections in Ireland are now nearly over, and I have the satisfaction to add that they have, generally speaking, been most favourable to the interests of Government.”

*Enclosure.*

*Private.* The EARL OF RODEN TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, November 23. Tollymore Park.—“In consequence of a letter I had the honour to address to your grace on the subject of my wishes respecting the person I should hope would be returned for the borough of Dundalk (to which

correspondence I beg leave to refer) I beg leave to state a communication I have this moment received from Lord Stair, requesting I should fulfil my engagement to him, for the period where he was concerned; which as a man of honour I am bound to do. I however feel most sincere happiness in having it in my power to state from Lord Stair's assurance, that the person he wishes to be the representative is recommended by administration to him. This in a great degree relieves my mind from the idea I had that it might be possible from the situation (as a man of honour) I was placed in, that I might not have had it in my power immediately to afford Government the assistance I so earnestly wished to do."

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 25. Eden Farm.—“The entire downfall of the Continental powers makes it more than ever necessary to advert to interests which are merely British.

“I have desired Mr. Fawkener to forward for your approbation and concurrence our draft of a minute postponing the further discussion of Captain Layman's papers till we shall have received the expected information from Trinidad. There is every reason to believe that, with the co-operation of the East India Company, the experiment may be pursued on an enlarged scale, and that it may lead to very important effects.

“I mentioned to you my apprehension that the cargo sent from Calcutta with the Chinese settlers might be subject to seizure and forfeiture. The King's Advocate and Attorney-General attended yesterday at the Office for Trade and are decidedly of that opinion. We have therefore written to Governor Haslop through Mr. Windham's Office, to the Admiral on the station through the Admiralty, and to the custom-house of Trinidad through the Treasury, to prevent, if possible, so embarrassing a result. If we should fail in preventing it, there seems to be no remedy but in Parliament.

“The Attorney-General attended also on the Sierra Leone business, and is of opinion that the colony, having been vested in a company by Act of Parliament, cannot be resigned or transferred without the concurrence of Parliament. We are accordingly preparing a Bill which is also to give to the corporation a period of five or seven years merely to settle their affairs. The proprietors, who have repeatedly attended, acquiesce in this arrangement. It will next be necessary to settle some economical plan and establishment for the colony.

“Some merchants are applying for licenses to send in neutral ships cargoes of British manufactures to the French and Spanish islands, and to bring back for exportation the produce of those islands. We are legally empowered to grant such licences, and the measure would be expedient for the benefit of our manufactures, and for the drawing to ourselves an advantage which will otherwise go to the United States. But

it may be objected that such an operation tends to give to the enemies' colonies all the enjoyments of peace; and also, that it would promote the export of foreign sugars to the continent of Europe to the disadvantage of our planters and merchants. Still I incline to the refusal with much reluctance. Might we not at least offer licences to neutral vessels to carry our manufactures to the French and Spanish islands, but not to bring back produce? It is a great and difficult question.

"I have also received applications for licenses to send British manufactures to Mauritius. But I conceive that we are restrained as to this point by the charter of the East India Company. In this matter also we sacrifice our own interests to the interests of the United States.

"The merchants trading to Leghorn are representing in the most positive terms that their commerce with that port is safe and undisturbed; that there is not in the place any French garrison or French troops; and that it is a great and unnecessary interruption to commerce to consider Leghorn as in a state of war.

"What shall we do in these matters? I feel strongly that in the actual predicament of Europe, the extension of our commerce is become the most efficient measure of war.

"I shall be in town very early on Thursday, and probably (as yesterday) shall be detained till sunset.

"It has occurred to me that I can word an article in the proposed American treaty so as to obviate any recurrence to the foolish and teasing measure of non-importation; and I have no doubt that we can induce the American ministers to accept it."

*Private.* MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 25. Oxford Street.—"We are in great alarm respecting Arthur's seat; it must be expected that some proceeding will occur very early, from which it might be very injurious that he should be absent. Pray have the goodness to inquire, and to secure him if possible.

"It occurs to me to mention to you that he is highly pleased with the discussions which have passed between you respecting the proposed expedition; and that on all occasions he will be anxious to execute your orders. From him no objection will arise against the plan, and if it should be prosecuted he would prefer that employment to all others; but if (from any cause not originating with him) the proposed expedition should be relinquished, he would be very happy to command in chief in India, supposing that command to be open. He is certainly better qualified for the command in India than any person who could be selected, and I believe the time not to be distant when that station will require the greatest activity and talents. Arthur, however, still hopes and believes that no obstacle will occur to the other plan; but



my anxiety, as well for India as for him, induces me to suggest these hints to you.

“I am just arrived in town again, and I should be glad if you could allow me to see you any time to-morrow.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1806, November 25. Downing Street.—“I have this moment received your letter and its inclosure, and I write two lines to save the post, to assure you that I am perfectly sensible that if there is any mistake in the business, it rests entirely with me; and that no man can possibly be more sensible of your uniform kindness and friendship, or set a higher value upon it.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, November 26. [Downing Street.]—“I have the honour humbly to acquaint your Royal Highness that I took this day the first opportunity that the meeting of the Cabinet afforded me since I last had the honour of attending your Royal Highness, in order to discuss with them the possibility of recommending to his Majesty such an arrangement as your Royal Highness had done me the honour to mention to me respecting the government of Jamaica. In stating this subject to them I fully explained the very strong and earnest wishes your Royal Highness entertained on the subject, as well as the motives of feeling and affection on which those wishes were grounded. And I am sure I can say with great sincerity on their part, as well as on my own, that no stronger inducement could be urged to any of us for the adoption of the proposal, if motives of public duty did not seem to oppose insurmountable obstacles to it. But the very circumstances of the health of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex which render a residence in a warmer climate desirable for him would, in our judgment, create strong and just objections to his appointment to a station, always of great trust, labour, and responsibility, but which is become more peculiarly so in the present moment.

“Under these circumstances we feel persuaded that interpretations would be given *in public* to such a measure, which it would be highly improper to suffer to attach upon any step in which his Royal Highness’s name was in any manner mixed.

“I humbly entreat your Royal Highness to be persuaded that I feel the greatest reluctance in stating any difficulties in the way of a measure wished by your Royal Highness, and from motives which do so much honour to your feelings; but, in the present case, it really does appear to us all to be unavoidable.

“Lord Howick will have the honour of communicating to your Royal Highness the melancholy event of the Duke

of Brunswick's death, and also the account of the surrender of Magdeburgh and Hamelen, in addition to all the other Prussian fortresses." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1806, November 28. Downing Street.—“If you have time pray read the inclosed, and send me a note of what you think on the subject.

“What day was it you were to dine with me? I think it had best be Tuesday, because it is not quite sure that I shall return on Monday from Cashibury, where I am going to-morrow. If that suits you pray write a note to Sir J. Anstruther to acquaint him that Tuesday is the day, when I hope to see him at dinner to meet you.” *Copy.*

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 28. Brighton.—“I return you my best thanks for your letter, and have only to regret that the unfortunate state of my poor brother's health should appear to be such as to prevent his being appointed, in the opinion of yourself and of your colleagues, to the government of Jamaica. What can be done about him, or for him? for he ought not to be left to perish here. A warmer climate is absolutely necessary for the preservation of his life, and I am greatly afraid that, from a variety of unfortunate circumstances, his pocket is not in a better state than his health is; and which embarrassments tend in no small degree to irritate his feelings in his present state of extreme suffering and debility, and which exceeds all belief. Let me therefore entreat of you to turn this over in your mind, and to see what can be done in some shape or other for him, as something ought and must be done for him, for it would be not only cruel, but disgraceful to leave him as he is with a knowledge that a change of climate is what is positively essential for the preservation of his life. I am confident that you will make all the liberal allowances for what my feelings are and must be as a brother, and especially for one who so truly merits the affection of every individual of his family, and of none more than of myself. And I therefore encourage a reasonable hope that you will, with as little delay as possible, think out something that may give him a chance of enjoying health once more, and lengthen his term of years; at least the prospect of that term which he has now before him, and which we have but too much reason to know and to apprehend is very short indeed.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, November 28. Eden Farm.—“We now have some doubt whether an Act of Parliament will be *necessary* for the Sierra Leone adjustment, and I have again referred the point to the Attorney and Solicitor General. I conceive that there

are obvious reasons for discussing the subject in Parliament even if it should not be *necessary*, and for having the concurrences of Parliament, as to a settlement which must annually lead to a vote of money. But at all events it is desirable to settle what form and plan of government should be substituted on the proposed surrender, and on this we must wait for your directions.

"I have bestowed almost every waking hour this week on the American treaty. If Messieurs Monro and Pinkney will accept the jurisdiction article of five miles, excluding the armed ships of our enemies from the two additional miles, I am sure that such an arrangement is not liable to any material objection, and that it is not unreasonable, in consideration of the peculiar shelvings of the North American shores.

"As to the *Colonial article*, after frequent and full discussion with the King's Advocate I am satisfied that, if maintaining our principle and right of restraint, we consent by an article to do only, and for a limited time, what the Admiralty Courts now do, and with restrictions beyond what Lord Hawkesbury formally communicated to Mr. Rufus King, we shall not stand exposed to any material attack. A duty on the importation (it should rather be on the exportation) will certainly and decidedly be refused, nor would there be means of ensuring the *bonâ fide* laying of such a duty. In truth I know no means so good, as far as they may extend, as the elogging the trade with landing, warehousing, reshipping, and proof (when required) of *bonâ fide* property. I had once thought that it might be useful to compel the not reshipping within a certain time; but that might lead to endless litigation.

"The other articles of the treaty are plain sailing; your treaty of 1797 furnishes most of them. I have added some others, and would propose to consult on them the law officers, and Mr. Frewyn, and Mr. Vansittart. The conclusion of the treaty to the effect which seems not improbable will be an important circumstance to us."

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, November 28. Eden Farm.—"You have lately been so much occupied that I have not attempted to add to your interruptions. I feel, however, that several incidental businesses might perhaps have been adjusted, if I could have consulted you.

"I am to meet Lord Holland and the Americans on Thursday at 11, and I shall be at the Office for Trade from 12 till half-past 2. I go from thence to Roehampton till Saturday morning, when I shall again be in Whitehall.

"Mr. Harrison mentioned your doubt as to the legality of Sir Erasmus Gower's proposition. It had already occurred to me; and also, the impropriety of drawing on the British

Treasury in any case for district balances. We have put that matter in a course of enquiry.

“ On Thursday I am to see Mr. Thornton on the part of the Sierra Leone Company, with a view to the final transfer. The proprietors stated a doubt to us last week whether the transfer was meant to include the unalienated lands. I conceive there cannot be a doubt that it was meant, and have answered accordingly.

“ You sent a case of casuistry from some merchants who desire to know whether the[y] might not protest bills from Bordeaux in order to counterbalance their bills which may not be paid in the north of Europe. There is something unprincipled in the suggestion; but we have put it aside civilly.

“ I am becoming a convert to the practicability of the Chinese scheme. Mr. Macqueen arrived on the 1st of September at St. Helena with 194 Chinese (having lost only 6), and he is now probably at Trinidad. The expence appears *nothing* beyond freight and provisions, though Mr. Layman’s paper describes it as enormously great. My only doubt now is whether it would not be prudent to have the report from Governor Heslop before we decide that it is expedient to transfer the undertaking to private adventurers, whose indiscretion may totally mar it with the Chinese. I submit to you that, at any rate, if Mr. Barlow’s (?) proposition is to be adopted, he should be restrained to Calcutta and Prince of Wales’ Island, under the sanction of the East India Company; and on the system so prudently and successfully pursued by Mr. Macqueen.

“ The return of Macqueen will also give new light to us. It is a consideration of incalculable importance, and you must give up an hour or two to it some morning, and perhaps Lord Wellesley should attend.

“ In Macqueen’s affair there has been an irregularity which alarms me. He has taken an investment of India goods from Calcutta to Trinidad, pursuant to his instructions. I apprehend that this is utterly illegal, and that by 7 Geo. I the ship and cargo are subject to forfeiture.

“ I must also hope for your presence some day on the question for colonizing Botany Bay, allowing their trade, but confining it strictly to Great Britain and to British ports. Query as to their shipbuilding, fisheries, and other industries?

“ It is also material to consider whether free ports may be safely tried at Brunswick and Halifax. It is a point the more urgent, as the American Commissioners are proposing an article for a regulated intercourse with our colonies, particularly in the article of plaster of Paris for agriculture.

“ We must also come to some decision as to the application of the West India planters.

“The bills on some inferior points are preparing; it would be desirable to have the whole cleared before the session commences.

“Mr. Eden has given a very efficient assistance to the balloting for Westminster, and is at this moment occupied in that unpleasant service.

“On the whole the popular elections (with the single exception of Southwark, which turned on other circumstances) have ended, and are ending, most favourably for Government.

“I am plagued with Blenheim letters relative to poor Lord Charles.”

*Private.* EARL SPENCER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 28. Bath.—“I had not the opportunity of seeing you to speak to you on Wednesday, or I should have told you that I had had an interview that morning with Lord Cassilis, whose sentiments will best appear by the enclosed letter, which I have just received from him. I have told him in answer that I would communicate the contents of it to you; and I think it right to inform you that, in the course of our conversation, I took care not to give the least ground for his expecting any alteration in our determination on the subject of this ribbon; though I did not let him know what was proposed to be done about it.

“I take this opportunity of sending you a letter from Mr. Brooke of the Alien Office, enclosing some intelligence he has received from Hamburg, which is not unlikely to be well founded, as I collected from my conversation with the man who has lately offered us communications from Bourrienne’s office, that they were very jealous there of our supposed projects of a closer concert with Sweden.

“I also enclose you a letter I have received from the Duke of Bedford on the subject of Irish pensions. I am not sure whether I ever mentioned the extension he proposes for Mrs. Kirwan’s pension or no; but, if I did, I entirely forgot to let him know it. I do not think there seems any objection to that extension, or to the other suggestions he makes; and, therefore, as soon as I have your authority, I will write to him to that effect.

“I have also received a letter to-day from Elliot on the subject of the increasing disorders and outrages in Ireland, as set forth in the papers which I caused to be circulated before I left town. I will direct a copy of it to be sent to you, though I do not know of any further step that can be at present taken upon it, till the event of the special commission is known.”

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, November 29. Downing Street.—“I had this morning the honour to receive your Royal Highness’s com-

mands. Under the circumstances there mentioned it really does not appear to me that there are any other places to which his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex could go with advantage for the recovery of his health, and for avoiding the danger of a winter in England, except the island of Madeira, or Malta; Lisbon being manifestly too insecure a residence to be trusted to in the present situation of Europe.

“I am in the greatest degree distressed by what your Royal Highness mentions of the pecuniary difficulties of the Duke of Sussex, to which I am really afraid, in the present state of the Civil List, it is absolutely impossible for me to suggest any remedy.

“Even since the last augmentation of the Civil List, which took place in July 1804, the expense has been going on upon an average of above 100,000*l. per annum* beyond the allowance; and I consequently found in February last a fresh debt incurred, and an excess still going on. Your Royal Highness will, I am sure, feel that the present state and circumstances of the country are not such as would make it possible to apply to Parliament for a further increase until every endeavour has been exhausted to reduce the expense within the bounds of the increased allowance as granted in 1804. I have accordingly employed myself in investigating this subject, but I greatly fear that it will be found that the estimate was then taken too low, and that the necessary and unavoidable expense will go beyond the estimate.

“Under these circumstances, and when every part of this subject must be expected to undergo in the present, or, at latest, in the next session a minute and jealous investigation, no step could be more injurious to the public interests, or to those of the Royal family, inseparably connected with the former, than that it should appear that fresh charge has been incurred on their account, in addition to the Parliamentary increase of allowance which was granted to their Royal Highnesses last session, and which, I am sorry to say, has (within my own knowledge) been, however unjustly, the cause of much dissatisfaction in the public.

“I have taken the liberty to trouble your Royal Highness with this detail, because nothing can be more painful to me than to appear to stand in the way of any accommodation that can be required for the comfort or dignity of any of the branches of a family whom I so much respect and revere; but I am certain your Royal Highness is too just to impute to me the hard necessity of the times in which we live, and too discerning not to see the deference that must, under such circumstances, be paid to public opinion, even when it operates in a manner very contrary to what would otherwise be wished.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, November 29. Downing Street.—“I have had the honour to receive your grace’s letter in recommendation

of General Keppel; and I beg to assure you that whenever any opportunity shall occur in which I can with propriety be of service to him, it will give me the most sincere satisfaction to find myself enabled upon that as upon all other occasions to do whatever is agreeable to you." *Copy.*

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1806, November 29. Downing Street.—“I have the honour to acknowledge your grace’s letter of the 22nd, on the subject of the proposed arrangement of the salaries of the under secretaries in the chief secretary’s Office; an arrangement which appears to me very proper, and will, I am persuaded, be attended with all the advantage your grace proposes from it.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 29. Eden Farm.—“We have various other applications from speculatists as to the productions of Buenos Ayres, with offers to establish copper mines, the culture of silk-worms, and other industries. If our possessions in that country should be confirmed and extended, it will be very material to ascertain the several modes in which they may be rendered useful; and we have recommended to Mr. Windham’s Office to institute such an enquiry. I do not know whether you have sent any very intelligent collector of duties to Buenos Ayres, but a proper person of that description might be instructed to employ himself to good effect.

“I yesterday received a strong memorial from merchants trading to Italy urging the great importance of not considering Leghorn as in a state of war; and also a memorial for leave to bring cargoes of corn from Genoa, which I conceive will be very expedient in the actual and probable state of the Baltic ports.

“Mr. Geddes, an intelligent merchant, is to sail to-morrow for St. Domingo with a cargo of 120,000*l.* value in British manufactures. I have desired him to inform himself whether we can obtain from Dessalines any exclusive advantages.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, November 30. Stowe.—“I am endeavouring to put upon paper some few observations on the very material change of your plan, but I do not lose a moment in urging you to send orders to the East Indies for preparing an armament against Manilla, which might be ready for the 1st of August for that object; and, even allowing for every delay, it would still be earlier on the Spanish American coast, wherever it may be wanted, than the proposed armament,

which is not proposed to sail from Bengal sooner than October. In this interval, those troops will have taken the Philippines and completed themselves for their South Sea voyage. And, at all events, orders of this sort do not interfere with your ulterior plan. Pray let me know by one word whether you like this project; remembering that, if you do, you must send one European regiment to India by the January ships, to supply the waste and the garrison of Manilla.

“What can you do about our confiscation at Hamburgh; should you not stop the payment of bills drawn from thence? But if Dantzick should be taken, and Denmark receive her orders from Bonaparte, what is to become of any of our commercial relations whatsoever? This however is, I am persuaded, rather a difficulty of the moment than one which is to be of any serious or long continuance; for, whatever shape this is ultimately to take, I feel satisfied that English merchandise will find its *way*.”

#### MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 30. ————. “I have settled with Sir John Anstruther to dine with you on Tuesday, and as I think Arthur would be of great use in the discussion, I have taken *la liberté grande* to invite him also.

“If you choose to remain at Dropmore, we could come to you there; let me know.

“Your paper leads to several observations, which I will send to you to-morrow or Tuesday.”

#### GEORGE III. TO THE SAME.

1806, December 1. Windsor Castle.—“The King would not consider himself justified in delaying to acquaint Lord Grenville, that he has received from the Duchess of Brunswick a letter, dated at Augustenburg November 15th, in which she states, that the late melancholy events have produced the entire ruin of her finances; that one half of her fortune was placed at Brunswick, that what she received as Electoral Princess, and money which she had placed in the ducal treasury are in the hands of the French. In this situation, the Duchess has appealed to the King for support, and his Majesty feels bound by every tie of duty and affection to prove to her and to the world that she has not appealed to him in vain. He therefore trusts that his ministers will consider of the necessary steps to enable him to make an adequate provision for the Duchess of Brunswick and her family, and he has too much confidence in the proved attachment of his people, not to feel assured that the same feeling will, upon this occasion, be cheerfully extended to his sister. The King also sends to Lord Grenville the copy of a statement which accompanied the Duchess of Brunswick’s letter.”



*Enclosure.*

## EXPOSÉ DES MALHEURS DE LA MAISON DUCALE DE BRUNSWICK.

“ Les événemens qui ont entraîné la ruine de la famille Ducale de Brunswick se sont succédés avec une rapidité dont l'histoire n'offre pas d'exemple.

“ Le commencement de ses malheurs date de la journée disastreuse d'Auerstadt du 14 Octobre. A peine l'action fut-elle engagée, que Monseigneur Le Duc de Brunswick fut blessé d'un coup de mousquet ; la balle étoit venue obliquement passer dessus l'oeil droit, briser l'os du nez, et ressortir par le coin de l'oeil gauche. L'armée Prussienne ayant appris la perte de son chef, fut décontenancée ; le découragement et le désordre s'en emparèrent, la défaite totale de cette superbe armée, et une déroute sans exemple en furent la suite.

“ Monseigneur le Duc, renversé de son cheval par la force du coup, fut reconnu et enlevé du champ de bataille par un feld-jaeger Prussien ; après un premier pansement, on le transporta dans sa voiture à Sangerhausen, mais ne pouvant supporter le mouvement de la voiture, il fut conduit plus loin dans une litière, et arriva à Blankenburg le 17 au soir. La veille, qui étoit le 16 Octobre, à 2 heures après midi, on reçut à Brunswick la nouvelle affreuse de la blessure du Duc, et de la défaite de l'armée Prussienne. Celle-ci fut immédiatement après confirmés par l'arrivée de plusieurs officiers supérieurs Prussiens, et par celle du Prince Henri de Prusse, et du Prince Paul de Wurtemberg, qui avoient trouvés leur salut dans la fuite. Vinrent ensuite des compagnies entières de Saxons et de Prussiens, des centaines de chariots remplis de blessés et de bagages, qui ne laisserent plus doutes de la déroute complete. En même tems, on apprit de toute part que les François, poursuivant les fuyards, s'étoient repandus dans le pays de Halberstadt, et qu'on devoit craindre à Brunswick la visite d'un camp volant François.

“ Dans ces circonstances le Ministère de Brunswick, craignant avec raison pour la sûreté personelle de S. A. R. Madame la duchesse, et de toutes les personnes appartenantes à la famille Ducale, insista sur ce qu'elles partissent sans aucun delai. S. A. R. instruite de ce danger, n'hésita pas un instant de suivre les conseils que son ministère erut devoir lui donner, et elle partit 6 heures après qu'elle en eut été avertie, le 17 Octobre à 5 heures du soir ; ses deux fils, les Princes George et Auguste la suivirent le lendemain. On se rendit d'abord à Rostock en pays neutre, et sur les bords de la Baltique, afin de pouvoir aller plus loin en cas que le danger approchat.

“ Dans l'intervalle, l'armée Française avança victorieusement dans les états du Roi de Prusse, et fit mine d'occuper aussi le Duché de Brunswick. Le Duc, qui s'étoit fait transporter le 21 Octobre dans sa résidence pour y être plus tranquille, et jouir du repos nécessaire à sa guérison, envoya son Grand Maréchal, Monsieur de Munchhausen, au quartier

général, chargé d'une lettre pour l'Empereur Napoléon, à l'effet d'obtenir la neutralité pour son pays. Il crut pouvoir y prétendre avec d'autant plus de droit, qu'en sa qualité de souverain, il ne s'étoit jamais permis aucune démarche qui ait pu déplaire à l'Empereur de France ; et que celui-ci, selon des principes généralement reconnus, sauroit fort bien distinguer les deux qualités différentes de Duc souverain de Brunswick, et de Feld-Maréchal Prussien. Mais il a plu à sa Majesté Impériale de voir les choses sous un autre point de vue ; Napoléon a voulu regarder Le Duc comme l'auteur de la guerre, qui l'a fomenté ; et il s'est persuadé que le Duc n'avoit fait le voyage de Petersburg que dans le seul but de disposer le Cabinet de Russie à entrer dans une nouvelle coalition. Monsieur de Munchausen fut donc renvoyé avec une réponse conçu dans les termes les plus durs. L'Empereur fit dire au Duc entre-autres, que si sa blessure étoit mortelle, il n'avoit que ce qu'il meritoit ; qu'il lui promettoit de ménager le pays de Brunswick, mais qu'il lui donnoit en même tems sa parole que ni lui, ni aucun de sa famille, ne s'entreroit jamais en possession de ce duché.

“ Cette réponse, aussi révoltante qu'inattendue, détermina Le Duc à quitter Brunswick. Il en partit le 25 Octobre, et se fit transporter à Altona, couché dans un lit d'osier, recouvert de taffetas ciré, et suspendu à des ressorts entre deux brancards de voiture ; il arriva à Ottensen, village situé à la porte d'Altona, le 28 au soir.

“ Le lendemain du défit du Duc, le 26 Octobre, le François entrèrent dans Brunswick, et publièrent une proclamation par laquelle le Duché de Brunswick fut déclaré un *pays conquis*. Les armes et titres de la famille ducale furent otés de partout. Les départemens d'administration et de justice furent confirmés provisoirement, et toute cette opération se fit sans le moindre désordre, et en observant une grande discipline, qui cependant ne fut pas aussi exactement observé dans les villages, où l'on doit avoir commis beaucoup d'excès.

“ Son Altesse Royale, étant instruite que son illustre époux s'étoit fait transporter à Altona, n'eut rien de plus pressé que de s'y rendre. Elle partit le 30 Octobre de Rostock, et arriva le 2 Novembre à Altona. Elle trouva le Duc très affaibli, et n'osa plus se flatter de sa guérison.

“ D'un autre côté les corps Prussiens qui avoient eu le tems de se rallier, cherchoient à joindre l'armée du Prince de Hohenlohe, qui avoit pris sa position derrière l'Oder, depuis Stettin jusqu' à Cüstrin ; poursuivis par les François qui tacherent de les couper. Ils se voient forcés de passer par le Mechlenburg et par le territoire de Lubeck, quoique pays neutre. Les François, suivant leurs traces, les y rencontrèrent, et ces pays neutres devinrent le theatre des hostilités, et des scènes les plus affreuses, peu après que s'altesse royale en eut passé ees frontières.

“ Bientôt l’approche des François du territoire de Hambourg rendit aussi le séjour d’Altona peu sûr pour la personne de s’Altesse Royale. Le Ministre de S. M. Britannique, Monsieur Thornton qui, avec un zèle infatigable, s’empressa à être utile à s’Altesse Royale, crut devoir l’avertir du danger et l’engager à s’en éloigner. Madame la Duchesse venoit de recevoir l’invitation la plus pressante de Madame sa nièce, la Duchesse de Holstein-Sonderbourg-Augustembourg, de se rendre auprès d’elle, à son chateau d’Augustembourg, situé dans l’isle d’Alsen sur les côtes du Duché de Schleswig. Elle crut devoir en profiter, et elle partit d’Altona le 7 Novembre. Elle auroit désiré que le Duc, son époux, eut pu de même aller plus en avant dans le Holstein, et accepter la proposition très obligeante du Prince Royal de Dannemarke, qui lui avoit fait offrir un asyle dans ses états. Mais les chirurgiens et médecins declaroient que le malade n’etoit absolument point transportable, sans qu’on courut le risque de le faire mourir sur le champ. Cette déclaration fit connoître à s’altesse Royale le danger de la situation de son époux, et l’approche du moment où elle dut avoir le malheur de le perdre.

“ En effet, à peine arrivée à Finsbourg, elle y reçut la nouvelle affligéante de la mort de Monseigneur le Duc, qui étoit décédé le 10 Novembre entre 1 et 2 heures apres midi. Elle continua sa route pour Augustembourg où elle arriva le 13, accueilli par Madame sa nièce de la manière la plus tendre et la plus amicale, dans l’espérance de pouvoir y passer l’hyver, et jouir dans cette paisible retraite des douces consolations de l’amitié, que Madame la Duchesse sa nièce s’empressa de lui procurer.

“ La mort de Monseigneur le Duc de Brunswick enlève à la fois à sa famille l’appui de son chef, et toute espérance de rentrer dans ses possessions. Il reste cependant à s’Altesse Royale un puissant appui dans la personne de son auguste frère. Elle ose recommander à sa protection particulière et sa personne, et celle de ses enfans et petits enfans. Les deux princes ainés, malheureux par leurs infirmités, ont d’autant plus besoin de secours ; et le Prince Guillaume, étant père de famille, a une charge de plus, celle de pourvoir à la subsistance de femme et enfans. Il s’est couvert de gloire dans cette campagne, étant du corps de Blucher, qui finalement a été obligé de capituler. Il a été fait prisonnier de guerre et relâché sur la parole.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1806, December 1. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville has the honour humbly to acquaint your Majesty that he has laid before the Cabinet your Majesty’s commands of this date, with the inclosed statement received by your Majesty from her Royal Highness the Duchess of Brunswick ; and that your Majesty’s servants will immediately consider of the

proper form of an application to Parliament on this subject, not entertaining the smallest doubt that your Majesty's Parliament and people will be anxious to embrace this and every other opportunity of testifying their dutiful and grateful attachment to your Majesty's royal person and family." *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 1. Eden Farm.—“As Lady Auckland and I have some uneasiness respecting the health of Lady Francis Osborne, we have determined to go to-morrow to Gogmagog, and hope to be able to dine and sleep in town on Friday; and with that speculation I this day adjourned the Board of Trade till Saturday next at 11 o'clock.

“I saw most of the principal Hamburgh merchants, and, so far as their accounts may be depended on, their loss by the late transaction will not be very considerable; though possibly some individuals may take the occasion to declare a bankruptcy. It seemed to be the disposition of the merchants to have no meeting, and to take no step till they shall have further communicated with us: and they conceive that it will be the sense of government also to wait for further information.

“We received to-day some most satisfactory accounts of the effect of the bounty on the Newfoundland trade; which has been more than doubled, as to the export of fish, ships employed, and on the whole is now as high (I mean for the present year) as in any year of profound peace, except only in 1789. I directed the accounts to be transmitted to the Treasury.

“The West India planters and merchants are desirous to wait on you, and to ask whether you think it best that they should present a petition to Parliament, or previously to have an investigation of the contents of their memorial. I venture to answer that you would think it right that the Committee of Council should have a further communication with them, though I was not sanguine as to the result. And they are appointed accordingly to attend on Tuesday the 9th at eleven o'clock, and a second time in the course of the week.

“I am anxious to see a good state of the new Parliament (which I conceive to be very favourable) and some settled financial plan, which I conceive may be so turned as to be ample in its produce, and at the same time would, *by passing without material opposition*, give confidence at home, and discouragement to Napoleon, if it be his intention and hope (as probably it may be), to wear us down by expense.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

1806, December 1. Downing Street.—“I have made a few alterations in the Abolition Bill agreeably to your suggestions.

“ Pray be so good as to consider it again in its present shape, and to make any farther alterations you may think necessary.

“ You will observe that the prohibition is absolute against carrying away from any foreign country, any slave whatever.

“ I think that while the prohibition is confined to the trade from foreign countries, we may safely make it general, without embarrassing ourselves with the distinction between purchased and born slaves, the difference between whom it would be extremely difficult to come at, in any way of proof. Nor in truth could it be desirable, though to be sure it would be one degree better than the present practice, to establish breeders of slaves on the coast of Africa for the supply of our Colonies, which would be the necessary effect of any such distinction made by the Legislature.” *Copy.*

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 2. Stowe.—“ I have had a very satisfactory consultation upon Saltash, in which matter I hope and believe that we are safe ; for the variety of new evidence which we are now masters of, will, I have no doubt, overthrow the collective practices to which the last committee—upon an agreement made for Mr. Pitt by George Rose—were parties. The court of King’s Bench has given us our *mandamus* for a new mayor, and we shall of course admit about thirty new freemen. Most of my Cornish connexions are too far distant to be useful at elections as freemen ; but, as Boconnoc is only 19 miles from Saltash, I wish you to give me the names of your steward, and your parson, and any two respectable connexions or tenants to be named freemen. I have, of course, put in the name of Mr. Gilbert, but *your voters* would, for so many reasons, be most eligible to me ; and I will beg you to let me have them by the return of post, that they may be forwarded to Saltash.

“ Mr. Carpenter desired me to tell you that Sir Thomas Turton—to whom he has been much attached on the most intimate footing for thirty years—has authorised him to say, that he has every personal respect for Lord Grenville, and is not indisposed to support him. And Carpenter adds further, that a little civility will completely attach him. He is a very talking man, but will be useful in many points ; and as I cannot discover that he has any particular object, it may be worth while to try to gain him. You understand that he draws a line, distinct from the party and opinions of Mr. Fox.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, December 2. Downing Street.—“ I always feel a strong disposition to think that when it is not clear what course to take, the best is to remain quiet. And this above all others in matters of trade and finance. The proposal of confiscating foreigners’ property in our funds I have in

abhorrence, and believe it to be quite as impolitic as it is unjust. Nor could I without great reluctance adopt any plan for enabling our merchants to refuse the acceptance of *bona fide* bills; and certainly on this point, we must be right in waiting for more information.

"I entirely agree with you that the West India planters and merchants must first state their case to the Committee of Trade, and have it then investigated, before it is brought into Parliament.

"I reckon the new Parliament at from 430 to 500 friends, from 120 to 130 contrary, and the rest doubtful or absent.

"I have now under consideration a project, which, if I could bring it to bear, would enable us to carry on many years of war without new taxes.

"It is this:—

Suppose our loan fifteen millions for this year (a high calculation) and our war taxes now productive at 20,000,000*l. per annum.*

"Then appropriate so much of the war taxes as will pay the interest, and usual 1 per cent. on this loan, and add to it from the same source such an additional and separate sinking fund as will, with the help of the 1 per cent. pay off in years (say 12 or 14) a capital equal to that created by this loan. At the expiration of that period both interest and sinking fund fall in, and are again applicable to a similar operation if the war continues so long.

"The same operation next year, and so for the succeeding years, observing always that the loan must progressively increase with the diminution of the disposable part of the war taxes.

"I do not know whether this short sketch explains to you the outline of the plan. It is quite in embryo, but I am sure it well deserves consideration, if we could now say to the country, you are arrived at the limit of your taxation, and may go on for ever (as this plan seems to hold out) with no, or with no considerable addition to your burthen. Pray think it over."  
*Copy.*

#### LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, December 3. Downing Street.—"I send you the transport service accounts, by which you will see that the whole charge for hire of transports *et cetera* is, at this moment, going on at a rate of not less than 1,200,000*l. per annum*, and that near half, perhaps more, of that sum is totally useless for any present purpose we have in view.

"Will you have the goodness to take this subject into your earliest consideration, and, after you have done so, return these papers with [what] occurs to you upon them."  
*Copy.*

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 4. Gogmagog Hills.—“ . . . Postponing all minor considerations till I can see you, I will now confine myself to the financial project. The prominent difficulty in that measure is, that it avowedly converts war taxes (and many of them are essentially of that description) into a peace revenue. If consequently holds out to the merchants a continuance of the convoy duties when convoys shall cease : and other descriptions of people will strongly object to a prolongation of the property-tax, which they already are impatient to be relieved from. Still, however, those obstacles ought, perhaps, to be encountered if the position were well founded that ‘ the measure would enable us to carry on *many* years of war without new taxes.’ I am very desirous to see your calculations, and hope in the meantime that there is some blunder in mine.

“ But it appears to me that the whole of the war taxes would be eaten up and consumed in a period of six or seven years’ war. I mean in the supposition that their produce taken at twenty millions, should be subject to pay the interest of an annual loan of fifteen millions ; and to discharge the principal within a period of seven or eight years from each loan so made. And therefore, that at the end of seven years, we should remain without any applicable produce of war taxes. If the war should continue beyond that period, the effect would be very serious. If a peace should then have taken place, it must last seven or eight years before the war taxes can be entirely redeemed from such a mortgage and discontinued.

“ But I give this statement with diffidence, and not to discourage the plan, if it can be worked into a form not grievously questionable, and not likely to excite a fever among our parliamentary friends and enemies.

“ Even if the measure were easier than I apprehend it to be, I should incline to think that for the ensuing year, it would be desirable to find the fifteen millions by the usual mode of loan, and to vest the 6 per cent. interest, (900,000*l.*) on the 400,000 annually which are falling in, and on an *omnium gatherum* produce of small imperceptible additions in a new consolidation ; still (if it should be thought right) sounding the temper of the country prospectively on the application, in a subsequent period of years, of a part at least of the war taxes, for the new loans, and for their redemption in twelve or fourteen years.

“ The simpler measure of a vote to continue, if it shall be necessary, the war taxes for two years only after the peace, would give you a loan, interest thereon, and early redemption, of all that would be wanted for two years war, beyond the provision for one year above stated ; and thus there would be a provision for three years without new taxes, and without any diminution of the war fund in the mean time,

“ At all events it appears to me to be of the first importance to avoid any measure that may shake the real and ostensible preponderance of your Government in the actual conjuncture ; and with that view, avoiding all unpopular measures (however eligible some of them might be in some respects) I would bring forward only what is demonstrably beneficial, and would use our strength, in debate, public opinion, and numbers, to bear and beat down the sort of attacks which were attempted with some success in the last session.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, December 5. Downing Street.—“ I dine at home and shall be happy to see you and Vansittart this evening as soon as it is convenient to you, that we may talk over the outlines of the financial project on which he is now at work. I do really begin to be very sanguine about it. You will see that on the plan we are now pursuing there will be only a part of the war taxes to be continued after the return of peace, and that possibly a small one.

“ But even should this not be the case it is to be considered :

“ 1. That pursuing the present system of borrowing, we must impose at the least a million of fresh taxes every year, so that in ten or twelve years more of war (and who shall say we shall have less), we shall have had to lay on as many millions annually of fresh burthens, in addition to the war taxes which must go on at the same time.

“ 2. That on the present plan the sinking fund will in eight or nine years come in aid of the war taxes, and enable us (possibly even during war) to relieve the country from some part of that burthen.

“ 3. That as by this plan we shall create no new debt without a sinking fund equal to its interest, the proportion of sinking fund to debt will every year be rapidly increasing, and consequently the price of stocks kept up against almost any circumstances that may occur.

“ These however, and many other considerations we will talk over when we meet.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 5.—“ I send enclosed the copy of the alternative delivered by Lord A[ucklan]d and myself as a project for an article on the interrupted voyage. We found the most practical method of recommending the increase of duty was to clog the other proposal with inadmissible stipulations. The amount of the drawback is left blank. Lord Auckland seemed to think that two thirds (which would leave a duty of 4 per cent.) would be sufficient, and it evidently is as much as the Americans can be induced to consent to. The official communication of Sir J. Nicholls' letter to Lord Hawkesbury implied that Great Britain would



not exact further proofs of a circuitous voyage than those expressed in it, and they did not amount to the securities required in either of these articles, or even to those sketched in our dispatch of last month.

“We receive their answer to-morrow, and as it is desirable in the course of next week to give them the result of our final determination, I hope you will excuse me for troubling you with the detail before we meet in the Cabinet, as a previous knowledge of the state of the negotiation saves much discussion and time.

“With the same view I should wish to lay before you, either in writing or in conversation, as you prefer, some projects relating to Mexico, of which, if all thoughts of other schemes are given up, I hope you will not lose sight.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

1806, December 5. Downing Street.—“I think there can be no doubt that we ought to be satisfied with either of the alternatives you have stated, but I should certainly prefer the way of duty to that of warehousing and transhipment.

“I send you for consideration the plan of the Mexican attack, as arranged after much consultation with Sir Arthur Wellesley, who is to command it. I waited till Windham returned to town in order to shew it to him. He seems well satisfied with it, and I should be happy to have your ideas upon it before we bring it forward in the Cabinet, which ought to be previous to the meeting of Parliament, that there may then be nothing left but to carry on the details.

“Lord Henry Petty mentioned to me to-day that Mr. Allen had much information about Mexico. When Sir A[rthur] Wellesley returns to town I shall be very anxious that he should see him.” *Copy.*

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 6.—“It was my fault that I missed you to-day, having been apprized by what you said, that you had Dropmore in your view.

“Among several different little matters which I wanted to mention to you, one was an application for a piece of preferment for my half brother the Dean of Wells. It is a very tempting one, no doubt, for many people, being a sinecure of more than 200*l.* a year lately held by a Mr. Rashleigh. The name of the parish I do not recollect, but it lies somewhere in Lincolnshire. I must in time trouble you upon the subject of the Dean of Wells, whose income compared with his family is not such as to put him at his ease; and who could better afford to wait if you could, in the meanwhile, gratify me by the object in question.”

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 6. Whitehall.—“I had many waking dreams through the night on the subject of those calculations ; but I will not plague you with my reveries till we meet on Monday.

“It appears, as the paper at present is framed, that at the end of fourteen years, if the war were to last so long, and if a peace were then to take place, that the nation would then stand charged with twenty-nine millions of taxes imposed or continued by the operation of these fourteen years. It is true that from that period they would begin to be extinguished at the rate of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  *per annum*. Still, that statement is formidable ; but this and several other points may be better discussed, and I hope to the best effect, when Mr. Vansittart shall have recast, and in some respects varied, the whole scheme.”

*Private.* LORD HOLLAND to THE SAME.

1806, December 7. Holland House.—“I send some papers containing the points on which my information differs from that of Sir A[rthur] Wellesley, and mentioning others on which both seem to me defective. I have ventured to add a comparison of the two first plans, and also some general remarks ; but you will, I hope, acquit me of the presumption of setting the least value on my opinions on such subjects, I have thrown them out merely to draw the attention of persons more capable of forming conclusions from the *data*, to the facts with which they are connected. As to the distant points of attack, they seemed so out of the question that I thought it unnecessary to trouble you with any observations upon them.

“With regard to the force from Honduras, there is an expression in the paper proposing it that, I own, a little startled me, implying that adventurers were to be allured by a prospect of sharing the plunder.

“If the expedition is to be productive of permanent advantages to the country, and intended (as it surely should be) to separate Mexico for ever from our enemies, the most scrupulous attention should be paid to the conduct and previous character and appearance of the forces employed ; for the notion of a plundering expedition would defeat our views both in Mexico and all over Spanish America. This has always struck me so forcibly, and is so much confirmed by the reports I have collected both in Spain and here of the disposition of the inhabitants, that I own, unless the expedition is connected *from the beginning* with some plan for establishing an independant *monarchy* in Mexico, I should very much question the policy of undertaking it at all. This however is a large subject on which I will take the first opportunity of talking to you.

“To return to the force; have you ever reflected on the possibility, under all circumstances, of raising Catholic regiments in Ireland for certain sorts of service? Such a force (exclusive of the incalculable advantages resulting from raising it) would be peculiarly adapted to an undertaking of this nature, and in that part of the world.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1806, December 8. Downing Street.—“I disposed of the sinecure you mention last week, as indeed one seldom fails to hear of these things by some application for them within a few hours after they become vacant. I need not tell you how happy I should have been to gratify your wishes respecting so near a connection of yours.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 9. Holland House.—“I return you the papers with many thanks; am very happy to see the plan in such forwardness, and will, in the course of to-morrow, throw together such remarks as occur to me upon it on paper. Mr. Allen will, I am confident, be happy to meet General Wellesley; and it is chiefly from his information, collected with the view of such an undertaking at the commencement of the Spanish war, that I feel myself competent to give an opinion on the subject.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, December 9. Palace Yard.—“. . . I am so confirmed, by further reflection, in the opinion that your plan will be facilitated and improved by confining the new taxes to 400,000*l.* annually, that I shall be grieved if any unforeseen objection should present itself on recasting the calculations with that view. It is no objection that in several years you raise *less* than a sinking fund interest equal to the interest of the loan. The answer is that the plan purports only to raise such an interest within a short and definite period of years, giving great relief to the whole empire in the meantime, and eventually accelerating the discharge of the whole debt.

“2. What will you do as to Ireland?”

“It is material to ascertain with precision the sums for which the war taxes remain pledged (whether as to principal or interest) in the supposition of peace at the end of each year of the period stated in the calculations.”

*Confidential.* “The success of such a business depends much on the personal conviction of many individuals both *in* and out of Parliament, that the plan is solidly right; and with that view I submit to you that it would be very material to bestow some hours on the discussion of it *very soon*, with Lord Henry Petty, Lord Howick, Mr. Tierney,

your brother, the Attorney and Solicitor General and others. And I fear that you must take those discussions separately. Several hours must be sacrificed in those preparatories; but they are essential, and will in some degree be compensated by the further improvements which such discussions cannot fail to bring forwards. So far as I can be of use, my time is entirely at your service."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 11. Eden Farm.—“I have proposed to Sir John Nicholl to meet me at the Office for Trade on Saturday morning: I will then confer fully with him on Sir William Scott's difficulty, and on several other considerations of embarrassment in this new state of things. If any further subjects should occur to you that you would wish me to mention to him, you will be so good as to let a minute be forwarded to me.

“I have received your corn paper, and some other applications from London and Liverpool respecting the eventual supply of grain. It is a most delicate string to touch; we may create a sense of alarm at home in the midst of great plenty, and may consequently raise the prices abroad, and produce the mischief by seeking too earnestly to avert it. I am anxious to know the progress of the finance scheme.”

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, December 11. Downing Street.—“You know I have always a strong inclination against *doing*, when one does not clearly see that what is to be done is likely to be beneficial; and if there be one subject above all others to which I apply that principle, it is that of corn. At the same time I should like to see as distinctly as it can be ascertained what our prospects are in that respect. What is supposed the stock in hand? What the state of the last harvest? And what means of supply from America in case of difficulty?

“A much less violent measure than that of making the Victualling Board purchase for sale, would be that of making them make their own contracts in America, and so keep that portion of our demand wholly out of the home market.

“I do not well know what can be done with Sir W. Scott's paper. My own inclination is to say that Government considers no country as hostile but such as have been so declared by an act of the Government, and therefore that Hamburgers and other similar claimants are as much entitled as ever to recover their property. I should however, of course, like to hear the objections whatever they are, which may be made to this course of proceeding.

“The finance plan has made no progress since we last talked it over. The calculations are going on, and by to-morrow Vansittart promises me the new statement of the

scheme, reducing (by the plan of deferred stock) the taxes to be annually imposed as low as they can be brought.

“Lord Henry and Vansittart dine with me to-morrow that we may go over the plan in this new form. Can you come either to dinner or in the evening?” *Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 11. Stowe.—“The last time I wrote to you on the Irish disturbances, I stated to you my reasons for thinking the clamour on which these rebellious assemblies were first formed, was only a first step leading to many others; and for my opinion of the necessity of putting down by a strong hand these combinations and meetings in the county of Mayo, for refusing dues to the priests and limiting tithes to the Protestant parsons, I was very soon informed *from Ireland* that you had—as was natural—transmitted my information (which likewise stated the belief amongst the insurgents that the French frigates taken by Hood were destined to Ireland) to Elliott; and I was informed that my opinions on this whole matter were so little in unison with those of Government, that they were openly talked of as unfounded, and *mischievous*, and as being in direct opposition to the ideas on which Irish Government acted. As I could not be deceived, knowing the channels of this information, in the language held by those in the Duke of Bedford’s confidence on this subject, I groaned over what I was satisfied was misconceived; but I can safely aver that I never have opened myself on this subject from delicacy to you, save to my son, and to Tom, to whom I wrote the day before yesterday more at length on this matter. Subsequent information which I have obtained, satisfies me that the mischief is even deeper, much deeper, than I had imagined even in my most gloomy moments; and that you must look immediately to systematic coercion instead of the system of conciliation, to which the Duke of Bedford and the Irish Government have from very obvious reasons leant, long after every person who had means of judging was satisfied that no alternative was left but that of vigorous coercion.

“These meetings began in the county of Mayo, where it was the tone of Government to treat them as insignificant disturbances, arising out of the exactions of the priests. This language was countenanced by Government, and accorded very much with the principles and opinions of the Orange party, and was consequently their creed. The constant absence of three of their leading proprietors and governors, Lords Tyrawly, Dillon, and Lucan, joined to the very timid conduct of Lord Sligo, left that county completely open to the effects of this mischief; and the systematic plan of swearing whole parishes to give only four shillings per acre tithe money, and to diminish to one-half the dues of the priests, and to obey Captain Trasher, spread without check

of any sort through Sligo and Roscommon. During the whole of this time, the magistrates have shown little inclination to interfere; certainly under an impression that the tithe might be regulated in consequence of these disturbances, to a *modus* more favourable to the land owner; and with an entire disregard of the question of dues to the priests, as not interesting to them, and not supported by any law. Within the last month the language of these insurgents has changed, and, finding themselves unchecked by the civil power, they fancied that their proceedings on these points were not discountenanced by Government; and opinions formerly given by Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Curran were quoted as being favourable to their ideas of the quantum of tithe; at the same time that they were left to the operation of every mischievous influence over their minds from the unwearied exertions of many of the most active partisans of the last rebellion, who have returned to Ireland within the last eight months; amongst whom are some who are attainted and continue still excepted out of the act of indemnity, and are known by Government to be in that kingdom. Is it then to be wondered at that the Irish peasant, always prone to mischief, and really oppressed in points out of the reach of Government, such as the letting of their cabins and potatoe gardens, should be deceived by seeing these old rebels at liberty, unmolested, and their opinions upon tithes supported by the former opinions of men now composing the Government? When this system of assembly in large bodies was established, the rest followed of course; and their chapter of grievances—within Captain Thrasher's view—extended to letting of lands to stranger occupants, to county rates, to wages, to absentees; and latterly they have gone the lengths of 'a cheer for Bonaparte, who is to set all this right.' Whilst the magistrates were supinely looking on, upon the first part of this history, the gentlemen who disapproved the line of conciliation—which was the shibboleth of Government—were gradually leaving the country; and you will find that many have come to Dublin, Bath, and London, to avoid the mischiefs of this scene during the winter, and the only check that now remained was the army. On this head I fear that there has been great misconduct, for, if I am well informed, the only efficient movable force, which had been concentrated at Athlone, was broken up in July, when the Irish militia light companies joined their regiments, for the purpose of recruiting for the army; and the number never has been replaced; and the *only* augmentation sent to the force of the very feeble garrisons in Connaught, has been the very weak, and I fear very bad regiment of Westmeath militia. Nor has any order been given to the army in these disturbed districts for their regulation, till within these very few days, when some very un-meaning and inefficient directions were given by Lord Harrington, referring them always to the orders

of magistrates, who, it was very clear, would not do their duty generally, though some individuals might still exert themselves. At length Government seemed to wake from its dream, and a special commission was announced for trial of these offenders. I own that when I saw this measure taken, I hoped that the former lesson taught upon this subject in 1796 and 1797 to Lord Camden, would have taught Irish Government the mischief of such a procedure, unless in cases where they were *certain* of convicting the offenders; for the first trumpet of the last Irish rebellion was sounded, when it was clear to the understanding of everyone, that the usual procedures of our law were unequal to the exigency of a systematic and comprehensive insurrection, and when the law was completely baffled by a terror, much beyond that of the law, the terror of the insurgents. Lord Carhampton's pamphlet in 1798 describes the result of this ill-advised measure, as a complete degradation of Government, of the law, and of the courts; when the witnesses chose to be perjured rather than to be murdered, the murderers were acquitted and the prosecutors murdered.

"The very same error has again been committed. The Chief Justice went down with the Attorney and Solicitor General and all the powers of the law to Castlebar, and on Saturday last it was known in Dublin that, during two days sitting, the grand and petty juries had not been able to carry the law into effect *in any one* case for want of witnesses, of whom the greater part forfeited their recognizances, and the others perjured themselves in the most undisguised manner. For, in this instance, the insurgents had gone before the precedent of 1796, having actually murdered two informers, one openly and the other privately in Mayo, about fourteen or twenty days before the commission sat. During all this time the nocturnal assemblies, and the oaths to Captain Thrasher spread, and the county of Longford is now all sworn as well as great part of the county of Cavan. But I now come to a fact more immediately alarming, and that is the exertions made to engage the Catholics in the Irish militia in this insurrection, and to induce them to feel an interest in the question of dues. This was tried upon the Kildare militia at Belfast by some of George Nugent's proscribed friends, and had made great impression before it was discovered; and *you may be certain* that it is not confined to that militia, for several others have been named whom I could mention to your *private ear*, on whom I could not fix it, but whom my informants has assured me are tainted, namely, the Wexford, Westmeath, North Mayo, Tipperary, Longford. *But the Kildare is very bad indeed.* I have now only to add upon this gloomy subject, that upon the greater part of it—and a great deal more of the details—I cannot be deceived; for Dr. Little, who has the general care of my estates in Ireland, came to me the night before last from Ireland, which

he left on Sunday, having left Longford on the Saturday, where he went for the purpose of conversing with four of my Longford tenants, who had come into Granard with a large party of insurgents, to swear that town, in the same manner as Edgeworthstown had been sworn a few days before. Fortunately a party of the German legion was quartered there, and did its duty under the orders of Mr. Carr, an old officer and good magistrate who lives there. Two men were killed, several wounded, amongst whom is a tenant of mine, and several made prisoners, amongst whom are three more of my tenants. They all told Dr. Little that the whole of my tenants in Longford were sworn three weeks ago by a party from Roscommon, *who came on purpose*. They are all old tenants, with leases renewed last year, under the value, and acknowledged my kindness, but pleaded that their houses would be burnt by Captain Thrasher. They stated their oath was to pay only four shillings per acre tithe, to pay only half dues to the priest, and to obey Captain Thrasher's orders. But they told Dr. Little that no evidence whatsoever would appear against them, for that any approver or informer would be put to death. You may judge for yourself when I tell you, that these very men in the last rebellion stood untainted, though that whole country was in insurrection; and that there was not a single pike or arm of any sort found or known on the estate. But they said 'that they believed that they were doing no wrong, and would not have done so if they thought they were disobeying their landlord.' Such is, I am satisfied, the actual state of Ireland, and I am confident that so long as the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan and the Irish Government are conceived to lean to this system of conciliation, which is so natural for them to entertain, the mischief must spread. It is idle to imagine that Bonaparte's agents are not implicated in these proceedings, and you must act under a conviction that he will make Ireland a principal point, from the moment that he shall have succeeded in his Polish project, which I should suppose cannot easily fail.

"I urge you therefore to call for a state of the Irish force, and to satisfy yourself with the disposition of that force, and the quality of it; and if you should find that English force is wanting there, it must at all events be sent, whatever may be the consequence, from this island. I do not exactly know the amount of English regular force there, but I fancy it is very small, and, at all events, you cannot increase the German force there, beyond its actual numbers. But above all I must urge you to have a very distinct explanation on this subject with Lord Howick, Lord Holland and other Whigs, as to the measures that must be taken in Parliament, and upon the means of acting upon those bills by the government of Ireland. I fear that you must revert to much of the old system; but that which must be avoided is the arming the irregular troops with the powers which they so shamefully



abused in 1798. I cannot but think that a somewhat regular tribunal might be formed for capital trials in each disturbed county, in lieu of those flagitious courts-martial of which I saw too much. But above all the Duke of Bedford must be brought to think that he has carried his system quite to the end of its line.

“Do not think that on this subject I have any complaint to make, or any feeling save that of public duty, and of private affection to you. I have delayed this discussion, perhaps too long, from attention to your feelings and situation, and I now urge it because I think that you are misinformed on the true state of Ireland, and that the Irish Government are the last to know, and certainly the last to tell you the effect of opinions imputed to them, and the effect of their acquiescence in the return of every attainted rebel to Ireland. And above all, do not think that my opinions are swayed by former impressions, or tinged by any idle unfounded alarm on a matter so interesting to everyone, but personally so to me and to my family, beyond the general share in the public interest.”

#### VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 13. Richmond Park.—“If I had seen you to-day I should have asked your intentions respecting the house in Downing Street, lately occupied by Sir Charles Morgan. You probably are aware that the sum of 9,000*l.* was voted in Parliament to purchase it for the Judge-Advocate, and the person now holding that office would certainly be glad of the use of it, if there is no other purpose more convenient to Government, to which it is material to apply it. It is very desirable that there should be a permanent place of deposit for the papers and documents of this Office, and it would contribute of course to his comfort if his Office and residence were under the same roof; but he has no anxiety on the subject, and is particularly desirous of being understood as not having a wish that could interfere with your convenience.

“The question which has arisen on the defective returns from Ireland appears to me to be very embarrassing. If it should be determined that Parliament is still to meet, I incline to think that the irregularity should be immediately noticed on the part of Government, and measures taken on the first day of business to prevent the repetition of it.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1806, December 14. Downing Street.—“You will easily suppose that just at this moment I have not much time for writing, but I cannot help thanking you for your letter respecting Ireland.

“ You will since have seen that two convictions have taken place at Sligo, and one of them is of a very leading offender. We have taken the most expeditious measures for increasing the regular forces in Ireland ; but I still am very desirous that the experiment should be made of suppressing these disturbances without having recourse to the dreadful measure of proclaiming the counties, and arming with the public authority all the bad passions of the Irish magistracy and yeomanry.

“ When one considers from what class alone the representations for this purpose are, and must be received, it cannot be wondered at that they should receive a little tincture from their wishes.

“ No trace—or next to none—has yet appeared in the disturbed counties of French influence or intrigue. That there are agents of France at work there, and that there always have been such, no one can doubt ; but these disturbances appear to have much more Irish in them than French.

“ Since the above was written I observe that the Insurrection Act must be renewed this session or the next. I am clear it ought to be renewed, though very unwilling, as I before mentioned, to put that part of it in force which relates to proclaiming the districts.

“ I had myself some such ideas as you mention of substituting some new tribunal, and course of proceeding, to that of the horrible courts-martial of which you speak. Pray turn your thoughts to this subject, of which you know so much more than I do, and let me know what you think can be done of that sort by a new Act.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1806, December 15. Downing Street.—“ Sir Charles Morgan’s house will be converted into an Office for the Home Department.

“ I will desire the other business to be put into its proper train.

“ I have not heard how many more returns are come in, but I hardly think the thing is worth talking notice of unless any thing should be said upon it.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to W. ELLIOT.

1806, December 15. Downing Street.—“ Herbert, being in Parliament, has resigned the office of Commissioner of Enquiry in Ireland, and I am disposed to appoint Hawthorn to it, if such a nomination would be perfectly agreeable to the Duke of Bedford. Pray let me know as soon as you can.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, December 15. Downing Street.—“ The suggestions you make respecting neutral trade shall immediately be considered.

“Do the West Indians themselves suggest any thing to be done for them beyond the distillery measure?”

“I do not see why (in principle) we should continue to load our other manufacturers and trade with burthens in order to pay above 200,000*l.* *per annum* to the linen manufacturers; the circumstances of the north of Ireland does indeed afford strong reasons against innovating in that matter just now, but if we are hard pressed by and by, we must look to it.

“Does the bounty on printed linen stand on the same, or on what ground?” *Copy.*

THE SAME to LORD HENRY PETTY.

1806, December 15. Downing Street.—“On verifying our last project by calculation I am sorry to say it does not turn out quite as well as we had flattered ourselves. Still I feel very sanguine that the general idea will form the basis of such a plan on this subject as will be much more satisfactory than probably anybody not in the secret can hope.

“Lord Auckland, Vansittart and Harrison meet me here on this subject to-morrow evening at 8 by latest, and we shall much wish to have your assistance. As that is a very early hour for getting away from dinner elsewhere, perhaps you will take your dinner with us here.

“I think we must certainly, as you suggest, reserve to Parliament the power on the return of peace, of choosing between the continuance of the 5 *per cent.* fund, or a recurrence to a 1 *per cent.* fund; and I think this may be made sufficiently palatable to the stockholders, though it manifestly tends rather to diminish the value of the offer which we make to them. Your idea as to the army extras exactly meets my wishes, but I fear the execution will be difficult, though I am convinced it is not impracticable.” *Copy.*

EARL SPENCER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 16. London.—“I return you the Duke of Argyll’s very handsome and gentlemanlike letter, in consequence of which I suppose you will, of course, propose to the King to give him the Riband.”

*Enclosure.*

THE DUKE OF ARGYLE to THE SAME.

1806, December 11. Edinburgh.—“I confess myself at some loss how to answer the letter you did me the honour to write to me on the 21st of November. I am unwilling to depreciate the value of the honour you have in so flattering a manner proposed to me, and yet I cannot avoid wishing to express how totally indifferent I am to its possession. If any action or merit of mine had given me some sort of claim to a badge of honour, the proposed or any other mark of distinction would be a desirable object, but as a mere appendage

to the rank I accidentally hold in society, I must repeat my indifference with regard to obtaining it. With these sentiments I must leave it to your better judgment to consider whether you may not essentially oblige some other persons with this mark of honour, who may hold different opinions on this subject from me; and I beg leave to assure you that, in whatever way you decide, I shall always feel much more pleasure in the handsome and flattering way in which you offered it, than in the thing itself."

W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 16.—"I mentioned to you, I believe, before, when there was a question of a new Barrack-Master-General, that Whitelock was desirous of following in the steps of his predecessor, and of succeeding to that situation from the one which he now holds.

"Should any change take place in the plan which you lately mentioned as being in contemplation, and the office of Barrack Master be continued, pray bear in mind that Whitelock is a candidate for the situation."

*Postscript.*—"As to Hope, I trust you consider him as utterly out of the question."

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO THE SAME.

1806, December 16. Dublin Castle.—"The enclosed letter from the Attorney General reached me this morning. I feel so strong a conviction of the absolute necessity for having one of the Irish Crown lawyers in Parliament, and of the peculiar qualification of the Attorney General for the situation, that I am really precluded from interposing for the purpose he requests. Under these circumstances I have requested him to let me renew my conversation with him on the subject, when he returns to Dublin. In the meanwhile if you will write him a line, I think he will be prevailed upon to make the experiment for at least a part of this session. He urges, as a *public* ground of objection to the arrangement, that the presence of the Attorney General on this side of the water in critical times will be indispensable; but, of course, his Parliamentary attendance would be regulated by the exigencies of the public service, and would not be required, if his exertions should be wanted here.

"The result of the trials at Castlebar has been, by the description of the Attorney and Solicitor General, most beneficial in its consequences in the county of Mayo; but, as they truly observe, we must not be too hasty in forming an inference with regard to the permanence of the impression. There is in this country much floating mischief, which, with any assurance of French co-operation, would very soon assume the form of a systematic and dangerous confederacy.

"In this state of things I fear I must relinquish all ideas of seeing you for some months."

*Enclosure.**Private.* W. C. PLUNKET to W. ELLIOT.

1806, December 15. Castle Bar.—“I enclose you a letter which I received here from Mr. Wickham on the subject which you some time since communicated to me, and a copy of my answer to it.

“It is very distressing to me to express reluctance on a subject, when I feel it my duty, if urged, to comply; but I cannot avoid hoping that, in addition to the motives which I mentioned to you when I formerly declined, you will now more strongly than ever be persuaded of the necessity of the Attorney General, in such times as the present, not being absent from Ireland; and that you will use your influence to prevent the measure being pressed. The Solicitor-General has written so fully by this post to Mr. Trail that I have not anything to add. Certain it is that great consternation appears to prevail amongst the insurgents who, a few days since, were very confident; and great confidence amongst the magistrates and gentlemen who, a few days since, were in great consternation; but both the one and the other are barometers of such a construction that I cannot predict with any confidence whether the quick-silver will settle at fair weather.”

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 17. Milton.—“At the request of the inhabitants of the parish of Dewsbury, a very large and extensive parish in the West Riding, I solicit for the appointment of John Buckworth, A.B., to the vicarage of Dewsbury in case of the death of the present incumbent, which is daily expected. Mr. Buckworth has been several years curate, and I am given to understand that the value of the vicarage is not more than 150*l. per annum.*

“A more considerable living in the West Riding is likewise likely to be vacant very soon. The incumbent of Wakefield is supposed to be rapidly declining; whenever his death happens, I shall beg your influence in securing it for my recommendation, as essential to my consideration in Yorkshire; and besides as being important that so large and populous a district should be kept out of the hands of the Methodists, who are spreading their influence far and wide in the manufacturing district, and are becoming fast a most powerful political party through the medium of the patronage of that very church which they are daily undermining.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, December 17. Office for Trade.—“After a very long discussion with the West India deputation in the presence of Mr. Jackson of the Excise, and of some very intelligent distillers, I think that the parties concerned went away fully satisfied that their proposition cannot be adopted to any extent

that would give material relief to them ; and that it would be utterly unreasonable to press for a derangement of so important a system, and of so many interests connected with it, unless the benefits to be expected from the measure were such as would meet the case offered for relief.

“I think therefore that the consideration may be said to be laid aside for the present ; and if you have not time to write to Sir John Newport, if you will send me his letter I will answer it.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 17. Palace Yard.—“The last concoction of your plan for the twenty-three years may be made intelligible to all who advert to such subjects, and its general impression on those who listen only to the general result, may be favourable. Nor can it alarm the many who are weary of the Property Tax ; on the contrary, it is perhaps their best pledge of an early and certain relief. And with respect to the stockholders, I submit to you that there may be means of so wording the business, as to guarantee the payment of the existing old debt at all events, at the period for which it would otherwise be payable. Did it occur to us sufficiently that the extinguished interest, which is meant to be applied to new loans, will annually vary according to the price of stock, and the amount which 8,500,000*l.* will redeem? I mention that sum because I think it would simplify the business to make the operation commence from the time when the sinking fund arrives at that sum ; and if so, Mr. Harrison should be apprized of it.

“But the great difficulty is in the rapid accumulation of new debt. On the other hand, it will not be much (how much?) at the end of *five years' war*, or even at the end of ten years' war ; and in despite of all appearances of the moment, it is very improbable that it will last even for the first period.

“It grows extremely urgent that Lord Holland and I should have half an hour with you and Lord Howick on the American Treaty. I have had this last week great assistance from Mr. Frewen as to the commercial part ; and from Sir John Nicholl as to the war and colonial articles, and we have nothing new to learn on the subject. In the mean time, the American Commissioners are most anxious to write to the Congress, which is now sitting, and must separate in March.”

VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME,

1806, December.—“I have just received the enclosed note from your brother. I believe the presenting the address for the navy estimates is a mere matter of form, and that in fact the King is never waited on for that purpose. If this is true Lord Ossulston's delivering the usual message at the Bar on Monday, will be sufficient. I send also some hints for Morier's instruction,s which I wish you would look at.

“I find they are very confident upon their intended attack with respect to the use of influence at the elections. They talk of a very strong letter to Captain Tomlinson signed by you, which was shown at Liskeard; and of another from Lord Robert Spencer to some person connected with his department at Christchurch.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, December 18. Eden Farm.—“I send the letter from the King’s Advocate. It is not material that you should read more of it than the first page and a half. We adjusted the other business mentioned in the letter yesterday. The suggestion given by Sir John Nicholl is so exactly conformable to what I had already submitted to you, that I feel encouraged to press you to talk about it with Lord Howick and Mr. Grenville. I have also received a long letter from Mr. Garland, Member for Poole, very strongly urging a similar measure. You will recollect that in August we prohibited the communication between the enemy’s ports, and ports specially blockaded. The object now would be to prohibit generally all communication in neutral ships between enemy’s ports and enemies’ ports. The pressure of such a measure would be severely felt by France and by the countries subject to France, and our own immediate trade with the Continent would be promoted by it.

“I do not plague you with the volumes which I am receiving on this occasion from principal merchants and commercial towns. But, the second measure to be adopted would be an instruction to our cruizers not to molest vessels passing and repassing between our ports, and the ports in the north of Europe which have lately come under the control of the enemy. Vessels are passing and repassing already even in greater number than before the last prohibition from Berlin, and with valuable cargoes. I settled the form yesterday with Sir John Nicholl, and desired Mr. Fawcener to submit it to you.

“The 3rd measure would be to extend that system to Leghorn and the southern ports: but this is more doubtful.

“A 4th palliation (and it is very desirable even in the opinion of the King’s Advocate, if the Lords of the Admiralty would not object to it,) would be, to extend to all innocent articles, the instruction (already existing as to silk and Spanish wool) not to detain neutral ships on account of such articles coming to British ports or going from British ports. In other words, not to seize them because they may be the property of an enemy. If this were well understood, there is reason to believe that this country would have an increased export, and also an import of valuable articles to be deposited here, to an immense amount.

“These considerations are so important and so urgent, that I do not hesitate to trouble you with them.

“You will not be able to meet the West Indians on Wednesday ; but I must previously know from you what can be said to them. It is true that they have above 80,000 hogsheads of British sugar in our warehouses, and are suffering greatly under the stagnation. The distillery, I find, cannot take above 12,000 hogsheads this year, nor above 24,000 in any year, even if it should be thought right to confine the distillers to sugar.

“I send the account of bounties, as you desired ; it appears that nothing efficient can be drawn from that resource. The bounties in the nature of drawbacks must be increased, I fear, and the other column of positive bounties is smaller than we had supposed.

“I return Sir William Scott’s letter, and have stated a question upon the subject to Sir John Nicholl ; and have also fully conversed with him respecting it. I am to receive his answer on Tuesday, and I think you will find it material and satisfactory. Exclusive of the bills mentioned in my list, there is a large bill for the encouragement of our fisheries.

“If it be desirable you may safely venture to speak favourably of our commercial resources. I have reason to believe that the imports and exports of this year will have been greater than ever ; at least Mr. Irving expects to find it so.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 18. Palace Yard.—“Mr. Vansittart will have sent you a new project which he stated to me last night, and which was discussed till we had nearly exhausted our understandings.

“His proposition is new and ingenious, and if there be no fallacy in it, is an improved concoction of your plan. My only fear is in respect to his column of new taxes, which I suspect should be 700,000*l.* annually instead of 400,000*l.* ; but of this I am by no means certain. But even if it should prove so, means might be found to reduce it to 600,000*l.*, and in that shape it would be greatly preferable to any plan that implies an annual increase of new taxes.

“Mr. Vansittart’s suggestion, if correctly stated, has a great advantage, in so far as it cannot, in any possible case, pledge more than 9,400,000*l.* of the war taxes. And though it might be objected by the stock-holders that the redemption of the actual debt would be prolonged beyond the time when it would otherwise be completed ; still it will be found that, within the period, a larger amount of the old and new debt will have been redeemed than is equal to the actual amount of the old debt.”

The MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1806, December 18. Stowe.—“I have not for the last three days lost sight of the question of the courts-martial



on which you wish for my opinion, in case it should be necessary to resort to the measure of proclaiming any of the disturbed counties in Ireland. In the first place, however, I do most anxiously—and more anxiously than I ever pressed any matter upon you—implore you not to be diverted, as I learn from my Irish letters of this day will be proposed to you, from your intention of proclaiming the county of Sligo, where those disturbances originated, and where the juries and the witnesses perjured themselves in the most marked manner in *all* the trials; though ultimately two prisoners were convicted of the twenty-seven who were confined on capital charges. Be assured, notwithstanding the recent convictions of twelve at Castlebar, which I learn from Ireland this day, that this, though a perfect reason for not proclaiming Mayo, will not check the flame which is still running like wildfire. The progress of it may be distinctly traced to the encouragement given to the tithe regulations of the *Thrashers* by the county gentlemen, who have, *in instances known to Government*, pledged the opinions of all the members of Irish Government to regulations of this description. I have a letter signed by every tenant on my estate in Longford, stating to me that opinions had been so quoted to them in *my* name. They add, what is true, that the *whole* county is sworn, and by name every servant in Lord Granard's house, and that of the neighbouring gentlemen; and they even give me the name of the *gentleman* in the county of Longford whose language and directions have guided the whole of the disturbance in that county, and this person is high in the confidence of Government! It has reached the county of Westmeath, and Cavan, from Longford, and it has made much progress in Tipperary. On these facts I cannot be mistaken, and I wish it were possible for me to doubt the interference of France in these violences; but I not only can give you the distinct assurance (of informations that I know to be correct) of the prevalent opinions on this subject, but I can trust to you the two following names, who must not in any case be quoted by you as coming from me, of persons both of whom were excepted from the Bill of Indemnity, both attainted for not surrendering, both very active in the last rebellion, both refugees in France, both returned to Ireland about four months, and both very full of money, though notoriously beggars and one bankrupt. Both of them have latterly been seen very openly in different parts of the north-west of Ireland, and are universally considered from their language as very active and dangerous agents of France. Their names are enclosed and you should direct enquiries to be made about them; but, as I before stated, my name must not be guessed at as the channel of this information, for my informant would most certainly not give evidence. I am likewise told that this flame spreads in Limerick, though I have no exact information of the fact.

“ Now ask yourself if it is possible to mistake the *causa et origo* of all this. Do not imagine that I blame in this matter the Duke of Bedford and his Irish advisers. They act upon their opinions and prejudices on the question of Irish disturbances, which were well known to every one; and it is this very notoriety that satisfies the Irish peasantry that Government is with them in principle, and will not resort to the only coercion that has any influence over them, the coercion of strong force. You will hang some of these wretches at Sligo and Castlebar and—as I hope—some of my tenants at Granard; but you will not hang the magistracy and gentlemen who have supported them, still less will you hang the Duke of Bedford, Ponsonby, and Grattan, whose names are so generally used in this business. Be assured therefore that until you force that Government to disavow by some public, notorious, and marked act, this system imputed to them, the peasant will not be undeceived. I again therefore press the proclamation of the county of Sligo, where this first broke out, and where the process of law has been notoriously baffled in the late trials by the terrors on the minds of the jurors and witnesses; and I have very sanguine hopes that this held out *in terrorem* will do more to undeceive the mistaken opinions, and to check the progress than the executions of hundreds. To which I will add my earnest opinion that, as the Botany Bay ships are now rendezvousing at Portsmouth, it would be highly eligible that the convicts for transportation for these offences should be removed *instantly*, so as to give immediate impression on the minds of their comrades. The expense of forwarding them—with escorts—in carriages to Dublin, and from Liverpool to Portsmouth, would be nothing when compared with the impression of immediate punishment; but as the fleet is now preparing, no time should be lost.

“ On the subject of courts-martial on persons not military under the late Acts, during the rebellion, the grievances which particularly struck me were these.

“ The powers claimed by every general, colonel, or commanding officer to order them, which gave means of indulging much private animosity of Irish officers, *particularly yeomanry*.

“ The great unfitness of the subalterns and young captains, *particularly yeomanry*.

“ The short proportion of members, *often only five*.

“ The uncertainty and inaccuracy of the charge.

“ The want of legal certainty, with respect to the evidence and proofs.

“ The power claimed of ordering execution of the sentence without the intervention of Government, except where the Lord Lieutenant ordered the court-martial.

“ I consider these courts-martial—on persons not military—as necessary in cases, and in districts, where the terror on the minds of jurors and of witnesses make it impossible to convict

by the ordinary course of law ; but it should seem expedient to depart as little as possible from those principles, which have endeared to us the code of criminal law, as now used amongst us ; and to maintain the law of indictment, and the rule of evidence as much as possible in this substitute court, in conformity to the practice of the ordinary tribunals. This can only be done by the intervention of legal men in these courts. It was found necessary some years since to add to the county quarter-sessions a barrister-chairman with a salary, for the express purpose of conducting trials *there*, by the usual forms and rules of practice in their proceedings. My idea would be, in arranging regulations for holding courts-martial in disturbed and proclaimed districts on persons not military to provide :

“ *First.* That in cases of capital charge, no court shall be assembled save by warrant from the Lord Lieutenant.

“ This precaution prevents trials vindictively or hastily ordered, and brings the sentences to the Castle for approbation.

“ *Secondly.* That a permanent King’s Sergeant or King’s Counsel shall be appointed with the Assistant-Barrister to each disturbed county—and to be paid *by the county*—of whom one is always to preside in every court-martial, whether on capital charge or for misdemeanour, within that county on persons not military.

“ I know this will strike as a novelty, but I contend that it is the true principle of all such courts-martial to have a legal man as chairman of such courts ; and in Ireland the principle is recognised in the case of the Quarter Session Barrister. A King’s Serjeant or Counsel should be added to this commission, because in some counties the barrister is improperly named, and Government would then have a choice ; and this precaution would insure the regularity of proceedings, and would insure to the prisoner the benefit of such assistance as a judge always gives to a prisoner in our other courts, where he is not assisted by counsel.

“ *Thirdly.* A *legal* prosecutor, to be appointed by the Crown, should conduct the charge or indictment in the manner of information by the Attorney General, according to a settled form to be prepared, *mutatis mutandis*, for this purpose.

“ It is proposed to keep this distinct from the Advocate, whom I should consider as the scribe of the court for the purpose of reducing to writing the questions and answers, which would of course be much shortened by regulating the practice and rule of evidence. The form of indictment or charge would of course be settled by the barrister acting for the Attorney General ; but, for almost every offence, one common printed form might be prepared, leaving a large blank for the overt acts.

“ These precautions for settling the charge, and regulating the evidence, seem likely to give to the prisoner the advantage of certainty in the proceeding against him.

“The precautions for giving to him fair and proper judges need not be numerous, and would not depart much from usual practice, and some of them might be as follows :

“*First.* The court to consist in capital cases of twelve military members, and in other cases of nine ; and no sentence to be adjudged until the party shall have been declared guilty by two-thirds of the members. The chairman to have no voice, and the court not to adjourn for a longer time than from six in the evening to eight next morning ; but to continue sitting—if possible—so as to close proceedings in the course of one day.

“It is obvious that by this arrangement this court is assimilated very much to the court of Lords Tryers in the case of a peer indicted during the prorogation or dissolution of Parliament ; and, perhaps, more assimilated to the Scotch criminal courts actually now existing ; for the military members, though nominally judges, would in reality be a jury, and the evidence would—as in Scotland—be reduced to paper.

“*Secondly.* No member under the age of twenty-one shall be capable of sitting on court-martial in any case on a person not military ; nor any officer who shall not have been a commissioned officer for six years in the army or embodied militia.

“The first of these regulations conforms to the new Mutiny Act regulation, and by the latter it is proposed to exclude all young and uninformed officers whether army or militia ; many of whom—particularly the army—are from the great demand for officers, very unfit for such a trust ; and it excludes all yeomanry and volunteers, except those who may previously have served as commissioned officers six years in the army or embodied militia.

“*Thirdly.* The power of issuing warrants for holding courts-martial on persons not military to be confined to the Lord Lieutenant in cases of capital charge ; and, of course, the sentence to be reported and referred to him. That of appointing courts-martial in other cases to be limited to the Lord Lieutenant, to the Commander-in-Chief, and to the four senior general officers on the Irish staff commanding in districts. These sentences not to extend to life or limb ; and the sentences to be referred to the General who shall have issued the warrant, in cases of sentence to imprisonment, or whipping, or fine ; or of serving in the West Indies, or East Indies, or Africa, as soldiers for not more than ten years. But in cases of sentence for transportation for term of years or life, the proceedings to be referred for confirmation from the court to the Lord Lieutenant.

“I do not pretend to convince you—what I do not feel myself—that this is the best of all possible tribunals ; but I have turned various ideas in my mind and upon paper, and, upon the whole, I prefer grafting upon a system known in Ireland, and recognised by their law, such alterations as may assimilate that court as much as possible to other tribunals,

and their proceedings to the proceedings of our criminal courts ; taking to the Crown the claim of putting the prisoner on trial by information or charge, and of naming the members, who are in fact the jury, under the full persuasion that common juries, from various circumstances, are, in these cases of insurrection, incompetent to their functions, which apply to society in a state of obedience to law. I likewise hope that some such regulations as I have stated will check all the horrible abuses of which I saw so much, and which I felt so sensibly whilst I was in Ireland, as to determine me, at all hazards, never to sit on such a tribunal, in cases not military.

“ But again let me press you to relieve my mind from the pain I should feel if I fancied that you could pause on proclaiming Sligo, for I verily think that you will risk a general rebellion in Ireland by pausing on that step.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL SPENCER.

1806, December 18. Downing Street.—“ I enclose you the Duke of Bedford’s two letters. I have already stated my wish that Marsden’s object may not be pressed, at least not at this moment.

“ There can be no objection to the Duke’s three Baronets, but I confess I should like the list much better if it *did* include some two or three of the principal Catholic gentry ; and I would suggest to you that it might [be] right to delay the receiving the King’s pleasure on the list till you had mentioned this idea to the Duke.” *Copy.*

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 19. Phoenix Park.—“ By the mail which reached Dublin on the 12th instant I received the enclosed letter under your lordship’s cover, and have delayed writing to you on the subject to which it relates, in the probability that I might before this have been apprized of your wishes respecting it.

“ The enclosure to which Lord Dillon’s letter has reference, did not come with it. I am therefore unable to give an opinion upon Colonel Dillon’s report of the state of the country ; but upon this head I beg leave to refer your lordship to my recent communications to Lord Spencer, and to the testimony of Lord Sligo who is now in London, and who is able to give you very correct information as to the particular part of the country alluded to by Lord Dillon.

“ In respect to the corps of yeomanry offered to be raised by Lord Dillon, his lordship did certainly tender such an offer to my predecessor in the month of August, 1805, which was, under certain limitations, accepted by the Government. On the 21st of July, 1806, Mr. Wyatt, his lordship’s agent, informed Mr. Edward Littlehales that he had completed the corps proposed to be raised by Lord Dillon ; but as I had uniformly

declined all proposals for augmenting that description of force, on account of the great extent of the yeomanry establishment, and the expense attending it ; and especially as no communication had been made to the Government upon the subject for the period of eleven months, I did not feel myself at liberty to accept the corps then offered by Lord Dillon through his agent Mr. Wyatt.

“A resident nobility and gentry must at all times be a desirable circumstance in Ireland ; but I must leave it to you to judge how far in the present circumstances of the country Lord Dillon’s presence may be of advantage, when he manifests so evident a dissatisfaction at the conduct of the Irish Administration.”

*Enclosure.*

VISCOUNT DILLON to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 6. London.—“The high respect I have for your lordship induces me to enclose a letter I have this day received from my son. Your lordship will be so kind as to overlook any expression which was written in confidence ; but from other persons I have likewise the most melancholy accounts of the situation in Ireland ; and from my intimate knowledge of the country, I do not hesitate to declare that it is the same spirit and the same people who produced the late rebellion, and are now endeavouring to create another, aided by the French.

“About a year ago while I was in the country, upon a representation of the magistrates to me, I communicated with Lord Hardwicke, and offered to raise at my own expense a corps of yeomanry, by which I could have considerably checked this growing spirit of rebellion. Lord Hardwicke agreed to it, but the present Government of Ireland, when I had got the men (all which I could have relied on) ordered it to be dismissed. I am ready to go over or to do any thing your lordship may deem proper, to assist his Majesty’s Government, as there is hardly any gentleman of weight or influence in any part of the country. Your lordship will, I hope, have the goodness to excuse my giving you this trouble in a matter which I conceive my duty and loyalty as much concerned as my private interest.”

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1806, December 19.—“I shall have much satisfaction in appointing Mr. Buckworth to the vicarage of Dewsbury whenever the vacancy occurs ; and I shall not fail to direct a note to be taken of your application respecting the living of Wakefield, in order that it may be taken into consideration when the vacancy occurs.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to W. ELLIOT.

1806, December 20. Downing Street.—“I enclose a letter for the Attorney General which you will have the goodness

to deliver to him, and to enforce with such arguments as will naturally suggest themselves to you on a point which is really of much importance to us.

“You will hear from other quarters of the opening of our Parliament. The success was complete, and all we could wish or desire.

“Pray consider once more the subject of Catholic recruiting for service in South America. We want the men; Ireland wants a vent for its superabundant population; could not these two wants be reconciled?

“If a skeleton 2nd battalion or two were sent to Ireland, with authority to the Lord Lieutenant to recommend the ensigns from the sons of Roman Catholic gentry and yeomanry, and the lieutenants from officers in the Irish militia, and if three or four priests had assurances that on finding themselves in South America they should receive allowances there, and be permitted to officiate to the regiments, could not we in that way hope to complete a battalion, and afterwards more, in a shorter time than in any other?

“You will feel all the importance of the subject both to our force abroad and to your quiet in Ireland. Pray try to shape some such project (if there be any such practicable) as may give these ideas a trial.” *Copy.*

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 21.—“I have received another [letter] from Mr. Barham containing the result of a conference which I desired him to have with Captain Layman. Captain Layman is willing to engage upon terms far short of those which he at first proposed, and such as it does not appear to me that there can be any difficulty of acceding to. If there should be any fair ground at the end of the service for refusing him his rank, he stipulates for 5,000*l.* which, by discharging the expenses of his outfit, and those accruing during the course of his voyage, would leave him as clear gain the 5,000*l.* which he is to receive from Barham.

“I cannot but agree with Barham that, except on the ground of very strong objection to Layman, the request for rank in such circumstances is not more than may be fairly allowed to the private request of Mr. Barham himself, who is an independent man supporting Government with two seats. Certainly much more seems every day to be claimed by persons with far less pretensions, he being not only a man possessed of a vote but of very considerable talents. The measure itself is, however, of far more consideration, and I cannot think that we should be at all justified in putting by an opportunity of trying so important and promising an experiment, in circumstances of such advantage, either from a difficulty about complying with terms such as are now proposed, or for the sake of what we may learn from this experiment at Trinidad. A speedy decision is necessary,

because, though the plan may not be set aside by the delay of a few days, it may very likely happen that Barham, feeling much dissatisfied whether with or without reason, may have disposed of his seat differently from what he otherwise would. That, however, is a matter of much less consequence.

*Postscript.*—"You must recollect that the Trinidad scheme, and which will turn out, I suspect, a subject of considerable blame, was undertaken in Lord Buckinghamshire's time."

LORD HENRY PETTY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 22.—"General Fitzpatrick has just informed me that he has received the establishment from the Duke of York, and that the estimates will be prepared immediately.

"I think you may wish to be apprized of this, as it may spare you the trouble of seeing the Commander-in-Chief till we have received and examined these estimates, which General Fitzpatrick promises shall be sent to the Treasury before to-morrow evening."

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, December 24. Downing Street.—"Before we meet to-day pray look at the Acts 32, George 3rd, chap. 55, and 42 George 3rd, chap. 71, and see whether in your opinion the public creditors are entitled to anything more than the redemption of the debt within forty-five years from that period, as to all debt then existing; and in forty-five years from the date of each subsequent loan respectively.

"If this be true, we shall want no consent for our plan; for, as (after deducting the excesses of sinking fund above the interest of debt) we shall, in twenty years, have eight millions sinking fund to fourteen millions debt, it is obvious that this, being more than five *per cent.* sinking fund, will pay off the capital in less than fourteen years; and therefore the whole will be paid off in *less* than *thirty-four* years from this time, and in less than thirty-eight from 1802." *Copy.*

THE SAME to W. WINDHAM.

1806, December 24. Downing Street.—"I do not think your interpretation of our minute would be admitted as correct by any of those that acceded to it.

"Perhaps it would be better if your ideas were expressed without endeavouring to explain ours, as, in a matter where so much difficulty occurred to us in wording our own opinion, it can hardly be expected that a person not concurring in it should explain it in different words equally to our satisfaction.

"You will observe that your minute represents us at the same moment as considering the evidence against her Royal Highness as wholly unworthy of credit, and yet as attaching to a part of it a credit which it does not deserve.



“The Lord Chancellor will not forward the minute till to-morrow night; there would therefore be time for you to make any alteration you may think fit in yours. I do not see that the form requires any.” *Copy.*

W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 25.—“I cannot at all agree that the minute which I sent is liable to the objection which you make to it. It can be of no consequence to what degree the meaning of any paper is mis-stated if the paper is there to speak for itself, and if care is taken to prevent the supposition that the interpretation given to it is founded on any admission of the parties. This was effectually done in the minute in question by my stating the conclusions to be ‘what I conceived to be contained in the paper, either expressly or by implication.’ The same observation will apply to the contradiction which you suppose me to have introduced; namely, that if it was founded upon my misconception, the error and blame would rest with me. There is in reality, however, in my opinion no contradiction at all. Bidgood’s testimony on the original charge (if, as a witness adverse to the Princess, Bidgood entered into that part of the case at all) might be wholly undeserving of credit; yet on another part might have the credit that has been ascribed to it.

“It is not necessary however to discuss this, as I have changed the minute, removing, as I should conceive, even the smallest cause of anxiety.

“It has been very awkward the writing any thing at all without having the original minute and the report before me, which have been taken back, I find, from the reading-room, and which from circumstances I was too late to get to-day from Lord Spencer. I trouble you with this, partly that you may be satisfied of there being nothing which can commit the opinion of the Cabinet, as indeed it is not easily possible that there should; and partly because, as it is now late, I might by sending it to the Chancellor be in danger of missing the messenger. Should anything happen to prevent either the messenger or what I now send from going to-night, I will beg of you to let me have it back again, as, on looking into the report and the other papers, which I would do to-morrow, something might occur to make a change desirable.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO W. WINDHAM.

1806, December 26. Downing Street.—“Your letter with its enclosure did not reach me till after eleven last night, when it was too late to send it to the Chancellor. I have therefore, agreeably to your desire, returned your minute. Whenever you transmit it to the Chancellor he will, of course, forward it to Windsor.

“I have sent your letter about Captain Layman to Mr. Grenville. If he continues to think it wrong to give Captain Layman the eventual assurances he asks about his rank, I cannot press him to it ; nor can I think that Barham’s intimations as to the consequences of a refusal can weigh in such a case.

“I am not only willing but desirous that Barham’s experiment should be fairly tried, and for that purpose will readily engage to give all reasonable pecuniary allowance to cover the expenses of the experiment, and to remunerate those whose time and talents are employed in it. But surely there never was a subject that had less to do with military rank.” *Copy.*

EARL SPENCER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 26. London.—“I enclose you a private letter I received last night from Elliot ; the despatches from the Lord Lieutenant are gone to the King this morning, and will be sent in circulation when they return.

“The evidence contained in them already proves that there is a great spirit of disaffection lurking in the north of Ireland ; but whether it is sufficient to justify any such measure as a suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act I much doubt. The persons concerned appear to be quite of the lower classes, and no immediate connexion with the enemy is proved ; but they certainly are ripe for any mischief whenever a fit opportunity shall offer.

“I am going to pass the morning at Wimbledon, but shall be back by dinner time ; and, if you have any commands for me, could wait upon you in the evening.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT TO THE SAME.

1806, December 27. Dublin Castle.—“Though the packet is on the point of sailing, I cannot help writing a line to inform you that the Attorney General has, in the handsomest manner, consented to come into Parliament, and you will in the course of a post or two receive from him an answer to your letter.

“I bear in mind your suggestion on the subject of levies for service in South America ; and you shall hear from me on this point, the moment I am prepared to communicate with you on it.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, December 27. Palace Yard.—“Our friends, Messieurs Monroe and Pinkney, after thirty or forty very fatiguing discussions, have at last consented to accept the project, and have authorized me to prepare the copies for signature on Wednesday or Thursday next. We have made no further changes, except what were evident improvements, and chiefly in the commercial article on the subject of certain duties, in the result of a conference which I had this morning with Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Roe. Innumerable alterations were

proposed to us, and urged as far as was agreeable. On the whole I am not aware that we have done anything that is vulnerable, or open to any attack that may not with ease be resisted. And in the mean time the impression of a treaty being concluded, is of considerable importance. I think it highly material that you should assist Lord Holland in compleating his paper to be presented previous to our signature. If the manner in which our blockades are honourably and efficiently executed can be well contrasted in that paper with the wild proclamation and *brutum-fulmen* of Buonaparte's paper blockade (which he represents as a measure of retaliation) it would have a great and most useful effect; and is particularly desired by our American friends, who really seem at present to be Anti-Gallicans; and whom, at any rate, we should wish to be henceforth considered as embarked with us to every extent short of taking part in the war. They confided to us that they are going to send a minister to Paris to the American Minister there, to require an explanation of the Berlin Decree.

"I have postponed going to Blenheim till this treaty shall be signed, and also to attend your debate on Friday next, though I cannot be wanted at it. .

"I am exceedingly anxious to be satisfied that there is no misconception in the second and third columns of Mr. Harrison's paper. If they should prove indisputably correct, the measure will be astonishingly brilliant; and even if there should be the mistake which I suspect, though it may make a great difference, I do not see anything discouraging.

"You probably know that the Duke of Richmond is dying or dead."

#### W. WINDHAM TO THE SAME.

1806, December 29. Beaconsfield.—"As I made some small alterations in the minute which you returned to me, before I sent it to the Chancellor, I enclose you a copy of it, in the form in which it finally went."

#### *Enclosure.*

#### MINUTE BY MR. WINDHAM.

"Though I concur perfectly in what I conceive to be the opinion of the Cabinet, that, in the whole of the evidence which has been adduced against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, nothing is found as affecting her Royal Highness which can be a fit subject for any legal proceeding; and that, with a view to the manifestation of his Majesty's personal sentiments and domestic feelings towards any part of the Royal Family, there is no advice which his Majesty's confidential servants can at this moment presume to offer to his Majesty; yet I am compelled to state my concurrence on these points in a separate minute, because, in the minute

which has been adopted, the opinion of the Cabinet on the specific charge originally brought against her Royal Highness is not distinctly set forth, but only conveyed by reference to the report of the Commissioners ; and that I cannot assume, without the risk of interpreting the report in a sense different possibly from that which it may be intended to bear, that the opinion so conveyed is the same precisely with that which I am anxious to express, namely, that the charge originally brought against her Royal Highness is, as to part of it, directly disproved, and as to the remainder, rests on evidence which cannot entitle it to the smallest credit.

“I am further compelled to separate the statement of my opinions from that of the opinions of the Cabinet, because, among the conclusions of the Commissioners which the Cabinet adopts, there is one which seems to give to the evidence of Bidgood and others, on points not immediately connected with the original and specific charge against her Royal Highness, a degree of authority which I cannot consider it as possessing.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, December 29. Downing Street.—“The state of Ireland presses itself every day more and more upon my mind. The effects of the measures which you have adopted are, as far as relates to the present moment, highly gratifying and satisfactory, and I heartily congratulate you upon them. But we know that those effects are only temporary, and that there still remain in the country the disposition and the means for tumult and insurrection, and that the occasion only is waited for.

“This is exactly the state of things in which a Government is called upon to profit of the interval by such measures of prevention as are within its power.

“I have already troubled you with some crude suggestions on the subject of tithes, one of the causes which operate the most to inflame the minds of the peasantry in Ireland, and to indispose the middling and even sometimes the higher classes.

“The only two other measures that occur to me are the facilitating the enlistment of Catholics into our army, and the making provision for the Catholic clergy.

“The first of these is recommended by every consideration. We greatly want the supply which Ireland might afford to our recruiting ; and Ireland wants such a vent for its population, being exactly in that stage of society which increases population without an adequate increase of the means of employment.

“That the object is desirable no one indeed can deny. How is it to be attained ? I have had some discussion with the Duke of York on the subject, and he assures me of his

full disposition to co-operate in any practicable arrangement for it.

“New regiments to be entirely composed and officered from the Irish Roman Catholics are liable to the obvious objection that there are not in that body persons fit to hold field officers’ or even captains’ commissions; nor could they be brought into the army over the heads of the present officers.

“What seems to me best is this; to send one or two skeleton corps, or rather skeleton 2nd battalions, into the parts of Ireland where such a system might be most successful, there to recruit their numbers.

“To appoint to the skeleton 2nd battalion (where the officers are all to be named) persons connected with the north-west and south-west provinces of Ireland, selecting officers of that description from the army now in Great Britain and Ireland, and also including in them some considerable proportion of officers known to be Catholic, of which there are many in our army.

“To let it be understood and explained to the leading Catholics and Catholic clergy in those districts, that Government will engage to employ these corps, as soon as raised, in South America, where they will, of course, have the full benefit of free exercise of their religion. And that so long as we have troops serving in Catholic countries (which will probably be as long as the war lasts or longer) these levies shall always be employed in those countries alone.

“As a further means of promoting the success of the levies, the Duke of York seemed perfectly ready to receive from your grace the recommendation of all the subaltern officers to be employed, and whom you would of course select from the sons of the Catholic gentry and higher orders of yeomanry or traders; or from the officers of the Catholic regiments of militia, there being no law in Ireland which prevents such persons from serving in the army up to the rank of general officers.

“And in order to secure the exertions of every class of officers so named in completing the corps, it would be proper to have recourse to the same expedient as has been adopted here; that of declaring that if a certain number of men be not raised within a given time, the 2nd battalion shall be reduced, and the officers put on half pay.

“This is the best suggestion I can offer on the result of a good deal of discussion of the subject. Its success must, I am well aware, depend very much on the possibility of interesting the Catholic clergy and gentry in it. The latter is in some degree provided for; how the former can be done you will best judge; and on the whole scheme I hope you will let me have the advantage of your opinion and advice. Something of the sort does really seem as necessary to the peace of Ireland as to the general interests and military strength of the empire.

“ If you can point out any field officers or captains fit to be selected for such corps, in the view above stated, I hope you will have the goodness to do so.

“ As to the provision for the Catholic clergy, the first question is what do they themselves think of it? At some former periods they have declared that they would not accept of such a boon if it were to be offered to them separately from the demands of the laity, lest by so doing they should lose all influence over their flocks. Is that their present feeling? If it is, all further discussion of the subject is useless. If not, pray tell me how far you think the adoption of such a measure would be useful at this time, and what plan you would recommend for it. I believe the details of what was formerly intended are all in Mr. Elliot's office.” *Copy.*

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 29. Stowe.—“ I have passed the whole of this day with Chaplin, methodising my proposed tax by stamp on all proceedings in court of Quarter-sessions, and on various proceedings out of court before magistrates. Chaplin has prepared an estimate from reference to the court books for 1803-4, and -5, of the actual amount of each article of duty; but there can be no very accurate estimate on many of the proceedings before magistrates. Our object therefore has been to regulate by stamp exact and correct appointments of constables, overseers, and churchwardens, to which we fix a five shilling stamp as their authority for making rates, and an *ad valorem* stamp on the confirmation of those rates by two magistrates; a matter in which much regulation of correct accuracy is wanted by the public as a guard upon fraud. We have struck out all stamps on matters where the poor have an immediate interest, and the result is a collection without the increase of a single officer—save that each Clerk of the Peace must be a stamp distributor for the stamps used in court—of above 100,000*l.* *per annum*, exclusive of the whole of what must arise in London, Westminster, and the very populous manufacturing counties and cities, over and above the calculation made on Buckinghamshire, which is neither manufacturing nor populous; and I send you a paper by which you will see how easily the tax (which is permanent for constables and overseers) falls even in Aylesbury, where these officers and their rates are more numerous than usual. The whole abstract shall be sent to you to-morrow by Chaplin, as it is now too late to make it out; and I shall send you in a few days the ‘ observations ’ upon the various articles. But Chaplin, who has worked very hard in this, requests that Mr. Harrison may see him, that he may hear any objections and restate them to me for further consideration. The only remuneration that is necessary is for the extra trouble and responsibility of the Clerks of the Peace, and they can easily

be brought to think and speak in favour of your tax if they understand that they, giving proper security, will collect on the usual allowances the monies on proceedings in court. But you must employ some one to look to Scotch proceedings in their Quarter-sessions, for I know nothing of the course of them.

“Chaplin is likewise most anxious that you should raise your three guinea game licences to four guineas, and the addition of a half-guinea to the gamekeepers’ certificates. He is confident that few would withdraw from the list next year, except, perhaps, some very few poor poachers, who now take out a licence; and he estimates this increase in Buckinghamshire 411*l.*, and in England and Wales at 25,930*l.* *Every shilling of which is a voluntary tax.*

“I am very glad to help your Budget by suggestions of which the first is so productive, and so light on individuals; for when I state 100,000*l.*, I state only what can be ascertained; but, hitherto, various convictions and penalties are not accurately estimated. You may, however, call from the police officers for the number of convictions, and bastardy orders, and removals, as the magistrates’ clerks receive the fees towards the fee fund.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1806, December 30. Palace Yard.—“The Committee of Council for Trade was well attended yesterday on the re-hearing of the West India planters and merchants and sugar refiners. In the final result we agreed to recommend to the Treasury:—

“(1) An increased drawback on the export of double refined sugar. This measure would in effect be no expense, and is thought likely to gain to us nearly the whole trade of that article (which now goes from Hamburgh) to Russia (about 8,000 hogsheads).

“(2) A bounty on a certain ratio of price upon the export of raw sugar. This measure might be an expense of 10 or 15,000*l.*; but on the last occasion, in 1802, it answered the purpose without expense, by quickening the sale and raising the prices.

“And it is demonstrable that some relief *must* be given, otherwise you will have many bankruptcies.

“If the above measures should be adopted it is material for evident reasons, that we should previously sign the American treaty; because if we increase our drawback, and oblige America to diminish greatly her drawback on the article, an unpleasant argument may arise. Still, as our measure is merely temporary to get rid of a pressure of 90,000 hogsheads, it is fair.

“(3) We have reserved the point of classing the sugar and imposing the duty *ad valorem*. It is much urged, but I believe it to be utterly impracticable without too great a sacrifice of revenue.

“(4) We have referred the question of employing molasses and sugar in the breweries and distilleries to a select committee of the House of Commons.

“When you have decided about Sir John Nicholl’s paper I shall be glad to know.

“I hope that the finance plan (*quod rerum omnium est primum*) is advancing to perfection. I cannot help thinking that it may be simplified much and be quite feasible. I wish before I go to Blenheim that you could enable me to say something about *poor* Lord Charles.

“Mr. Corry is desirous to be of the Board of Trade. It might be eventually useful in the House of Commons in such a variety of Bills; and I suppose Sir John Newport would not object.”

*Private.* EARL TEMPLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, December 31. London.—“It is very possible that you may be aware of my information; in case you are not, however, I think it right to say that I have very strong reasons to believe that Lord Yarmouth is jealous, and not well pleased upon some points connected with the negotiation papers; inasmuch that I cannot but think that it is very material he should be talked to, and *have his lesson set him*, before the discussion. If this is neglected, he may fight loose and do mischief. We had an escape this evening. It is very probable Lord Howick has set all this right with him. I am not, however, quite sure that he is aware of the fact of his being discontented, and therefore may not have taken precautions. Can you name a day between this and Monday when I can dine with you?”

*Postscript.*—“In confidence I can tell you that I had my information from one with whom Lord Yarmouth conversed last night upon the subject.”

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1806, December 31. Stratton Street.—“I have been thinking about the blue ribbons, and though nobody can have personally a greater regard than I have for the Duke of Bedford, or think more highly of the merit of his public conduct in Ireland, I confess that I am very anxious that the second should be offered simply to Lord Fitzwilliam. I believe there is no man living who cares less about distinctions of this kind. I am sure if he had a suspicion that it was wished for the Duke of Bedford he would immediately decline it; and I think it very probable that he will do so in any case. But this does not make me the less desirous that an attention should be shown him which he has so well deserved. His age and his well established claims on Government cannot allow the Duke of Bedford to think that he is improperly passed by;



and I have very little doubt that he, as well as myself, would be much gratified by seeing this distinction conferred on one of Fox's oldest personal friends."

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1806, December 31. Palace Yard.—“I am happy to inform you that, after a further discussion of about four hours, the American ministers at last accepted the American treaty in the form and tenor proposed to them, and we have signed accordingly. It is certainly an important consideration in our relative position on the globe, in the actual predicament of the war; and it is very desirable to shew any collateral attentions, both personal and national, that give both substance and colour to this declared friendship.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1806, [December].—“Your Grace's despatch has been considered by his Majesty's servants with all the attention due to the extreme importance of the subject to which it relates. And it is in conformity to their opinion, humbly submitted to his Majesty, that I am now authorized to transmit to your grace the following instructions for the regulation of any communications which your grace, or Mr. Elliot, may hold on this business with any of the King's Catholic subjects in Ireland.

“It will be in your grace's recollection that a petition was, in the session before the last, presented to the two Houses of Parliament on behalf of the Irish Catholics, with a view to a farther extension of the privileges which have been granted to them at different periods during his Majesty's reign. The subject was on that occasion fully and deliberately discussed. The opinions of many of the persons whom his Majesty has since been pleased to call to his councils were, as is well known, declared to be entirely in favour of the measure, as one which would, in their judgment, essentially promote the safety and prosperity of the empire, and contribute to the preservation of its established constitution both in church and state. But it cannot be disputed that the general sense of Parliament, as manifested in both Houses, was decidedly adverse to the concessions which were then in view. His Majesty's servants, whatever may be the individual opinions which they respectively hold as to the merits of the question, see no reason to believe that any such change has in this short interval taken place as to afford the smallest probability that it could, at this time, be successfully proposed to Parliament. And they are unanimously of opinion that, without such hope, the renewal of this question within so short a period after it has been solemnly considered and decided, can tend to no public good, and is not likely to promote either the general

advantage of the empire or the particular interests of that class of the King's subjects to whom it more immediately relates.

"His Majesty's servants also feel an insuperable objection to any idea of offering, as the price of forbearance in this respect, any part of those indulgencies which, on other grounds, they have judged it advisable to submit to his Majesty as proper to be now proposed to Parliament. Before they had been apprised of any of the recent discussions which have taken place in Ireland, they had already had under their consideration the inconvenient and contradictory provisions of the present laws, in so far as they affect the King's Catholic subjects in Ireland with respect to employment in his Majesty's naval and military forces.

"Your grace is well aware that at the time when his Majesty was graciously pleased to recommend to the consideration of the Irish Parliament the situation of his Catholic subjects, it was intended that these professions should be opened to them universally, and under such restrictions only as are expressed in the Irish Act of Parliament 32 Geo. III. And this intention was openly held to them, and was declared in the two Houses of Parliament by the late Earl of Clare, then Lord Chancellor, and the present Earl of Buckinghamshire, then secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. But the effect of the Irish Act of Parliament which was passed for this purpose could only go to the removal of the restrictions and obstacles then existing in that kingdom. It could not operate in Great Britain, and no similar Act having been proposed here, the consequence is that in the two parts of the United Kingdom the law is totally different in this respect. And that while in Ireland, where alone, if there were any danger from the employment of Catholic officers, that danger could be felt, the King's subjects of all descriptions are capable of holding any military commission whatever, except that of a general on the staff; in Great Britain, where certainly no such danger can exist, and where the whole country is decidedly Protestant, not even the lowest commission can legally be held by a Catholic officer; a circumstance leading to this intolerable absurdity, that either the intentions of Parliament must be wholly frustrated, and the Irish Catholic gentry remain excluded from the army; or else that a regiment legally officered in Ireland cannot be ordered from thence to this part of the United Kingdom, even in a moment of the most urgent danger, without exposing many of its officers to the necessity of either violating the laws or quitting the service in which they have been educated, and to which possibly the greater part of their lives has been devoted.

"In addition to these two considerations, of the faith of Government positively pledged, and of the manifest incongruity of the present system, his Majesty's servants are impressed with a sense of the great advantage of enabling

all the King's subjects to contribute equally in this moment of common danger to the military defence of every part of the empire; and of affording to the sons of the gentry of Ireland the means of displaying, in the cause of the United Kingdom, those military talents by which they have in all ages been distinguished; and of sharing both in the dangers and the glory of that great contest in which we are now embarked.

"On these grounds it is that his Majesty's servants have resolved that in the Mutiny Bill to be this year proposed to Parliament, a clause should be offered for enabling his Majesty, whenever he shall deem it advisable, to confer any military commission whatever on any of his liege subjects; such commission to be lawfully exercised in all places within or without the empire, and under no other condition than that of taking such oath of allegiance and fidelity as shall be provided in order to secure their attachment to his Majesty's royal person, family, and government, and to the established constitution of this United Kingdom. And another clause will in that case become necessary, in order to give to all his Majesty's subjects, however employed in any of his forces, a legal right to that full toleration as to the exercise of their religious profession which, by the practice of the army and by the just and liberal orders by which it is governed, they now enjoy; but for which it would unquestionably be proper that they should have the security of the laws.

"These regulations, if adopted, must of course, in order to their continuance, be annually renewed by Parliament; which would thus be every year enabled to meet any inconvenience to which they could by any possibility give rise. But his Majesty's servants feel the fullest confidence that they would, on the contrary, be, in every possible view of the subject, productive of the greatest benefit to the public service.

"This intention your grace is therefore authorized to announce to any of the King's Catholic subjects with whom you may communicate, as a step taken from the views of justice and policy which so manifestly recommend it. But, as I have before explained, it is judged highly important that you should declare that it is not adopted in any view of compromise, or with any purpose of thereby obtaining the abandonment of any intended or projected petition to Parliament; a measure which the King's servants think highly unadvisable, but which they would not endeavour to avert by partial concessions.

"The objection to the proposal of opening to the Catholics by Act of Parliament the office of sheriff, will obviously appear from what has been already said. This could not be done without a full agitation in Parliament of the whole subject. In the view of those who think it would be expedient to do much more, such a measure could not but appear inadequate and even futile; by others it would be thought objectionable as a fresh concession called for by no obvious or apparent

necessity. It could satisfy no one ; and it would produce all the mischief attendant on a hostile discussion of the claims and wishes of the Catholics.

“ With respect to the admission of Catholics into corporations, the king’s servants are not aware of any law existing in Ireland by which they are now excluded ; nor consequently does it appear in what manner, or to what effect, the interference of Government is wished for on the subject.

“ In so far as relates to the execution of existing laws, your grace is already fully apprised of the anxious desire which the King’s servants entertain that the Irish Catholics should practically enjoy all the advantages to which his Majesty’s gracious recommendations, and the liberality of Parliament, have successively entitled them. And I am too well acquainted with the perfect conformity of opinion which prevails in this respect between your grace and the King’s servants here, not to be quite certain that the whole tenor of your grace’s conduct has been in perfect conformity to this principle ; and has already impressed on the minds of all temperate and reasonable men the fullest conviction that such is the rule by which the King’s government in Ireland is administered.” *Draft.*

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## APPENDIX.

## The JOURNAL of M. DE GENTZ.

*Journal de ce qui m'est arrivé de plus marquant dans le voyage que j'ai fait au quartier-général de sa majesté le Roi de Prusse, le 2d'Octobre, 1806, et jours suivants.*

Parti de Dresde jeudi 2 Octobre, je suis arrivé au quartier-général de Nauembourg vendredi 3, à onze heures du matin. La ville était remplie de monde. Le roi avec toute sa suite militaire ; la reine accompagnée de sa grande maitresse, et deux dames d'honneur ; une quantité de princes, de généraux, et d'officiers de tout grade, et de personnages diplomatiques et autres s'y trouvaient réunis. Je ne citerai ici que l'Electeur de Hesse, arrivé la veille ; le Duc de Brunswick ; les princes frères du roi : le Prince d'Orange ; le Duc de Weimar ; le Prince Paul de Wirtemberg entré récemment au service Prussien, le Maréchal Möllendorff, le Général Kalkreuth, les deux Ministres du Cabinet Comte de Haugwiz et Marquis de Lucchesini, les deux Conseillers du Cabinet Lombard et Beyme, le Comte Görtz Ministre de Saxe, le Baron de Waitz Ministre de Hesse, le Prince Witgenstein Ministre de Prusse à Cassel, M. de Schladen Ministre de Prusse à Munich. En fait de troupes, les deux premiers bataillons de la garde à pied se trouvaient seuls à Nauembourg. Tout le reste de l'armée s'était porté eu avant, et le quartier-général devait être transféré à Erfurth le lendemain.

Aussitot que le Comte de Haugwiz sut mon arrivée, il me fit prier de passer chez lui. Il m'accueillit de la manière la plus affectueuse ; il me dit :

“ Depuis que nous nous sommes vus la dernière fois, (c'était le 6 Octobre, 1805, à Vienne) il s'est passé bien des choses ; vous n'avez pas été trop content de moi ; je le sais bien, je sais aussi que vous ne pouviez pas l'être ; mais lorsque vous serez mieux instruit, vous changerez d'opinion. En tout cas vous n'aurez pas à regretter de vous avoir rendu à mon invitation, et d'être venu ici dans une conjoncture aussi intéressante. Mon intention est de vous mettre au fait de tout. J'ai beaucoup de choses à vous demander, mais je ne vous demanderai rien, avant que vous ne soyez convaincu de la pureté de nos vues, et de la sagesse de notre marche. Le moment décisif est venu. Déjà la guerre de plume a commencé ; celle du canon ne se fera pas attendre ; car nous venons d'apprendre que Napoléon est à Wurtzbourg. Pour à présent, j'attends chaque minute un message du Roi qui doit m'appeler à un conseil, mais j'espère qu'avant le soir nous aurons une conversation plus suivie.”

Un moment après, il fut effectivement appelé chez le Roi. Il s'y tint un conseil militaire qui dura fort longtems. Pendant tout le reste de la journée on parut entièrement occupé de négociations et de pourparlers avec l'Electeur de Hesse, lequel, quoique toujours attaché à la Prusse, avait depuis quelques semaines modéré sa première ferveur, et capitulait sur les moyens et la forme de son accession. Je n'étais pas encore assez instruit pour juger des véritables rapports entre ce prince et la Prusse. Je sus seulement qu'on lui avait offert, et qu'il avait accepté le commandement en chef de l'aile droite de l'armée Prussienne ; qu'il retournait à Cassel dans la nuit, et qu'on prétendait être content de lui. Ne sachant pas quels étaient proprement les projets qu'on pouvait avoir formés sur moi, je crus prudent d'attendre tranquillement l'invitation ultérieure du Comte de Haugwiz, et de ne voir personne jusques-là. J'aurais fait une seule exception pour M. le Duc de Weimar, qui demeurait tout à côté de moi : mais j'en fus instruit trop tard, et il était parti lorsque je voulus me rendre chez lui : je n'ai jamais pu le rejoindre ensuite.

Ce ne fut que vers dix heures du soir que le Comte de Haugwiz envoya chez moi le conseiller privé Le Coq, son premier secrétaire, pour me faire ses excuses, et me prier de venir chez lui. Je le trouvai au milieu des papiers, singulièrement échauffé et accablé. Il me dit : "vous voyez comme on m'arrange aujourd'hui. Je ne serai pas libre avant deux heures du matin ; mais nous allons demain à Erfurth, où tout prendra une autre assiette. J'espère que vous ne me refuserez pas de nous y accompagner." Je n'étais pas préparé à cette proposition ; je m'étais attendu à être expédié dans un jour ou deux ; et dans l'ignorance parfaite sur l'objet dont il s'agissait proprement pour moi, je ne me souciais pas trop que mon voyage trainât en longueur. Je témoignai quelque répugnance ; je n'hésitai pas à déclarer au Comte de Haugwiz, qu'à moins qu'il n'eût besoin de moi pour quelque affaire particulièrement importante, je n'aimerais pas à prolonger ma course. Il me répondit du ton le plus animé : "l'objet pour lequel j'ai désiré de vous voir est le plus important qu'il soit possible d'imaginer ; c'est l'intérêt et le succès de notre entreprise. Il est impossible que vous nous quittiez avant que j'aie entamé seulement ce que j'ai à vous dire. Je réponds d'ailleurs de tout. Je sais qu'on sera content à Vienne de ce que vous ferez ici. Jamais vous n'aurez rendu à la cause générale un service plus essentiel ; j'aurai soin de vos chevaux, de votre logement, de tout. Si nous nous manquons demain à Weimar, où je ne compte pas m'arrêter, nous nous verrons à Erfurth après demain." Ces paroles, et l'idée qu'effectivement j'avais fait le voyage en pure perte si je ne m'y rendais pas, me déterminèrent.

*Samedi 4 Octobre.* Je suis parti de Nauembourg à sept heures du matin. La route de là à Auerstadt présentait un des spectacles les plus solennels que j'aie rencontré de ma vie. Le Roi et la Reine dans une berline fermée, suivie d'une vingtaine de voitures, précédées, entourées de toutes parts d'une quantité de troupes, de pièces d'artillerie, de chariots de train. Le coup d'œil fut surtout superbe au moment où tout ce cortège passa le pont de la Saline de Kösen, et les hauteurs qui dominaient cet endroit. La réflexion que ces souverains allaient au devant d'un combat dont le succès pouvait changer la face de l'Europe, mais dont l'issue contraire, en les ruinant, détruirait la dernière chance de salut pour tant de pays et de peuples, rendait cette marche en même tems imposante, et lugubre. Le Roi ne s'arrêta point à Auerstadt, mais le Comte de Haugwitz y passa une heure, et me fit déjeuner avec lui, le Prince de Witgenstein, et le Général de Kalkreuth, dont le quartier-général se trouvait ce jour-là à Auerstadt. Il n'y avait pas assez de chevaux ; il fallait en faire venir. Le Comte de Haugwitz partit donc avant moi, et me recommanda en partant au Général Kalkreuth, circonstance que je n'eus pas à regretter, puisqu'elle me fit passer cinq heures avec un des hommes les plus marquants de l'armée.

Je crois que c'est ici le moment de dire en peu de mots quelle était, lors de mon arrivée au quartier-général, l'idée que je m'étais formée de l'entreprise de la Prusse. J'avais été comme tout le monde frappé de la révolution subite qui s'était opérée dans le système de la Cour de Berlin. Comme tout le monde, j'avais été, pendant quelque tems, incrédule sur la sincérité et la réalité de cette révolution. Mais déjà, plusieurs semaines avant mon départ de Dresde, j'avais eu des raisons péremptoires pour mettre fin à mes doutes à cet égard. Depuis cette époque je m'étais plus d'une fois livré à l'examen de la sagesse du projet que je voyais se développer sous mes yeux. Quoiqu'aussi instruit qu'il fut possible de l'être à Dresde, je ne crus pas avoir toutes les données nécessaires pour fixer mon jugement. Cependant en réunissant celles dont je me trouvais en possession, j'en vins bientôt à me persuader que le moment choisi pour cette levée de bouclier inattendue n'était pas, à beaucoup près, un moment convenable ou propice. Que la Prusse, en guerre avec l'Angleterre, en guerre avec la Suède, devant prévoir que l'Autriche, dont elle n'avait rien à se promettre sous le rapport d'une reciprocité de services, ne s'exposerait pas à de nouveaux dangers pour partager les premiers coups d'une guerre qui semblait comme tombée des nues, ne pouvait compter au fond que sur la Russie, dont le secours, quelque respectable qu'il pût être, se trouvait considérablement affaibli par la position de l'ennemi à combattre : que n'ayant pas même invoqué ce secours assez tôt pour en jouir à l'ouverture de la campagne, elle y entraît sans aucun allié

(car je ne comptais pas la Hesse et la Saxe, que je regardais simplement comme des branches collatérales de la puissance Prussienne, et dont l'assistance d'ailleurs était balancée, et plus que balancée par la nécessité de défendre leurs pays); elle se précipitait toute seule dans une arène où tant d'autres avaient succombé avant elle. Enfin qu'il fallait des motifs plus forts, mais surtout plus puissans, que ceux que je connaissais alors (et je n'imaginai pas qu'il ne m'en restât guères à connaître) pour justifier une révolution pareille. Voilà comme j'envisageais déjà le mérite politique de cette expédition. Quant à celui de sa composition militaire il m'était impossible de déterminer à quel point il couvrait ou relevait la défektivité fondamentale du projet. Je partageais toutefois l'opinion généralement favorable qu'une quantité de juges compétens nourrissaient des moyens militaires de la Prusse. Ce que j'en avais vu ou entendu à Dresde n'avait pas pu me décourager. Le Prince Louis, le Prince de Hohenloe, le Général Gravat, le Comte de Tauentzien, le Comte Gortze, et une quantité d'officiers d'un rang moins élevé mais du plus grand mérite personnel, m'avaient inspiré beaucoup de confiance. En jugeant les dispositions de l'armée d'après celles que je voyais en eux, je devais les croire excellentes. Pour ce qui était du plan de campagne, et de la direction centrale des opérations, ils en étaient trop éloignés eux-mêmes pour me communiquer des notions bien correctes. C'était principalement sous ce rapport-là que j'avais besoin d'éclaircissemens; mais les premiers que j'obtins au quartier-général n'étaient pas faits pour me tranquilliser. Le Général Kalkreuth, premier en grade après les Maréchaux, commandait la seconde ligne, ou réserve du centre, ou ce qu'on appelait communément l'armée du Roi. Cette ligne n'était presque composée que de régiments d'élite, tels que les gardes, le régiment du Roi, celui des gardes du corps, celui des gens d'armes, celui des dragons de la Reine. L'ancienne réputation de ce général, et les actions brillantes du reste de sa vie, l'avaient peut-être fait espérer une place plus directement active. Je m'aperçus bientôt que le mécontentement et l'humeur, joints à une tournure d'esprit naturellement caustique et persifflante, influaient sur ses opinions; mais elles ne m'en parurent pas moins mériter la plus grande attention.

La première heure de ma conversation avec lui se passa en réflexions générales. Voyant que j'étais suffisamment instruit sur beaucoup de points intéressans, il se livra avec plus de franchise, et à la fin, entraîné par la mienne, il s'ouvrit avec moi sans réserve. Il me dit: " que personne " n'avait plus désiré que lui une guerre avec la France; que " personne n'en avait plus reconnu la nécessité; mais " qu'aujourd'hui, personne ne serait plus enchanté qu'il se " trouvât un moyen honorable d'en prévenir l'explosion; " que, de la manière dont les choses étaient préparées, cette " guerre ne pouvait pas réussir; et que, sans un bonheur presque



“fabuleux, elle conduirait aux plus tristes résultats ; qu’il n’aurait pas perdu l’espérance, si le Roi n’avait pas quitté le projet de commander l’armée en personne, en consultant ceux des généraux qui jouissaient de la confiance de l’armée ; qu’avec un souverain auquel la nature n’avait pas accordé un génie militaire éminent, un arrangement pareil aurait été, si non le meilleur à désirer, du moins le meilleur possible ; que telle avait été l’attente générale jusqu’à une époque fort avancée ; que le dix-huit Septembre encore le Roi avait positivement nourri ce plan ; et qu’il l’avait même clairement annoncé, en appelant auprès de lui le général Zastrow, pour en faire le chef de son état-major : que ce ne fut qu’au moment de l’arrivée de ce général à Nauembourg, que tout changea subitement de face ; qu’alors éclata tout-à-coup l’effet des sourdes intrigues que le Duc de Brunswick, absolument mis de côté pendant tout le tems que l’armée s’était rassemblée, et son partisan aveugle le Colonel Kleist, aide-de-camp général du Roi, avaient trainés sans interruption ; que profitant de la timidité et des scrupules du Roi qui craignait trop de se charger tout seul de la responsabilité du commandement en chef, Kleist lui avait suggéré d’inviter le Duc, malgré la feinte répugnance qu’affichait celui-ci pour la chose ; qu’une fois en train, on ne s’était pas contenté de lui confier la direction suprême de l’armée, mais qu’on avait souscrit encore à toutes les conditions que le Duc y avait attachées lui-même : que depuis ce funeste moment tout était dérangé et bouleversé : que le Roi n’était plus qu’un *volontaire étranger* dans son armée ; que personne n’était consulté sur rien ; que le maréchal Möllendorff, le seul général que le Duc avait l’air d’admettre à sa confiance, n’était que l’écho de sa volonté, puisqu’il n’en avait plus aucune à lui-même : qu’un soidisant *Bureau de l’Etat-Major*, établi sous la direction d’un Colonel Hanovrien, exerçait sur l’armée une tyrannie aussi odieuse que ridicule ; que les idées fantasques de ce Bureau guidait tout ; que l’expérience n’était plus comptée pour rien.” Puis animé par ma surprise et mes questions à ajouter les derniers traits à ce tableau, il me déclara tout net, que le Duc de Brunswick était un homme incapable de commander ; qu’il n’avait ni les vucs assez étendues, ni le caractère assez vigoureux pour remplir une tâche aussi grande ; que sa petitesse, son irrésolution, sa fausseté, son hypocrisie, sa vanité, sa jalousie excessive gaterait la meilleure affaire ; que quelle que fût la bonté des troupes et l’esprit qu’animait les officiers, ces avantages ne contrebalanceraient jamais l’inconvénient extrême d’un tel homme général-en-chef : que l’armée n’avait aucune espèce de confiance dans le Duc, n’en aurait jamais, et ne pouvait pas en avoir ; que quant à lui, prêt à faire son devoir, et à se sacrifier jusqu’au dernier instant, il ne se dissimulait plus, et me pria de me souvenir de sa prédiction, que si *avant*

*huit jours, terme où les opérations devaient avoir commencé, il ne se présentait pas quelque incident fortuné qui changeât l'état actuel des choses, cette campagne finirait, ou par une retraite dans le genre de celle de 1792, ou par quelque catastrophe mémorable qui ferait oublier la bataille d'Austerlitz.*

Rélativement au plan de la guerre, il me dit une quantité de choses qui me parurent très justes et lumineuses. Malgré que le Roi, et le Duc de Brunswick, et le Comte de Haugwitz n'eussent fait réentir depuis quelques jours que la nécessité de *prendre l'offensive, et de marcher en force sur l'ennemi*, rien n'était plus absurde que ces propos ; puisque non seulement rien n'y répondait dans les mesures, mais que, de plus, le moment d'une guerre offensive était déjà passé sans retour. Si on voulait l'entreprendre maintenant, on rencontrerait dans tous les cas l'ennemi en sortant des gorges de la forêt de Thuringue ; et quelqu'avantageux qu'il eut été d'avoir derrière soi, à huit ou dix lieues de distance, des positions respectables comme celles-ci ; ce serait la plus grande folie de s'engager au pied même de ces montagnes, qui dans le cas du moindre revers entraveraient jusqu' à la retraite, et rendraient le désordre général. Il ne restait donc plus qu'une campagne soit-disant *défensive*, inutile pour l'objet de la guerre, hérissée d'inconvénients et de dangers. Qu'ainsi l'avaient voulu les personnes dont l'imprudence déplorable avait déterminé le Roi à se mettre en campagne cette année-ci. On aurait du attendre le printemps ; on n'aurait pas du frapper un coup sans avoir ou positivement engagé l'Autriche à faire cause commune avec eux, ou obtenu une armée de 100,000 Russes, qui en défilant par la Silésie et la Lusau sur le haut Palatinat, aurait occupé la moitié des forces Françaises sur le Danube, tandis que les Prussiens se seraient portés contre le Rhin.

Il mêla souvent des plaisanteries amères à ses observations. En parlant de l'ascendant que l'esprit des innovations et les chimères de quelques écrivains à la mode avaient gagné dans l'armée Prussienne ; et à quel point l'ancien caractère et l'ancienne discipline en avaient été dénaturés, il dit que, par la plus grande des bisarreries, c'était proprement *de la Hausvogtig* (prison publique) de Berlin que partaient aujourd'hui les ordres qui dirigeaient les opérations militaires, puisque le trop fastueux Bülow, quoique enfermée dans cette prison, n'en continuait pas moins à être le plus grand oracle de tous les faiseurs.

Cette conversation ne fut interrompu que par le diner, auquel assistaient, entre plusieurs officiers d'ordonnance, les cinq aides-de-camp du Général Kalkreuth, tous hommes d'esprit et de mérite. C'était le Major Kalkreuth son neveu, le Major de Ziethen, le Major de Losson, le Capitaine de Wothke, et un Lieutenant d'Arnim des dragons. La manière dont on y parla de l'état des choses était, naturellement, beaucoup plus réservé ; mais la méfiance et les inquiétudes n'en percèrent pas moins à travers les sentimens les plus

courageux. Enfin, cette première leçon était plus qu'il ne m'en aurait fallu pour m'éclairer sur mes doutes, et pour fixer mes incertitudes. L'aigreur personnelle du Général, d'anciens ressentimens, l'amour-propre blessé pouvaient avoir eu leur part dans ses confidences ; mais les argumens solides et irrésistibles dont il avait appuyé la plus grande partie de ses griefs, avaient fait sur moi une impression profonde que rien n'a pu effacer depuis.

J'ai quitté Auerstadt à quatre heures, et suis arrivé à Weimar très tard. J'ai été obligé d'y passer la nuit. Le Duc était allé à Gotha. Les inquiétudes de la Duchesse paraissaient se concentrer toutes sur son fils cadet, le Prince Bernard, qui à l'âge de 16 ans, et d'une constitution très délicate, avait demandé de servir comme volontaire au corps du Prince de Hohenloe, et que j'avais vu partir de Dresde le jour de mon propre départ. J'en rendis compte à la Duchesse. Elle s'exprima à cette occasion d'une manière infiniment estimable, et bien conforme au grand caractère qu'elle a montrée peu de jours après, au milieu des plus horribles catastrophes.

*Dimanche 5 Octobre.* Je suis parti de Weimar à 9 heures, et arrivé à Erfurth à midi. J'y ai retrouvé tout ce qui était à Nauembourg, et, de plus, les chefs et états-majors de tous les corps qui composaient le centre de l'armée. On évaluait à 2,000 le nombre des personnes de tout grade attachées au quartier-général, sans compter les troupes et baggages qui passaient et repassaient sans cesse.

Voici quelle était, le 5 Octobre, la distribution des corps et des commandemens. Le Duc de Brunswick dirigeait le tout. Sous lui, la première ligne du centre, occupant les environs d'Erfurth, était commandé par le Marechal Möllendorff. La seconde ou réserve du centre, placée entre Auerstadt et Weimar, par le Général Kalkreuth. Le Marechal avait sous lui ; au centre le Lieutenant Général de Wartensleben ; à l'aile droite le Prince d'Orange, dont le corps s'étendait entre Gotha et Eisenach ; à l'aile gauche le Lieutenant Général de Schmettau, occupant le terrain entre Erfurth et Blankenhayn. L'avant garde du centre était sous les ordres du Duc de Weimar, et du Duc de Brunswick-Oels. Elle occupait les gorges de la forêt de Thuringue, entre Arnstadt et Ilmenau : et poussait ses avant postes vers Meiningen et Hildburghausen. La grande aile droite de l'armée, placée (pour la forme) sous le commandement de l'Electeur de Hesse, était commandée en effet, par les Lieutenants-Généraux Rüchel et Blücher : elle se trouvait depuis quelques jours sur la Verra, et communiquait après avec l'extrémité droite du centre par Berka et Eisenach. La grande aile gauche avait pour chef le Prince de Hohenloe, qui avait sous lui le Prince Louis de Prusse à l'avant-garde, le Général Tauentzien à l'extrémité gauche, et le Lieutenant-Général Gravat à l'extrémité droite. Le Prince de Hohenloe avait encore son quartier-général à Jena. Le

Prince Louis était à Rudelstadt avec 7,000 hommes, le Comte Tauentzien à Hoff avec 6,000. On évaluait communément toutes ces forces réunies à 150, quelque fois même à 170,000 hommes, parmi lesquels 20 à 25,000 Saxons. A en juger, cependant, d'après les avis de ceux que j'eus lieu de croire les plus instruits, elles ne se montaient point à ce nombre, et composaient dans la réalité un ensemble de 130,000 combattants ; auquel, pour connaître tout ce qui se trouvait de troupes sur le théâtre de la guerre, il fallait ajouter le corps du Général Le Coq, composé d'environ 8,000 hommes, qui se trouvait du côté de Munster ; et le corps de réserve du Prince Eugene de Wirtemberg fut de 12 à 15,000 hommes, qui venait de recevoir l'ordre de se porter sur Halle à marches forcés.

On m'avait préparé à Erfurth un des plus jolis logements de la ville, faveur distinguée dans les circonstances du moment. Le Comte de Haugwiz m'a invité à diner. C'est là que, pour la première fois, j'ai vu M. le Marquis de Lucchesini, qui était parti de Nauembourg le jour de mon arrivée ; et qui m'a reçu avec une tendresse toute particulière. Le diner fini, le Comte de Haugwiz a passé avec moi dans une chambre attenante, où nous avons eu une conversation qui a duré deux heures et demi. Cette conversation ayant été à plusieurs égards la base de toutes les communications qui m'ont été faites à Erfurth, je tâcherai de le rendre ici le plus exactement possible.

Quant au préambule je n'en citerai que quelques phrases saillantes ; mettant de côté une quantité de choses polies qui n'étaient que pour mon propre comte. Le Comte de Haugwiz m'a dit entr'autres : " Je vois votre étonnement de vous " trouver ici. Ma proposition que je vous ai faite par ordre " exprès du Roi, vous aura suggéré bien des conjectures. Le " fait est, qu'il s'agissait de gagner votre opinion en faveur " de notre entreprise ; des objets particuliers pour lesquels je " vous demanderai votre avis, quelque importans qu'ils puissent " être en eux-mêmes, ne sont cependant que des accessoires. " Le principal c'est que vous soyez notre ami ; et vous le serez, " j'en suis sûr, aussitôt que je me serai expliqué."

Après cette introduction, il a continué ainsi : " vous con- " naissez les reproches nombreux dont on nous a accablés " depuis quelque tems, sur la prétendue duplicité de notre " conduite. S'il est jamais existé une puissance que nous " ayons eu l'intention de tromper c'était la France. La " nécessité nous en avait fait la loi. Nous avons constamment " voulu le bien de toutes les autres. Depuis long tems nous " étions convaincus que *la paix* et Napoléon étaient deux " objets contradictoires. Un simulacre de paix, voilà tout " ce que nous pouvions maintenir. Cette situation équivoque " s'est prolongée par deux raisons puissantes : d'abord, " parceque le Roi, trop fortement prononcé contre toute idée " de guerre, se flattait, d'année en année, que par quelque

“ évènement heureux qui culbuterait ce pouvoir colossal aussi  
 “ rapidement qu’il s’était élevé, nous serions dispensé d’en  
 “ venir à une lutte difficile et dangereuse, dans laquelle il ne  
 “ désirait s’engager qu’ à la dernière extrémité : et ensuite,  
 “ parcequ’après tous les malheurs que nos amis avaient  
 “ éprouvés autour de nous, il nous paraissait sage et nécessaire  
 “ de ménager l’Europe aux abois une dernière ressource  
 “ intacte. Cependant vous nous avez vus, l’année dernière,  
 “ déterminés et préparés au combat ; et nous y serions  
 “ infailliblement entrés, si la bataille d’Austerlitz et ses suites,  
 “ et surtout la retraite et la volonté expresse de l’Empereur de  
 “ Russie n’en avaient pas détourné le Roi. Je me suis trouvé  
 “ à cette époque à Vienne, isolé et abandonné de tout le monde.  
 “ J’ai signé *sous le couteau* une convention par laquelle je me  
 “ suis malheureusement attiré la haine de beaucoup de  
 “ monde ; mais voici ce que j’ai fait. Arrivé à Berlin, j’ai  
 “ prié le Roi, plusieurs personnes peuvent l’attester, de me  
 “ désavouer et de me renvoyer. La crainte d’une explosion  
 “ subite a retenu le Roi. Il a ratifié ma convention ; mais  
 “ en y portant des modifications essentielles. Le silence  
 “ allarmant que le Gouvernement Français a gardé sur ces  
 “ modifications l’a engagé à m’envoyer à Paris. C’est là  
 “ enfin que j’ai reconnu quelles étaient les véritables dis-  
 “ positions envers nous ; qu’on ne nous pardonnerait jamais  
 “ le traité du 3 Novembre ; que moins encore on nous  
 “ pardonnerait notre existence avec une armée considérable  
 “ et non battue : que Napoléon calculait le moment où il  
 “ tomberait sur nous avec toutes ses forces ; que Talleyrand,  
 “ personnellement attaché au système d’une union amicale  
 “ avec la Prusse, avait seul reculé ce moment. Napoléon me  
 “ déclara dans ma première audience que, comme le Roi avait  
 “ jugé à propos de modifier la convention de Vienne, il la  
 “ regardait comme non avenue, et qu’il lui en fallait une  
 “ autre. Il me fit faire par Talleyrand et Duroc des pro-  
 “ positions tellement extravagantes que j’aurais honte de vous  
 “ les répéter, et ce ne fut que par de bien grands efforts que je  
 “ parvins encore au traité du 15 février. Lorsque M. de  
 “ Lucchesini se chargea de le porter à Berlin, nous étions  
 “ convenus ensemble que, si en arrivant il trouvait l’armée  
 “ réunie, il engagerait le Roi à refuser sa ratification ; mais  
 “ il trouva l’armée dissoute : par des motifs *connus à Dieu*,  
 “ et peut-être à M. de Hardenberg, on avait entraîné la Roi  
 “ à mon insçu dans cette mesure précipitée. Il fallait donc  
 “ céder encore ; mais le Roi sut dès lors que tout ce qu’il  
 “ avait gagné était du tems. Revenu à Berlin je lui  
 “ expliquai sans aucun déguisement que je n’avais obtenu  
 “ par ce voyage qu’un dernier et triste répit : que la paix,  
 “ et la convention de Paris ne pouvaient pas tenir six mois ;  
 “ qu’il fallait se préparer à la guerre, et saisir la première  
 “ occasion pour prévenir notre prétendu allié, qui n’avait  
 “ d’autre projet que celui de nous assouvir et de nous

“ détruire. Le Roi en fut enfin platement convaincu. C’est  
 “ à la suite de mes représentations que 50,000 hommes de nos  
 “ troupes furent laissés sur le pied de guerre, malgré toutes  
 “ les protestations de la partie administrative et militaire.  
 “ Depuis le mois de mars le Roi n’a plus cessé de se croire  
 “ chaque jour à la veille de l’explosion. Lorsque la Russie  
 “ et l’Angleterre ont entamé leurs négociations de paix, tout  
 “ devait être suspendu de notre part. Mais c’est au milieu  
 “ de ces négociations, et avant même que nous eussions la  
 “ certitude que l’Empereur de Russie refuserait sa ratification  
 “ au traité signé par Oubril, que notre partie fut décidément  
 “ pris. C’est à cette même époque que Lucchesini, déchirant  
 “ les derniers voiles qui couvraient la perfidie du Gouvernement  
 “ Français, nous fit parvenir des éclaircissemens de toute  
 “ espèce. Il vous en instruira lui-même plus amplement.  
 “ Son dernier courrier arriva le 7 d’août, et ce jour aussi  
 “ l’ordre fut donné de mettre deux-tiers de l’armée sur le pied  
 “ de guerre, et de la rassembler sans autre délai. Le plus  
 “ grand secret, la plus grande dissimulation étaient indis-  
 “ pensables. L’Empereur de Russie fut d’abord le seul  
 “ dépositaire de notre projet. Le Roi lui écrivit le jour  
 “ même que l’ordre fut donné, en lui exposant toute la  
 “ situation, et lui faisant part de la totalité de ses plans.  
 “ Dans ces entrefaites, nous reçumes d’un coté la nouvelle  
 “ que le traité de M. d’Oubril avait été rejeté à St.  
 “ Petersbourg ; de l’autre coté les plaintes du Gouvernement  
 “ Français contre M. de Lucchesini, et la demande formelle  
 “ de son rappel. Ce fut tout ce qui put nous arriver de plus  
 “ heureux. Nous consentions à ce rappel de la meilleure  
 “ grace du monde ; et M. de Knobelsdorff fut nommé *pour*  
 “ *compléter l’illusion*. Dans les derniers jours d’août, le Roi  
 “ eut de l’Empereur de Russie une lettre qui ne laissait rien  
 “ à désirer. Le Comte Goetzen fut envoyé à Dresde pour  
 “ engager l’Electeur de Saxe. Quant à celui de Hesse, nous  
 “ étions sûrs de lui depuis long tems. Enfin dans les premiers  
 “ jours de Septembre, nos préparatifs étaient assez avancées,  
 “ pour que nous pussions sans inconvénient nous en ouvrir  
 “ avec d’autres puissances. Des communications furent faites  
 “ à la cour de Vienne, et peu après à celui de Londres.  
 “ L’arrivée de Knobelsdorff à Paris et le résultat de ses  
 “ premières audiences firent enfin éclater la rupture. Voilà ”  
 ajouta-t-il “ la véritable marche de cette affaire ; les pièces  
 “ que je vous remettrai ici vous en fourniront les preuves  
 “ et les détails.” (Il me remit les deux traités de Vienne et  
 de Paris ; un rapport qu’il avait fait au Roi, au mois de mai,  
 sur ses relations avec la France ; plusieurs dépêches de M. de  
 Lucchesini ; et la note que M. le Comte de Knobelsdorff a  
 présentée en forme d’*ultimatum*.) “ Vous verrez présentement  
 “ quelque chose qui vous frappera plus encore (faisant  
 “ allusion au manifeste) et après ce que je viens de vous exposer,  
 “ vous me direz si j’ai eu raison de prétendre que notre

“politique a été sage et bien-intentionnée, et que nous n’avons à nous retraiter sur rien.”

J’avais écouté tout ceci avec l’attention la plus soutenue. Il s’agissait de répondre. Je me permis à mon tour de commencer par une courte préface, dans laquelle je disais que, comme l’honneur que le Roi m’avait fait, en m’appelant dans un moment aussi grave, était non seulement bien inattendu pour moi, mais, vu la place bien peu importante que j’occupais dans les affaires de ce monde, au-delà de toutes mes prétentions, je ne concevais pas d’autre moyen pour y répondre que celui de dire mon opinion avec toute la franchise possible, persuadé qu’on ne m’aurait pas fait venir si on avait voulu me demander autre chose que la vérité toute pure, telle qu’elle se présentait à mon esprit. Il m’interrompit par me dire que ceci était entendu une fois pour toutes, et qu’il me saurait bien mauvais gré, si je ne lui parlais pas absolument comme je pensais. Je lui exposai alors succinctement mes idées sur le système de la Prusse depuis l’époque du malheureux traité de Bâle, et arrivé aux derniers événemens, je lui dis dans les termes les plus clairs et tels que je vais les citer ici ; que tout en expliquant une quantité de choses passées par l’aversion insurmontable du Roi pour la guerre, j’en avais vu bien d’autres dont, même en leur appliquant cette donnée, je n’avais jamais pu venir à bout : que le Roi pouvait avoir eu de bonnes raisons pour ne pas s’engager dans la guerre, après que l’Autriche et la Russie y eurent renoncé : que sur ce point-là j’avais toujours eu une opinion différente de celle du public, et beaucoup plus favorable à la Prusse ; mais que tout ce qui s’était fait de sa part, depuis la fin de l’année dernière, m’avait affligé et dégoûté au plus haut point ; que je trouvais dans l’idée d’un *traité d’alliance*, conclu avec l’ennemi commun et reconnu des droits de tous les souverains, et de l’indépendance de tous les peuples, dans la capitale même de l’Empereur, autorisé à regarder comme son allié le souverain qui se portait à cette démarche, quelque chose qui répugnait également à mes sentimens et à mes principes : que quant au traité de Paris et à l’occupation définitive du pays d’Hanovre j’en avais été affecté au point qu’en les considérant même comme il venait de les présenter dans son récit sous le point de vue du stratagèmes politiques, et de moyens pour gagner du tems, je ne me réconcilieras jamais avec ces mesures ; que j’aurais peut-être été un mauvais conseiller, et un Ministre mal-adroit, mais que si j’avais été bien convaincu qu’il n’eût existé d’autre alternative que celle de ces traités ou de la guerre, j’aurais conjuré le Roi de prendre son parti, de passer sur tous les scrupules, et de courir aux armes contre l’oppresser, plutôt que de partager l’injustice.

Il me répondit avec beaucoup de calme et de douceur. Il me dit que les opinions devaient nécessairement différer sur des problèmes aussi difficiles et aussi compliqués ; qu’il ne me contesterait certainement pas le droit d’avoir la mienne,

et qu'il me remerciait de la franchise avec laquelle je venais de l'énoncer. Mais, en même tems, il désirait de savoir si je croyais qu'en s'expliquant avec les puissances, dont la bonne volonté intéressait la Prusse, de la manière qu'il l'avait fait avec moi, et avec le public, autant qu'il était convenable de le faire, il ne parviendrait pas à déraciner le malheureux soupçon de mauvaise foi qui pesait sur le Cabinet de Berlin, et à décider ceux-mêmes qui partageaient mon opinion sur le fond, à lui accorder du moins la droiture et la pureté des intentions.

Je répliquai que, quant aux jugemens des Cours, j'étais tout-à-fait incompetent et incapable de l'anticiper ; mais quant à celui du public, je lui dirais sincèrement ce que j'en pensais. Je croyais excessivement difficile de reconquérir l'opinion en faveur des démarches passées de la Prusse ; je doutais même qu'il existât un talent assez supérieur pour s'acquitter de cette tâche ; mais on pouvait, selon moi, s'épargner jusqu'à la peine de l'aborder. L'état des choses est tel, lui dis-je, que personne ne se soucie aujourd'hui de fouiller dans les évènements antérieurs. L'Allemagne souffre. La tyrannie qui l'opprime est devenue insupportable. L'usurpateur cruel qui l'exerce est exécré partout. Il me suffit de vous voir armé, avec le but avoué de mettre un terme à tant de malheurs, pour que tous les coeurs soient à vous. Vous me faites l'honneur de me demander mon conseil ; le voici : laissez là le passé ; montrez le présent sous une forme qui ne laisse aucun doute sur la justice de votre cause, sur la fermeté de vos résolutions, sur la sagesse de vos mesures : faites entrevoir *l'avenir* sous un aspect qui éloigne absolument toute idée d'intérêt personnel ; et j'ose répondre non seulement de l'opinion, mais encore de la faveur et de la confiance générale.

Cette réponse parut le mettre à son aise. Il me dit : "vous avez parfaitement raison ; si vous partiez après ne m'avoir dit que cela, je me féliciterais bien de vous avoir vu. Voilà la marche qui sera adoptée ; je n'y fais qu'une seule restriction. Il faut parler du passé à notre *ennemi*. Nous avons de trop bonnes choses à lui dire. Mais quant à nos amis et au public, il vaut mieux qu'il n'en soit plus question. Expliquons-nous donc d'abord, sur le présent. Vous voyez ce qui se passe. Nous avons fait un armément très dispendieux ; nous l'augmenterons encore de beaucoup. Tout ce qui était resté en arrière, jusqu'au dernier régiment, a reçu ordre de marcher. Notre intention est de faire une guerre vigoureuse ; une fois en train, quelques revers, même quelques batailles perdues ne nous engageront pas à rétrograder. Nous aurons aussi des alliés. L'Empereur de Russie s'est déjà prononcé, d'une manière qui nous autorise à tout espérer de lui. Les Français n'ont jamais soupçonné nos véritables rapports avec ce souverain. Ils sont tels que si nous nous trouvions aujourd'hui à deux doigts de



“notre perte, et si l'Empereur avait signé hier je ne sais quel traité avec la France, il n'en serait pas moins à nous avec tous ses moyens. Nous nous flattons que tout s'arrangera avec l'Angleterre. Vous serez peut-être étonné d'apprendre que d'après des lettres que j'ai reçues de Hambourg, un négociateur Anglais est en route pour arriver ici. Pour ce qui est de l'Autriche, le parti qu'elle adoptera ne nous est pas positivement connu. En attendant, nous sommes parfaitement sûrs de ses bonnes dispositions pour nous. Si vous aviez là-dessus quelque donnée satisfaisante, que vous puissiez me communiquer, je vous en serais fort obligé.”

Je répondis que si par Vienne il entendait les intentions du cabinet de Vienne, il avait tort de croire que je les connaissais mieux que lui, à moins qu'il n'en sût moins que rien ; que je n'avais été à aucune époque initié dans les secrets du gouvernement ; et que si autrefois j'avais possédé quelque notion sur la situation générale des choses dans ce pays, une longue absence m'avait entièrement dérouteré à cet égard : que pour autant qu'il s'agissait d'un simple calcul conjectural, je m'en tiendrais toujours à un principe qui me paraissait trop naturel pour ne pas être fondé ; c'est à dire, que l'Empereur ne repousserait aucun moyen honorable pour effectuer un changement heureux dans l'état actuel de l'Allemagne et de l'Europe, si ce moyen se présentait à lui sans la perspective d'un redoublement de malheurs, dans le cas du moindre revers. Mais, quant à des déterminations prises ou à prendre par rapport au moment actuel, je les ignorais si complètement que je ne savais pas même comment le Cabinet de l'Empereur envisageait et jugeait l'entreprise à laquelle le Roi de Prusse s'était porté ; que j'avais trop bonne opinion des combinaisons politiques du Cabinet de Berlin, pour ne pas le croire tout autrement instruit que moi sur un objet aussi capital, et qui tenait de si près aux conditions irremissibles du succès.

Je m'aperçus que cette réponse l'embarassait plus qu'aucune chose que j'avais dite dans cette conversation. Il s'était cependant exprimé d'une manière trop distincte sur l'incertitude dans laquelle il se trouvait par rapport à ce même objet capitale pourqu'il eût pu revenir sur ses pas ; et l'empressement même qu'il avait montré à obtenir de moi quelque renseignement, trahissait assez à quel point il en était dépourvu. Il se contenta donc de faire sonner de nouveau, dans des termes assez vagues et mal-assurés, sa confiance entière dans les dispositions amicales de la Cour de Vienne. Il me dit qu'on était occupé depuis quinze jours du projet d'y envoyer quelque militaire de distinction ; qu'on en avait différé l'exécution, tant pour ne pas causer avant le tems une allarme qui aurait pu compromettre le gouvernement Autrichien, que parceque la guerre n'était pas encore déclarée, et le plan de campagne pas assez fixe. Qu'en attendant, on avait soumis à l'Empereur

d'envoyer de son côté quelque officier de marque, faisant sentir qu'on serait bien aise que son choix tombât sur le Général Stutterheim ; qu'aussitôt que l'une ou l'autre de ces missions avait en train, on s'ouvrait avec la Cour Impériale sur tous les projets, présens et futurs ; qu'on n'aurait pour elle aucun secret ; qu'on n'arrêterait rien sur l'avenir sans son assentiment complet et formel ; qu'il lui paraissait de la plus grande nécessité de concerter le plutôt possible sur ce qu'il y aurait à faire dans le cas d'un succès décisif, tel qu'il aimait à le supposer. Je lui dis alors que je partageais si fort son opinion sur ce qu'il venait d'énoncer, que j'avais même tout bonnement cru qu'on s'occupait depuis long tems de ces questions, et que quelque négociation ou discussion y relative était en train ; que j'étais persuadé, qu'après une conviction parfaite de la solidité de plans militaires de la Prusse, rien ne contribuerait plus à inspirer de la confiance à l'Empereur que des notions satisfaisantes sur l'objet que l'on se proposait d'atteindre ; que sous ce rapport, comme sous bien d'autres, rien n'était, selon moi, plus essentiel que d'avoir un plan, de savoir avec précision vers où l'on marchait ; que par-là la Prusse gagnerait elle-même une assiette fixe, et encouragerait les autres à se rallier à elle. Il me dit que c'était précisément une des matières sur lesquelles il avait le plus désiré de s'entretenir avec moi ; que j'aurais certainement des idées là-dessus ; qu'il me priait de les lui communiquer ; qu'il m'exposerait ensuite les siennes.

Je m'engageai sans crainte dans cette discussion *hypothétique*. J'avais en effet beaucoup réfléchi sur ce que pourraient être les résultats politiques de cette guerre ; supposé toujours qu'elle eût pu devenir générale ; sans quoi je n'en attendais, à l'ordinaire, que la défaite, la honte, et le désespoir. À Nauemburg encore, pendant que je fus à attendre le message du Comte de Haugwitz, j'avais passé mon tems à jeter sur papier mes idées sur un arrangement futur de l'Allemagne, si elle échappait au joug étranger : je n'étais donc point embarrassé à répondre.

Je crus cependant, et par plus d'une raison, devoir strictement me renfermer dans la question ; et je l'annonçai au Comte de Haugwitz, en lui disant que, quant à l'examen préalable *de la probabilité du succès*, je ne me sentais pas assez suffisamment instruit pour l'aborder ; que sur ce point-là je m'en remettais à lui, présumant qu'il ne se serait pas embarqué dans une entreprise aussi difficile et aussi périlleuse, sans en avoir calculé toutes les chances. Après cela je lui ai développé mon plan, dont je ne citerai que les traits caractéristiques. Réléguer les troupes françaises au-delà du Rhin, objet direct de la guerre, le seul, du moins, auquel je pus m'intéresser ; cela fait, dissoudre la confédération monstreuse qui s'était formé sous les auspices d'un pouvoir arbitraire et étranger ; examiner ensuite si le rétablissement de l'ancienne constitution de l'Empire, avec telles modifications que les conjonctures

pourraient indiquer, ne serait pas préférable à tout ce rétablissement reconnu impraticable : partager l'Allemagne en deux grandes confédérations, réunies par *une alliance perpétuelle*, dont l'une sous la protection de l'Autriche, l'autre sous celle de la Prusse, dont les membres conserveraient tous les droits de souveraineté, sauf à être astreints à un système militaire uniforme. Quant aux arrangemens de territoires, comme il ne serait plus possibles de parvenir à un nouvel ordre de choses sans que l'un ou l'autre éprouvât des pertes, s'en tenir à la Bavière, plus responsable du désordre actuel que qui que ce soit en Allemagne, (l'Electeur Archi-Chancelier toujours excepté,) la réduire à ses anciennes possessions, en lui laissant tout au plus le pays de Bamberg comme indemnité du pays de Berg ; réunir celui-ci à Clèves, et le remettre à la Prusse, pour faire cesser le scandale d'un général étranger assis parmi les princes d'Allemagne, et pour que les places de Dusseldorff et de Wesel se tournassent entre les mains de la puissance particulièrement chargée de défendre le nord de l'Allemagne ; restituer à l'ancien possesseur le Tyrol et le Vorarlberg, l'idée d'en voir privée la maison d'Autriche ne pouvant être supportée sans indignation par aucune ame honnête et sensible ; avancer la frontière Autrichienne en Italie j'usqu'au Mincio, non pas comme mesure intégrante d'un nouveau plan d'organisation pour l'Italie, à laquelle il serait prématuré de penser, mais comme condition indispensable de l'indépendance réelle de l'Allemagne, et d'un arrangement solide de ses affaires.

Le Comte de Haugwiz me dit de cet air de sérénité et de bienveillance que ceux qui ont eu affaire avec lui connaissent si bien " Vous parliez comme si vous aviez lu dans mes pensées, j'ajouterais presque dans mes papiers. Voilà, " à peu de modifications près, le plan que j'ai conçu aussi. " Nous avons reconnu la ligue du Rhin parcequ'alors nos " préparatifs n'étaient pas assez avancés pour rompre avec " la France, et parcequ'il nous fallait encore la preuve complète " de sa perfidie, pour fixer la résolution du Roi ; mais nous " l'avons reconnu sous la condition expresse qu'aucun obstacle " ne serait mis à la formation d'une confédération des états " du nord de l'Allemagne ; cette condition n'a jamais été " remplie. D'ailleurs je ne veux pas vous cacher que l'idée " de cette contre-ligue du Nord ne m'a pas bien sérieusement " occupé ; *qu'elle n'a été jettée en avant, que pour gagner du " tems.*

" Il nous faut avant tout des victoires. Si nous les obtenons " je vous promets bien que vous n'entendrez plus parler ni " de la ligue du Rhin, ni du *Primat*, ni de *Murat*. Pour les " arrangemens de territoire je suis de même complètement " de votre opinion ; c'est la Bavière qui doit payer l'écot. " Je crois qu'il serait bien fait non seulement de rétablir, " mais d'aggrandir la Prusse, du côté de la Franconie, ce qui " la mettrait en état de couvrir plus efficacement le flanc droit

“ de la puissance Autrichienne. Quant à la restitution du Tyrol, et à l’extension de la frontière de l’Autriche en Italie, je regarde ces mesures *comme les plus pressantes de toutes* ; et le Roi y est tellement déterminé que, dût-il lui en coûter quelques provinces à lui, il ne lacherait pas prise sur cet article.”

La conversation s’était prolongée au-delà de deux heures. Le Comte de Haugwiz s’en aperçut, parceque le jour tomba. Il me dit alors, qu’après cette explication générale, il avait deux propositions spéciales à me faire ; d’abord que je l’assistasse pendant quelques jours de mes conseils, et en cas de besoin, de ma plume ; et ensuite, que lorsque je serais bien informé de tout, je me rendisse à Vienne “ non pas,” disait-il, “ avec une commission quelconque,” car ce n’est pas “ à nous à vous ordonner, mais simplement pour parler de ce que vous aurez vu et entendu, et pour contribuer à détruire les derniers restes de méfiances, s’il pouvait en exister encore.” Je lui répondis que, quant à la première proposition, je ne m’y refuserais certainement pas, pour autant que je serais capable de la remplir, et supposant toutefois que mon séjour ne se prolongeât pas au-delà d’une semaine. Mais que, quant au voyage de Vienne, j’étais obligé de le décliner absolument ; que je n’avais aucun titre quelconque pour m’ingérer dans des affaires aussi importantes lorsque je n’y étais pas directement appelé ; que je ne savais pas même comment on jugerait à Vienne le voyage que je venais de faire, auquel je m’étais déterminé en suivant ma propre impulsion, qui m’avait dit de l’entreprendre à tout risque ; mais que je ne pouvais m’aventurer plus loin ; que d’ailleurs le récit fidèle que je ferais en tout cas, de tout ce que j’aurais appris dans ce voyage, se ferait également bien par écrit, sans compter que j’évitais par cette voie les bruits et les conjectures auxquelles mon apparition subite à Vienne ne manquerait pas de donner lieu. Après cela, il n’a plus été question du voyage. Le Comte de Haugwiz est rentré dans la première partie de ses propositions. Il m’a dit qu’il avait à me demander, avant tout, de me charger de la révision *d’un manifeste*, rédigé par M. Lombard, et de la traduction de cette pièce en Allemand. Il m’a assuré que je trouverais Lombard dans des dispositions dont je serais bien content, prêt à accueillir toutes les remarques, et toutes les critiques, que je pourrais lui communiquer sur son travail, et à y faire tous les changemens que je proposerais. Il m’a demandé ensuite de rédiger un article en réponse à ceux que les journaux français avaient publiés sous les dates fictives de Dresde et de Cassel relativement à la situation de ces deux Cours, et à leurs rapports avec la Prusse.

Rentré chez moi, j’ai fait le minute, dont ce qu’on vient de lire est l’extrait. J’ai lu les papiers que le Comte de Haugwiz m’avait remis ; et j’ai rédigé l’article sur les deux cours électorales, tel qu’il a été imprimé dans *la gazette d’Erfurth* du 7 octobre.

À neuf heures du soir, je me suis rendu chez le Marquis de Lucchesini. Comme tout le monde se couchait de bonne heure à Erfurth, il m'avait proposé, une fois pour toutes, de venir passer les soirées avec lui tête à tête. J'ai saisi cette proposition avec le plus grand empressement. Je connaissais le Comte de Haugwiz. Je savais quel était en général le caractère de ses discours. Il avait plus d'une espèce d'intérêt à me présenter l'histoire du passé, et l'état actuel des choses, sous un aspect favorable et brillant. Le récit par lequel il avait débuté, bien loin de me satisfaire, ne m'avait rendu que plus désireux d'éclaircissements et de rectifications. Je n'ignorais pas que ceux de M. de Lucchesini ne seraient point des Évangiles non plus, mais, entre deux versions inexactes, les chances s'augmentaient pour arriver à la vérité. Je savais, d'ailleurs, que ce dernier ministre n'avait jamais été au fond de son cœur l'ami de M. de Haugwiz. Je l'avais beaucoup connu autrefois, et pouvais le questionner tout à mon aise ; et quant au point qui m'intéressait le plus, une connaissance complète des motifs qui avaient déterminé la Prusse à cette subite levée de bouclier, j'étais sûr que, dans une suite d'entretiens, je parviendrais à l'éclaircir tout-à-fait. Voilà les raisons pour lesquelles je crus devoir regarder les soirées de M. de Lucchesini comme une source d'informations très précieuses.

Cette première conversation fut entièrement consacrée à l'histoire de ce que s'était passé à Paris pour amener la rupture avec la Prusse. M. de Lucchesini me confirma en masse l'aperçu que le Comte de Haugwiz m'avait donné, sur l'origine des traités de Vienne et de Paris. (Ce fut plus tard, comme on le verra ci-après, qu'il m'en fournit un récit plus circonstancié.) Il m'assura que lui aussi regardait depuis longtems une guerre avec la France comme inévitable. Il savait, à ne pas pouvoir en douter, que dès la première ouverture des négociations avec l'Angleterre, la restitution du pays d'Hanovre avait été distinctement proposée au gouvernement Anglais. On ne voulut pas le croire à Berlin. Cette démarche faite à la même époque où M. la Forêt avait ordre de presser le Cabinet de Berlin à compléter et à renforcer les mesures par lesquelles il s'était approprié ce pays, parut d'une perfidie si noire, que ceux mêmes qui connaissaient le gouvernement Français, avaient de la peine à y ajouter foi. Les négociations de M. d'Oubril répandaient un nouveau jour sur les desseins et les dispositions secrètes de ce gouvernement.

Le traité, signé le 20 juillet contenait deux articles secrets ; dont l'un arrêta le fameux dédommagement du Roi de Naples par les îles Baléares, et dont l'autre, en addition à l'article VIII patent du traité, portait que la France et la Russie engageraient conjointement le Roi de Prusse à faire sa paix avec le Roi de Suède, *sans demander à ce souverain le sacrifice de la Pomeranie suédoise*. Rien, d'après ce qu'il

me dit, n'avait jamais plus irrité le Roi de Prusse que cette clause imprudente, qui semblait lui attribuer un projet contre lequel il avait protesté sans cesse, et qu'il repoussa chaque fois que la France lui en présenta l'amorce. Ce qui rendit cet article plus piquant, c'est que Napoléon, en parlant à ses entours de ses projets pour l'avenir, avait dit à plusieurs reprises, c'est un brave homme que ce Roi de Suede, je ne me contenterai pas de lui conserver son pays, *je tâcherai* de l'aggrandir. Dans le cours des conférences avec Oubril, les négociateurs français avaient constamment fait entendre que si l'Empereur de Russie désirait de s'étendre en Pologne, on y consentirait sans difficulté; et, selon M. de Lucchesini, il n'avait pas tenu au Cabinet de Thuilleries qu'un article formel ne fut ajouté pour cet effet, aux conditions secrètes du traité. Enfin, une nouvelle déclaration sur la facilité avec laquelle on se prêterait en France à la restitution de l'électorat fut faite au gouvernement anglais, avant le départ de Lord Lauderdale pour Paris. Napoléon se flattait à cette époque que, de concert avec l'Empereur de Russie, il engagerait le Roi de Prusse sans difficulté à sortir du pays d'Hanovre. On ne pensait pas même à la restitution de ses provinces cédées; quelque dédommagement chétif, (quelque Bemberg, Cothen, disait le Marquis) voilà tout ce qu'on avait imaginé pour lui, et chaque jour développa davantage le projet de le sacrifier absolument, et de préparer la chute de la monarchie.

Ce fut là la substance des avis qu'il avait donné depuis quelque mois à sa cour; mais principalement de deux rapports qu'il fit le 22 et le 29 juillet, et lesquels, joints aux propositions faites à l'Electeur de Hesse, et aux démarches hostiles contre le Prince d'Orange, déterminèrent le Roi à la guerre.

Plus d'une fois, pendant le cours de ce récit, j'avais été tenté d'aborder l'importante question, si tout cela motivait assez la résolution de rompre *subitement* avec la France. Mais il me parut plus sage de l'ajourner. J'aurais pu dire au Marquis des choses qui l'aurait embarrassé, ou peut-être même refroidi pour moi; et je voulais m'instruire complètement, avant d'en venir aux discussions.

Il me raconta ensuite l'histoire de son rappel. Le Gouvernement français avait intercepté une de ses dépêches: (à en juger d'après plusieurs circonstances, je ne crois pas me tromper en soupçonnant que cet incident avait été prévu, ou amené à dessein). Il fit demander le rappel de *M. de Lucchesini*. La Forêt eut ordre de déclarer qu'il répondrait de rien, si cette demande n'était pas accordée sur le champ. La Cour de Berlin, comme M. de Haugwiz me l'avait déjà dit, fut secrètement enchantée de cet orage. Rien ne lui parut plus favorable pour masquer ses projets; et M. de Knobelsdorff, connu de tout temps pour être un des partisans les plus zélés de Napoléon, et du système pacifique, fut choisi exprès pour donner le change. Mais ce qu'il y eut de plus curieux dans cette dernière mesure (c'était là un des stratagèmes du Comte

de Haugwiz) c'est que ce Knobelsdorff fut lui-même complètement la dupe de sa mission. Il s'imagina, tout de bon, qu'on l'envoyait à Paris pour rétablir la bonne intelligence, moyennant son crédit personnel. Il y arriva, ne se doutant de rien, et croyant qu'il applanirait toutes les difficultés dans peu de jours. Il eut le bonhommie de croire que ses instructions étaient un secret pour M. de Lucchesini, dans lequel il ne voyait plus qu'un ministre dégradé. Il les lui cacha soigneusement, et lorsque celui-ci, feignant de tout ignorer, lui dit, que l'on prétendait qu'il était dans ses instructions de demander la retraite des troupes françaises, l'autre en convint, ajoutant "qu'il regardait comme peu "difficile d'engager l'Empereur à cette démarche." A la première audience Napoléon s'adressa à M. de Knobelsdorff en ces termes : "Je suis bien aise de vous voir ici. J'aime les hommes "simples et ronds comme vous ; mais je suis bien mécontent "de votre Cour. Qu'est-ce que ces chicanes sur la confédération "du Nord, et sur le séjour de mes troupes en Allemagne ?" L'autre voulut faire comprendre que le Roi était loin de proposer à l'Empereur la moindre chose désobligeante, mais qu'il lui paraissait cependant que ce séjour des troupes françaises devait avoir un terme quelconque. Sur quoi Napoléon, s'emportant terriblement, s'écria "mais vous ne "savez donc pas, que je veux avoir Cattaro ; que j'ai besoin de "Cattaro. Pas un homme ne passera le Rhin, avant que "cela ne soit terminé. Quant à cette misère de 7 à 8,000 "hommes qui se trouvent du côté de la Westphalie, il y aura "moyen de s'entendre ; mais avant tout, il faut que votre Roi "désarme, qu'il désarme complètement, que toutes vos troupes "rentrent dans leurs quartiers de paix." Knobelsdorff fut un peu inquiet après cette sortie vigoureuse, mais lorsque, le lendemain matin, il reçut en présent quatre chevaux et une voiture (chose qui n'avait jamais eu lieu que pour l'ambassadeur Turc,) il se crut de nouveau au pinacle de la faveur. Il écrivit à sa femme qu'elle pouvait être parfaitement tranquille qu'on ne pensait pas à la guerre ; et lorsqu'il fut question du départ de Napoléon pour l'armée, il demanda bonnement à sa Cour, s'il devait l'accompagner dans ce voyage.

M. de Lucchesini, en partant de Paris, eut une audience de congé, très longue, et très calme. Buonaparte lui parla sans cesse des plans qu'il méditait pour le bonheur de l'humanité, et de ce qu'on n'avait qu'à le laisser faire, pour que l'Europe se trouvât bientôt dans l'assiette la plus désirable. En touchant aux négociations avec l'Angleterre, il lui dit ; "je "sais bien que ce Lauderdale n'est autre chose qu'un espion "que j'ai à Paris ; il y a long tems que j'aurais renvoyé cet "homme, mes ministres ne l'ont pas voulu."

M. de Lucchesini demanda ensuite à Talleyrand (avec lequel il parut avoir été bien jusqu'au dernier moment) l'explication de ce dernier propos ; et il apprit qu'effectivement lui et Champagny avait déclaré à l'Empereur, qu'au moment où

une nouvelle guerre continentale allait éclater, il était de toute nécessité de conserver l'apparence d'une négociation avec l'Angleterre pour ne pas jeter le peuple dans le désespoir. Il me dit à cette occasion ce qu'il m'a souvent répété ensuite, que la guerre avec l'Angleterre était, au fond, la seule à laquelle le public de France s'intéressât, puisque les maux qu'elle infligeait au pays étaient sentis dans chaque moment; que rien n'était aussi hautement prononcé dans toutes les classes du peuple que le voeu de voir finir cette guerre; et que lors qu'on parlait de paix à Paris, on entendait toujours la paix avec l'Angleterre; les autres étant aussi indifférentes au public que les victoires et les conquêtes de Buonaparte.

Selon ce qu'il me disait encore, la négociation avec l'Angleterre était réellement fort avancée à une certaine époque. Malte et le Cap étaient accordés. On se débattait encore un peu pour Surinam, qui à la fin aurait été abandonné aussi; mais la grande pierre d'achoppement était la Sicile, sur laquelle les deux parties paraissaient ne pas vouloir céder. Il croit cependant que quand même on se serait enfin arrangé sur cet article, deux grandes difficultés se seraient présentées au dernier acte de la négociation. Le Gouvernement français aurait exigé, comme point d'honneur, quelque modification dans les principes du droit maritime; chose à laquelle l'Angleterre n'aurait certainement jamais consenti. D'un autre côté, malgré l'extrême légèreté avec laquelle la France avait toujours traité l'affaire de la restitution du pays d'Hanovre, cet article aurait éprouvé aussi les difficultés très sérieuses, car le Gouvernement anglais ne se serait pas contenté du consentement pur et simple, de la France; il aurait demandé la garantie de l'exécution, et au point où en étaient les choses, celle-là ne pouvait plus être obtenue que par une guerre avec la Prusse. Napoléon s'était flatté un moment, qu'il y suppléerait par l'intervention de l'Empereur de Russie; mais son calcul était faux, comme la plupart de ceux qu'il avait fait par rapport aux dispositions de ce monarque.

*Lundi 6 Octobre.* Je me suis rendu à dix heures du matin chez M. Lombard, auquel l'état de sa santé ne permettait pas de sortir. Je l'ai trouvé dans une triste situation, perdus des mains et des pieds, pouvant à peine se traîner d'une chaise à l'autre. Son esprit avait conservé son ancienne vivacité, et quant à son crédit, et son pouvoir, ils n'avaient nullement baissé. Il était toujours bien plus ministre que M. de Haugwiz, qui ne faisait aucune démarche essentielle sans que Lombard n'y eut préalablement consenti; et plus d'une fois j'ai entendu celui-ci dire à son frère Pierre, favori et secrétaire intime de ce ministre: dites au Comte de Haugwiz que j'ai à lui parler ce soir: n'oubliez pas que le Comte de Haugwiz doit venir chez moi demain matin.

Il m'a reçu d'une manière extrêmement amicale. Nous avions été anciennement liés, mais je m'étais éloigné de lui pendant les trois dernières années de mon séjour à Berlin;



ayant pris également en horreur ses principes corrompus, et la perversité de sa conduite, de sorte qu'il y avait bien sept ans que nous ne nous étions vus. Il me dit " nous voilà donc, à la fin, d'accord. Croyez qu'au fond, nous l'étions toujours bien plus que vous ne pensiez. Nous avons différé sur les moyens, mais non pas sur le but. Je ne pouvais pas me prononcer sur la guerre, ni conseiller au Roi de l'entreprendre, tant que la nation y était absolument opposée. Aujourd'hui elle la veut toute entière ; parmi les 10 ou 11 millions d'hommes qui la composent, pas un homme n'est d'un sentiment différent."

Il me parla ensuite de son manifeste, en disant qu'il était fait depuis huit jours ; mais que depuis qu'il avait su que le Roi m'avait appelé, il n'avait plus voulu y toucher, sans connaître mon avis sur cette pièce. Après cela il me remit comme introduction au manifeste, une lettre qu'il avait écrite au nom du Roi à l'Empereur Napoléon, et qui avait été présentée à celui-ci avec l'*ultimatum* de Knobelsdorff. Il y joignit une lettre de Napoléon au Roi, antérieure à la sienne, et datée, si je ne me trompe, le 12 Septembre. Il me pria de lire ces pièces chez moi, et de retourner chez lui après dîner, pour lui en dire mon opinion, et procéder ensuite à la lecture, et à l'examen du manifeste. J'ometts plusieurs choses intéressantes qu'il me dit dans cette première entrevue, puisqu'il y en eut plus tard une autre, dans laquelle il y revint avec des développemens très remarquables, qui se trouveront à leur place.

Rentré chez moi je lus la lettre à Napoléon, et j'en fus bien mal-édifié. C'était une pièce d'une longueur assommante, contenant la plupart des griefs et des explications que se retrouvent dans le manifeste ; et écrite d'un ton de familiarité, de patelinage, et souvent d'indécence qui me choquait extrêmement. Je trouvai le Roi plutôt compromis que justifié par cette lettre. On pourrait d'ailleurs en dire ce que Rivarol disait de la fameuse adresse de Mirabeau à Louis XVI, pour le renvoi de troupes de Paris, qu'il y avait trop d'amour pour tant de menaces, et trop de menaces pour tant d'amour. Je ne pouvais pas me dissimuler que dans la lettre de Napoléon, rédigée non pas dans le stile du Cabinet Buonaparte, mais dans le meilleur stile des bureaux de Talleyrand, il y avait infiniment plus de mesure, de gout, et de dignité. Le texte de cette dernière lettre était, qu'une guerre entre la France et la Prusse serait une monstruosité politique, attendu que ces deux Etats étaient faits pour vivre toujours dans la plus étroite intelligence.

J'ai diné chez le Comte de Haugwitz, avec M. de Luechesini et son fils cadet, le Comte Gortz, Ministre de Saxe, le Baron de Waitz Ministre de Hesse. Le Comte de Haugwitz m'a dit avant le dîner, qu'il avait communiqué l'article que j'avais écrit la veille, sur les dispositions des deux Cours électorales, aux deux Ministres de ces Cours, avant de le livrer à

l'impression, et *qu'ils en avaient été très contents*. Je n'eus pas le tems de m'en expliquer d'avantage avec lui ; mais ayant réfléchi pendant le diner sur ce qu'il y avait de louche dans la conduite de l'Electeur de Hesse, et principalement dans celle de M. de Waitz, que je savais très faiblement attaché à l'alliance Prussienne, et très médiocrement porté pour la guerre, j'en parlai après diner au Marquis de Lucchesini. Je lui avouai que le prétendu *contentement* de M. de Waitz me paraissait assez suspect ; et j'appuyai d'autant plus sur cette observation, que je m'imaginai depuis quelques jours, qu'ils voulaient dissimuler leurs véritables rapports avec la Hesse, et qu'ils étaient, en effet, beaucoup moins avancés avec l'Electeur qu'il ne se donnerent l'air de l'être. Mais le Marquis me dit, d'un ton très positif, que mes soupçons n'étaient rien moins que fondés ; que malgré toutes ses démonstrations de neutralité, l'Electeur de Hesse était dans leurs intérêts de cœur et d'ame, et que s'il avait paru tergiverser, c'était par un calcul d'avance, pour obtenir des subsides de l'Angleterre, en négociant pour son propre compte, et faisant semblant de se faire tirer l'oreille, quoique sa résolution fût prise depuis long tems. Au reste, ajouta-t-il, quant à l'article en question je vous prie de ne pas vous en faire conscience ; il faut un peu faire les honneurs de ces messieurs, puisqu'ils ne veulent pas se produire eux-mêmes.

À quatre heures je suis retourné chez Lombard. Je m'étais bien promis de ne pas lui déguiser mon opinion sur la lettre à Napoléon, et je lui ai dit à peu près tout ce que j'en pensais. Il l'a pris assez bien ; il s'est faiblement defendu ; il s'est borné à m'assurer que je serais content du manifeste. Il m'en a fait alors la lecture. Je l'ai trouvé en effet supérieur à la lettre, et à mon attente. Ce n'est pas dire que j'en aie été absolument satisfait ; il s'en fallait beaucoup. Je sentais toutefois que la tâche était extrêmement difficile. La Prusse se trouvait placée, graces à ses longs égaremens, dans un dilemma singulièrement cruel. Ses meilleurs argumens étaient des armes à deux tranchants ; par lesquelles, de quelque coté qu'elle tournât, elle se frappait, elle se blessait elle-même. Voulait-elle faire valoir contre la France les nombreux sacrifices (d'honneur et de principes) qu'elle lui avait faits, elle achevait de se perdre dans l'opinion de l'Europe : voulait-elle se relever dans celle-ci, elle était obligée de convenir qu'elle avait constamment trompé la France. Un franc et noble aveu de ses torts, une espèce de rétractation solennelle aurait été peut-être le seul moyen d'éviter ce double écueil ; mais les ministres qui publiaient le manifeste étant les mêmes que avaient présidé à sa politique depuis tant d'années, on ne pouvait pas s'attendre à une marche pareille. Quelques phrases brillantes sans trop de liaison et d'ensemble, un stile coupé, épigrammatique, voilà donc les seules ressources qui restaient au rédacteur de cette pièce ; et en considérant la base fragile

sur laquelle il était condamné à travailler, il serait très injuste de nier qu'elle était composée avec beaucoup de talent.

La première lecture faite, il me proposa de discuter la pièce, article par article. Il adopta, non seulement avec facilité mais avec le plus grand empressement, toutes les observations que je crus devoir lui faire ; il n'en repoussa pas une. Il y avait une quantité de passages que ressentiaient de ce ton indécent qui m'avait tant revolté contre la lettre ; il les supprima, ou les modifia tous ; il me sollicita quelque fois de prendre la plume pour exprimer avec plus de précision la tournure que je voulais substituer à la sienne ; ce fut là la seule opération par laquelle j'ai directement concouru à certains passages de ce manifeste.

Le passage qui rappelle l'assassinat de M. le Due d'Enghien se trouva rédigé à peu près dans les termes qui m'avaient violemment choqué dans la lettre. Il le changea d'après mon conseil. Mais ici je ne me bornai pas à une simple critique de rédaction. Je lui demandai, s'il avait bien pensé aussi à ce qu'il faisait en articulant un fait de cette nature. Ce trait là, et deux ou trois autres de la même force, lui disais-je, sont le signal d'une guerre à mort ; et quelle que soit la satisfaction personnelle que j'éprouve à voir exposés au grand jour des crimes, pour lesquels la lâcheté du siècle n'a été que trop indulgente, je vous avertis cependant, en envisageant la chose comme homme d'état, qu'il faut être bien sûr de son fait, et tenir la victoire avec les deux mains, pour se permettre de parler ce langage dans une pièce diplomatique. Je reproduisais la même observation à propos de plusieurs autres paragraphes ; il me répondit chaque fois " que le Roi le voulait ainsi " ; après quoi il n'y eut plus rien à dire.

Il y avait un article où le Roi faisait valoir contre Napoléon la démarche faite, il y a quatre années, pour engager Louis XVIII. à renoncer à son droit à la couronne. Cet article était d'un scandale outrageant. Je représentai à Lombard combien la Prusse était intéressé à faire oublier cette odieuse transaction. Il supprima le passage. Mais c'est en le discutant que se manifesta d'une manière bien claire la collision de deux grands intérêts opposés, qui pesait sur le fond de ce travail. Pour mettre Napoléon dans tout son tort, on ne pouvait pas trop appuyer sur les preuves de dévouement et de soumission que la Prusse lui avait si libéralement prodiguées : pour embellir la cause de la Prusse dans l'esprit de la partie saine et honorable des contemporains, on ne pouvait leur dérober assez le souvenir de sa longue complaisance pour l'ennemis communs de l'Europe. Lombard et le Cabinet de Berlin inclinait visiblement, et par des raisons faciles à saisir, aux plaidoyers du premier genre ; quant à moi, j'aurais préféré le second. Cependant ils ne s'aveuglaient pas au point de ne pas sentir qu'ils marchaient sur les épines. Entre plusieurs phénomènes curieux, résultant de ces intérêts contradictoires, en voici un que je crois devoir citer ; puisqu'il

me paraît singulièrement caractériser ce qu'il y avait d'équivoque dans leur position : rien n'était au fond plus odieux que cette alliance qu'ils n'avaient pas rougi de signer dans un moment de détresse commune, où le premier, le seul besoin d'Europe, était l'union la plus étroite *contre celui* dont ils faisaient leur allié. D'un autre côté cette même circonstance pouvait aggraver aux yeux des Français, et aux yeux de tous ceux qui approuvaient l'ancien système de la Prusse, l'injustice et la noirceur de Napoléon. Lombard avait donc imaginé de faire désigner, par *traité*, dans la version Allemande du manifeste, ce qui dans l'original Français devait porter son vrai nom d'alliance, et quoiqu'il s'aperçût à la fin, que cette ruse pouvait manquer son but, par la simple confrontation des deux textes, il y tenait cependant assez pour qu'il en restât des traces dans différents endroits de la déclaration.

La partie du manifeste qui contenait la justification de la Prusse sur les traités de Vienne et de Paris, fut celle où je refusai toute concurrence, même celle d'une critique de rédaction. Je répétais à Lombard ce que je n'avait cessé de déclarer à M. de Haugwiz et à M. de Lucchesini, que je trouvais ces traités *impardonnables et inexcusables*, et que je ne pouvais prendre aucune part quelconque à une apologie, dont jamais je ne reconnaitrais les bases.

Là, où pour la première fois il était question du Hanovre, et où il était dit "que la Prusse avait offert à la cour de Londres "de s'opposer à l'envahissement de ce pays, sous les conditions que celle-ci rejetta" il se trouvait un passage dans lequel on attaquait directement les principes du Gouvernement anglais, par rapport à la navigation des neutres. Je fis sentir l'imprudence de cette tirade dans un moment où on voulait se rapprocher de l'Angleterre. J'allais en démontrer la futilité lorsqu'il se déterminait tout court à le retrancher. Le moment le plus difficile et le plus orageux de cette longue séance fut celui où nous discutons la péroraison. Après les mots qui désignent l'Empereur de Russie, il y avait un passage de quelques lignes où, sans nommer l'Autriche, on en parlait dans des termes qui n'étaient absolument applicables qu'à elle. Le sens de cet étrange allusion était : "que l'Empereur "seconderait la Prusse de ses vœux, s'il ne pouvait pas le "faire de ses efforts." Déjà, à la première lecture, j'avais été si fort frappé de ce passage, que je m'étais bien promis de le faire disparaître à tout prix. Je représentai à Lombard ce qu'il y avait d'injuste, d'indélicat, et de cruel, de compromettre gratuitement une puissance qui, par quelque raison qui ce fût, ne voulait pas se précipiter dans la lutte. J'en appellai aussi à l'intérêt bien entendu de la Prusse, qui ne l'engageait certainement pas à aliéner la Cour de Vienne en le violentant ouvertement dans sa marche. Je recontrais dans cette discussion plus de ténacité et de résistance qu'il n'y en avait eu dans aucune autre partie du travail. Il se

retrancha de nouveau derrière l'objection embarrassant "que le Roi l'avait voulu ainsi." Mais depuis que je m'étais aperçu à quel point il était le maître absolu de la rédaction, cette objection ne fit plus son effet. Cependant je vis de plus en plus, que pour remporter ici la victoire, il s'agissait d'une grande fermeté. Je lui déclarai donc enfin tout net, que si ce passage n'était point supprimé, non seulement je ne me prêterai jamais à la traduction du manifeste, mais je le renierais hautement ; je m'inscrirais en faux contre cette pièce, et de plus, je me eroirais obligé de quitter incessamment Erfurth ; je le quitterais dans la nuit, après avoir expliqué par une lettre au Roi que je remettrais au Comte Goetzen le motif de mon départ précipité. Il me regarda d'un air de surprise, et après avoir réfléchi pendant quelques secondes, il prit brusquement la plume et effaça le tout.

Cette séance s'était prolongée jusqu'à 9 heures. J'avoue que plus d'une fois pendant sa durée, je m'étais livré à des réflexions sérieuses sur la manière singulièrement leste, dont se traitaient les affaires dans ce Cabinet, que l'Europe était accoutumée à croire si prudent, si artificieux, et si profond. La pièce que fut discutée ce soir était de la dernière importance ; elle devait influencer, sous tant de rapports, sur le sort futur de la Prusse ; et il dépendait de Lombard tout seul de la rédiger, de la modifier, de la renverser avec moi. Ni le Roi, ni le Comte de Haugwiz, ni personne ne fut consulté sur aucune de ces opérations ; car le manifeste resta absolument tel qu'il était sorti de nos mains ; et le Roi ne l'a pas même reçu avant qu'il fût imprimé et publié.

Le travail de la revision fini, Lombard me dit que le Roi était extrêmement pressé de voir ce manifeste publié ; qu'il ne voulait pas tirer l'épée sans en avoir déclaré les motifs ; et que je leur rendrais un très grand service en accélérant autant que possible la traduction. Je l'entrepris en rentrant chez moi, et y ayant consacré toute la nuit, je la terminai à huit heures du matin.

*Mardi 7 Octobre.* J'ai vu dans la matinée une quantité de personnes qui se trouvaient à Erfurth ; et sur tout un grand nombre d'officiers de la suite du Roi et autres. Je puis dire, en toute vérité, que chaque homme que je rencontrai dans la rue, m'aborda avec le même compliment "Vous êtes ici, Dieu en soit loué, cette fois-ci nous ne serons donc pas trompés." En réfléchissant sur ce qu'il y avait de funeste dans une situation où il fallait de pareilles garanties pour calmer les méfiances et les craintes, je commençai en même tems à soupçonner que l'effet que ma présence semblait produire pouvait bien avoir été le principal motif pour lesquels les ministres m'avaient invité ; plusieurs choses que j'ai observées depuis m'ont confirmé dans cette opinion.

Après avoir diné chez le Comte de Haugwiz, j'ai eu encore une assez longue conversation avec lui. Il avait reçu une

dépêche du Comte Finkenstein. L'Empereur ayant été absent de Vienne, lorsque les dernières communications de la Prusse y étaient arrivées, le Comte Finkenstein n'avait pas encore reçu une réponse positive. Le Comte de Haugwiz me parla de nouveau de projet de la mission militaire. Je me trouvais dans un singulier embarras toutes les fois qu'il entama ce sujet : car, d'un côté, je fremissais à l'idée de voir la Prusse embarquée toute seule dans cette terrible et vaste entreprise ; j'en calculais toutes les suites pour elle, et pour autres puissances ; j'étais sûr que sans l'appui de l'Autriche, elle ne pouvait pas le conduire à bon port. D'un autre côté, loin d'avoir le droit de proposer, ou de prôner des mesures par lesquelles le Cour de Vienne pouvait être alarmée ou compromise ; présumant déjà par plusieurs indices, que l'Empereur ne jugerait pas convenable de prendre part à la guerre ; j'avais plutôt le désir de détourner, autant que possible, tout ce qui pouvait le contrarier, ou le gêner dans sa résolution. Heureusement (je veux dire *pour moi*, puisque ce fut bien autre chose pour la Prusse), le Comte de Haugwiz, dès la première conversation, s'était montré si fort satisfait des dispositions qu'il supposait à l'Autriche, et si complètement tranquille et résigné sur les déterminations futures de cette puissance, que je n'avais qu'à prendre le ton auquel il m'invitait lui-même ; et rien ne m'annonçant de sa part, qu'il regardait comme particulièrement pressant cet envoi d'un officier négociateur, j'étais autorisé à en parler de même, quelle que fut ma vraie opinion à cet égard. Cette fois-ci il s'expliqua de manière que je m'attendais à voir tomber son choix sur le Général Phull, (peut-être dans la vue secrète de l'éloigner pour quelque tems de l'armée, où il ne convenait guères au Duc de Brunswick) tandis que je savais, pour sûr, que le Roi préférait le Comte Goetzen. Je pris l'occasion pour dire, que malgré la haute idée que j'avais des talens militaires du Général Phull, et mon amitié personnelle pour lui, je le croyais peu fait pour une mission pareille, à cause de son extrême vivacité et impétuosité. Par la facilité avec laquelle le Comte de Haugwiz adopta cette observation, je m'aperçus que le projet en lui-même était encore loin de sa maturité, ou qu'on craignit de le mettre en train.

Il me parla ensuite de la Russie. Il dit que je pouvais être bien persuadé que jamais l'Empereur n'avait été plus prononcé pour la guerre ; qu'il y mettait plus d'ardeur que la Prusse ; que sans se borner aux négociations amicales, il tiendrait *un langage très énergique à ses voisins* ; qu'il ferait marcher trois armées, l'une vers la Silésie, la seconde vers la Gallicie, la troisième vers l'Italie ; et qu'il déclarerait sans beaucoup de détours, *qu'il ne souffrirait aucune neutralité*.

Ces paroles me frappèrent extrêmement ; et ne pouvant pas en cacher ma surprise, je m'expliquai avec une vivacité analogue à l'impression qu'elles m'avaient faite. Je lui dis que, si je l'avais bien compris, je voyais se reproduire

un système qui déjà, dans une occasion précédente, avait entraîné les plus grands malheurs; que j'osais lui rappeler l'année dernière; que j'avais toujours été persuadé que le projet de forcer la Prusse à la guerre, était une des causes principales du triste résultat de la campagne de 1805: que je frémissais en pensant que l'on pût s'aviser de renouveler ce projet contre l'Autriche; qu'il en résulterait certainement les mêmes désastres; que s'il existait un moyen de jeter l'Autriche, malgré elle, entre les bras de la France, il se trouverait dans une entreprise pareille; que je ne concevais pas comment un homme, aussi éclairé que lui, pouvait parler avec satisfaction de ce projet; qu'il me paraissait plutôt que si un Prince, aussi juste et aussi magnanime que l'Empereur de Russie, avait pu le former réellement, il faudrait tout faire pour lui en montrer les dangers, puisque rien ne serait plus propre à détruire jusqu'à la possibilité d'une union entre les deux grandes puissances; sans laquelle cependant, je n'hésiterais pas à le dire, je regardais une guerre heureuse contre Buonaparte, comme la plus désespérée des chimères.

Le Comte de Haugwitz me paraît étonné, et je puis bien ajoutèr, deconcerté de la chaleur avec laquelle j'avais parlé sur cet objet. Il reprit cependant bientôt sa contenance, et me répondit du ton le plus doux, que s'étant proposé de m'instruire de tout, il n'avait pas voulu me cacher cette circonstance; que j'aurais tort d'en être trop effrayé; qu'il supposait effectivement à l'Empereur de Russie le projet de n'admettre la neutralité de personne, mais que je pouvais bien croire qu'il l'exécuterait qu'avec toute la modération possible; que la Prusse, au reste, n'était pour rien dans ce projet, et que sa conduite discrète et réservée prouverait assez qu'elle ne voulait faire violence à personne; que rien n'était à craindre pour cette année-ci; que la saison était trop avancée pour que l'Empereur de Russie pût pousser ses troupes dans tant de directions à la fois; et qu'il fallait espérer que vers le printemps la chose aurait pris, de toutes parts, une tournure si avantageuse, que sans aucun moyen violent, il ne serait plus question de neutralité.

Vers le soir je suis allé chez Lombard, qui outre ses infirmités permanentes avait eu un accès de fièvre très fort, et venait de demander au Roi la permission de retourner à Berlin. Il s'est engagé dans une conversation, qui m'a paru particulièrement remarquable, et dont j'ai eu soin de ne pas perdre un mot.

Après s'être plaint de ses souffrances physiques, il m'a dit tout à coup: " Ah, si vous saviez tout ce que j'ai éprouvé dans un autre genre, depuis quelques années, et surtout dans les derniers six mois! On m'a dénoncé et maltraité comme un scélérat; mon nom a couru toute l'Europe comme celui d'un traître vendu à Buonaparte. On a conspiré de toutes parts, pour me faire renvoyer et punir; tous les Princes de la Maison Royale, la Reine à leur tête, se sont ligués contre moi. J'ai manqué de devenir le prétexte d'une

“ véritable insurrection, qui aurait moralement détroné le Roi,  
 “ s’il avait montré un peu moins de fermeté. Ceux qui me  
 “ disaient vendu, savaient trop bien que je ne pouvais pas l’être.  
 “ Vous avez connu autrefois ma manière de vivre ; elle est  
 “ toujours restée la même ; j’ai toujours été pauvre comme  
 “ un rat d’église, à peine ma femme a-t-elle une chambre pour  
 “ recevoir quelques amis ; quant à moi un mauvais fauteuil  
 “ et une pipe ont été le *maximum* de mes besoins. Il vaudrait  
 “ la peine d’être un coquin, pour vivre comme un misérable.  
 “ Il en est tout de même de Haugwiz. Il a à peine de quoi  
 “ fournir à la dépense d’une maison bien chétive, il est criblé  
 “ de dettes. Il fallait toute la rage du public contre nous,  
 “ pour inventer une calomnie aussi ridicule. Mais le fait  
 “ est que depuis deux ans on voulait la guerre. Je savais  
 “ bien qu’elle était inévitable ; d’un mois à l’autre j’en calculais  
 “ la probabilité croissante. Depuis la fin de l’année dernière  
 “ nous n’y échappions plus que par des tours de force, par  
 “ des expédients désespérés, comme tous ces maudits traités :  
 “ enfin je m’apercevais que l’heure fatale allait sonner ; et  
 “ elle aurait sonné cette fois-ci, soyez en sûr, même sans les  
 “ déclamations du Prince Louis.”

Mais je ne conçois plus, lui ai-je dit, comment, avec cette  
 persuasion intime de l’improbabilité d’échapper à la guerre,  
 vous avez pu laisser passer tant d’époques décisives où le Roi  
 aurait pu s’y porter sous les auspices les plus avantageux.

Il m’a répondu : “ Demandez-le au Comte de Haugwiz ;  
 “ demandez-le à Lucchesini ; demandez-le à ceux qui veulent  
 “ être de bonne foi parmi ces fameux chefs d’opposition. Ils  
 “ doivent tous vous dire quelle a été depuis long tems mon  
 “ opinion personnelle. Il est vrai, et je vous en fais mon triste  
 “ aveu, j’ai été un moment la dupe *du monstre qui désole la*  
 “ *terre*. Lorsque je l’ai vu à Bruxelles en 1803, il m’a gagné  
 “ bien moins par ses cajoleries, que par l’idée qu’il avait su  
 “ m’inspirer de la grandeur, et de noblesse de son caractère,  
 “ par son langage philanthropique et pacifique, par l’hypocrisie  
 “ avec laquelle il parlait de la Prusse, et de son attachement  
 “ particulier pour elle. L’illusion n’a pas duré long tems.  
 “ L’année 1803 n’était pas finie que mon rêve fut passé. Depuis  
 “ ce moment-là je n’ai plus varié, j’ai vu que ce démon incarné  
 “ poursuivrait son affreuse carrière jusqu’à la destruction de  
 “ tout ce qui existait ; et chaque fois que son charlatanisme  
 “ impudent en a imposé encore à quelques bonnes ames, j’en  
 “ ai été désolé ; mais je ne pouvais rien faire, ni d’autres plus  
 “ que moi.”

J’allais lui demander l’explication d’un pareil phénomène,  
 mais il m’a prévenu en disant :

“ Je prévois toutes les objections ; le moment est trop  
 “ précieux pour faire des *demi-confidences* ; et d’ailleurs, si  
 “ vous pouviez même me compromettre, je suis au-dessus  
 “ de la crainte, car je sens que je touche au tombeau. Vous  
 “ vous étonnez qu’avec tant de motifs puissants, je n’aie pas



“insisté sur un changement de système. *Connaissez-vous*  
 “*le Roi ?* Ma justification toute entière est dans cette question ;  
 “j’aurais bien voulu vous voir à ma place. Qu’auriez-vous fait  
 “pour engager à la guerre, un souverain qui en déteste l’idée,  
 “et qui, pour comble de malheur, ne se croit pas la capacité  
 “de la faire. Voilà le grand secret de toutes nos irrésolutions,  
 “et de tous nos embarras. La monarchie prussienne n’est pas  
 “organisée comme d’autres états. Chez nous, en tems de  
 “guerre toutes les branches du Gouvernement doivent se  
 “concentrer dans l’armée. Le Roi ne peut donc pas en confier  
 “le commandement à un autre. Il ne serait plus rien, s’il  
 “ne paraissait pas à la tête de ses troupes. Eh bien, ce Roi,  
 “que personne n’appécie et n’adore comme moi, a le malheur  
 “de n’être pas né général. Depuis long tems il a vu comme  
 “les autres, que l’état actuel des choses ne pouvait pas durer,  
 “que, bon gré mal gré, il serait obligé de tirer l’épée ; mais il  
 “a toujours capitulé avec lui-même. Il s’est toujours flatté  
 “que quelque catastrophe étrangère à ses résolutions viendrait  
 “resoudre le problème. Quand, à la fin, les embarras se  
 “font multipliés, quand tout le pays a demandé à grands  
 “cris, un autre système ; quand il a vu le moment où il resterait  
 “seul de son avis, il s’est rendu ; mais bien à son corps défen-  
 “dant, je vous en réponds. Ce serait un très grand malheur  
 “s’il voulait aujourd’hui rétracter. Il ne le peut même  
 “plus ; mais croyez-vous que je suis sans crainte pour le  
 “résultat. Hélas, je me félicite presque de mes infirmités,  
 “puisqu’elles me fournissent un motif honorable pour m’en  
 “aller. Les plus noirs présentimens me tourmentent. Si je  
 “pouvais lire dans votre ame je les retrouverais peut-être ;  
 “mais je ne veux pas même savoir ce que vous en pensez.  
 “L’armée est belle et brave ; mais où est l’ame puissante qui  
 “en dirige les mouvemens. Vous ne croyez plus, j’espère,  
 “au Duc de Brunswick ? Et quelle idée pouvez vous avoir  
 “de ses plans. Peut-être que la faiblesse physique amortit  
 “en moi le courage et l’espoir. Mais quoiqu’il en soit, je ne  
 “veux pas être présent à l’explosion. Un premier revers  
 “suffirait pour me tuer ; me faire enterrer à Berlin est tout  
 “ce que je désire.” Il avait dit ces derniers mots avec une  
 émotion extrême. Je le vis très épuisé. Je ne voulais  
 pas prolonger une conversation qui d’ailleurs m’en avait  
 déjà trop appris ; j’ai saisi le premier prétexte pour le quitter.

J’ai été passer la dernière partie de la soirée avec M. de  
 Lucchesini. J’ai taché de ramener la conversation sur l’histoire  
 des traités de Vienne et de Paris. J’ai demandé de nouveaux  
 éclaircissemens ; ils m’ont été très libéralement accordés,  
 et en voici la substance.

Tout a concouru pour entrainer le Comte de Haugwitz  
 dans la première de ces transactions. Sa position isolée à  
 Vienne ; son ignorance en fait d’opérations militaires ; son  
 manque de courage ; enfin son amour propre. On l’effraya  
 par toutes sortes de contes. On lui fit croire que les Français

entreraient incessamment en Silésie ; qu'ils feraient la révolution en Pologne ; qu'ils prendraient la monarchie Prussienne à revers. Tantôt on les disait à Neiss, tantôt à Breslau. Les premiers huit jours après la bataille d'Austerlitz, il avait été traité avec beaucoup de froideur. Tout à coup Napoléon le fait chercher, et lui dit "Eh bien, vous savez que les jours se succèdent, mais ne se ressemblent pas : j'ai voulu vous faire la guerre. Aujourd'hui je vous offre le Hanovre." Depuis ce moment là, il ne cessa plus de le carresser de toutes les manières. Il lui répéta à plusieurs reprises que l'estime personnelle qu'il avait pour lui ne se démentirait jamais ; que dans toutes les conversations épineuses il n'avait qu'à s'adresser à lui directement, que toutes les difficultés s'applaniraient facilement entr'eux. La fausse sécurité qu'il lui inspira par ces propos le suivait encore dans son voyage à Paris. Ce fut un grand malheur, me dit le Marquis, que le *Comte de Haugwiz* se flattait réellement "d'avoir cet homme dans sa poche." Lorsqu'il arriva à Paris, au commencement de février, il disait à *M. de Lucchesini*, déjà très inquiet de la position équivoque où l'on se trouvait, "Soyez tranquille, aussitôt que je l'aurai vu, tout s'arrangera ; je sais ce qu'il me dit à Vienne." Je fus très capot lorsque cinq jours s'étaient passés sans qu'il eût pu obtenir une audience. Il eut à la fin, elle fut terrible. Napoléon le manœuvra si peu, lui lacha des choses si dures, que ne sachant plus où donner de la tête, *M. de Haugwiz* osa enfin lui rappeler les belles promesses dont il avait tant de fois bercé à Vienne. Sur cela Napoléon se modérant un peu lui dit : "A la bonne heure, je vous estime ; je vous estimerai toujours ; mais je ne veux pas être joué. A-t-on jamais vu faire des modifications à un traité, tout en le ratifiant ? Qu'est ce que cette manière de ratifier. Vous êtes un honnête homme *M. de Haugwiz* ; mais vous n'avez plus de crédit à Berlin. Ce *Hardenberg* qui s'est vendu aux Anglais comme tant d'autres, se moque de vous. Votre Roi ne sait pas ce qu'il veut ; quelques écervelés le poussent à la guerre ; il désire la paix, il est tirailé en tout les sens ; je crains que cela ne finisse mal."

Il lui dit finalement qu'il n'avait qu'à s'adresser à *Talleyrand*, à qui il ferait connaître sa volonté. Presque anéanti, il commença enfin à se douter de sa position critique. Il eut, peu de jours après, en présence de *M. de Lucchesini*, une conférence avec *Talleyrand*, qui leur annonça, que comme le traité de Vienne était détruit par les modifications que le Roi de Prusse y avait mises, il en fallait un tout nouveau ; et le lendemain arriva, à la grande surprise de *M. de Haugwiz*, *M. Duroc*, avec un traité tout fait, lequel, après une discussion très longue et très orageuse, fut signé avec quelques changemens : c'est ce traité que le *Marquis de Lucchesini* porta à Berlin.

Ce ne fut que dans la conférence susdite que *Talleyrand* leur déclara, pour la première fois, que *Clèves* et *Berg* étaient

destinés à *Murat*. Dans les négociations de Vienne, ils avaient fait entendre au *Comte de Haugwitz* que Clèves serait donné à un Prince d'Allemagne. (N.B. Le Duc de Brunswick se flattait pendant quelque tems que ce serait lui, ce qui n'influa pas peu sur sa conduite.) Quant à Berg, il avait même complètement ignoré qu'ils avaient exigé ce pays de la Bavière, pendant qu'ils demandaient Clèves à la Prusse. Ce traité de Paris, au reste, fut si bien reconnu pour ce qu'il était, que le Comte de Haugwitz avait peur de le porter à Berlin.

J'ai dit au Marquis que son récit m'expliquait parfaitement, mais était loin de justifier à mes yeux la conduite du Comte de Haugwitz ; que selon moi, tout autre à sa place, plutôt que de s'engager dans des défilés, aurait quitté Vienne le lendemain de la bataille d'Austerlitz, et Paris après la première audience ; mais je l'ai prié en même tems de m'expliquer une autre circonstance, que je comprenais moins encore que tout le reste. Pourquoi, si la force, et les menaces les avaient seules déterminés à signer des conditions aussi odieuses que celle de l'occupation définitive de l'Electorat d'Hanovre, et de la cloture des ports contre le commerce anglais, ils n'avaient pas du moins essayé d'entamer quelque négociation secrète avec le Cabinet de Londres, pour lui faire connaitre leurs véritables intentions, et éviter l'inconvénient et le scandale d'une rupture ouverte avec l'Angleterre. J'ai protesté d'avance, contre l'argument banal de l'indiscrétion du Cabinet de Londres ; quelques cas particuliers où des Gouvernemens étrangers ont pu être compromis, ne prouvant rien, et tout le monde étant bien persuadé que ce Cabinet sait garder son secret aussi strictement qu'un autre ; et comme d'ailleurs ils ne cessaient de me dire que dès lors ils regardaient comme inévitable une guerre avec la France, j'ai ajouté qu'un simple soupçon de plus n'aurait pas essentiellement détérioré leur situation.

Il m'a avoué sans hésiter que c'était une faute capitale que de n'avoir rien fait pour s'entendre avec le gouvernement Anglais, et pour prévenir la rupture ; que cette faute tenait en premier lieu à l'indolence, et à la nonchalance du Comte de Haugwitz ; mais que l'irritation qui regnait, à cette époque, entre les deux parties qui divisaient le Cabinet de Berlin, y avait beaucoup contribué aussi ; que *M. de Hardenberg*, au lieu d'applanir les obstacles, moyennant la bonne opinion qu'on avait de lui en Angleterre, les augmentait et les envenimait plutôt, pour mettre le Comte de Haugwitz dans tout son tort, et le perdre dans l'opinion publique par l'effet fâcheux que devait produire une guerre avec l'Angleterre ; que le Comte Schulemberg agissait dans le même sens ; que par dépit, par l'animosité, il précipitait la mesure de la fermeture des ports ; et l'exécutait avec une rigueur au-delà même des prétentions du Gouvernement français ; disant : " Qu'il n'était pas fait " pour les demi-mesures." Que la mésintelligence entre le

*Comte de Haugwitz*, et *M. Jackson* y entraient de même pour beaucoup ; et que tous ces mobiles secondaires avaient complètement opéré pour amener la déclaration de guerre, avant que le Comte de Haugwitz, avec sa lenteur et sa négligence habituelles, eût pu prendre un part à cet égard.

Cette explication m'a paru assez satisfaisante ; je crois qu'il ne lui manquait qu'un seul trait pour être complète : c'est que, parmi les ministres prussiens il y en a eu plusieurs qui, en désapprouvant même les moyens par lesquels on s'était emparé du pays d'Hanovre, attachait un très grand prix à cette acquisition ; et préféreraient la chance d'une guerre avec l'Angleterre, à une négociation qui leur eut enlevé la perspective de conserver ce pays.

Le Marquis m'a beaucoup parlé ce soir sur le caractère de Buonaparte. Il m'en a raconté une quantité d'anecdotes intéressantes. Ce journal n'étant proprement destiné qu'à recueillir ce qui regarde la grande affaire du jour, je me bornerai à en citer quelques-unes.

Un jour, en voyant M. de Bréteuil, Napoléon lui dit. " Je vous ai toujours cru un homme d'esprit M. de Bréteuil, mais " il y a des choses dans votre histoire que je ne puis pas " concilier avec cette idée." Bréteuil, s'imaginant qu'il allait lui parler de ses liaisons avec les Princes de Bourbon, et des différents commissions dont il avait été chargé par eux, eut la platitudo de s'en excuser en disant. " Qu'il avait cru " que ses anciens services le liaient à la cause de ces Princes " Napoléon tout étonné l'interrompit : " Comment donc, M. de " Bréteuil ; je ne vous entends pas ; je n'ai jamais voulu " vous faire un reproche pareil ; en cela vous avez fait votre " devoir. Je voulais vous parler du scandale de cette affaire " du collier, dans laquelle, à ce qu'on assure, vous avez agi " par pure animosité personnelle contre le Cardinal de Rohan." L'autre se justifia de son mieux ; mais Napoléon finit par lui dire ; " J'ai toujours regardé comme les trois causes " principales de la ruine de la monarchie, la bataille de Rosbach, " l'affaire du collier, et la conduite de la Cour dans les troubles " de la Hollande."

Il y a des personnes qui prétendent avoir vu Buonaparte au Château de Thuilleries le 10 Août, 1792, avec l'intention de combattre pour le Roi. Elles ajoutent que lorsqu'il a vu que les partisans du Roi ne savaient pas défendre leur cause, il reprit son allure révolutionnaire, et se proposa dès ce jour funeste de jouer un rôle à lui seul.

Lorsque son frère Joseph lui demanda Roederer pour Ministre des Finances à Naples, il lui dit, " A la bonne heure, mais " je vous prie de ne pas oublier, que ce fut cet homme qui, le " 10 Août, donna à Louis XVI le conseil de se rendre à la " Convention."

Son dégoût, et son mépris, pour ce qu'on appelle *Philosophes* percent à chaque occasion. Quand il apprit que les choses allaient mal à Naples, qu'on y mourrait de faim, que la nouvelle

Cour était sans le sou, il dit froidement : “ C’est leur affaire, voilà ce qui arrive aux pays qui sont gouvernés par de “ Philosophes.”

Rien n’est plus plaisant que la manière dont il traite son ancien collègue le fameux Siéyès : “ Eh bien M. Siéyès, comment “ va la métaphysique ? Que disent les Philosophes de tout “ ceci M. Siéyès ? ” Voilà le ton qu’il prend avec lui. Siéyès, de son côté, s’est renfermé dans un silence impénétrable. Lorsqu’au sénat on délibérait sur un objet critique, il faisait semblant de dormir ; quand il s’agissait de donner sa voix, on le reveillait. Alors il avait l’air de se recueillir. “ Quoi, “ Consulat à vie ? Oh rien n’est plus juste.” Une autre fois : “ Dignité Impériale à conférer, héréditaire n’est-ce “ pas ? Il n’y a pas à balancer. . . .”

M. de Lucchesini me disait encore que si, par quelque événement que ce fût, Joseph montait au trône, et eut la force de s’y soutenir, la paix du monde serait bientôt rétablie ; qu’il parlait de science certaine en disant que Joseph ne ferait pas la moindre difficulté de rendre toute l’Italie, de rétablir la maison de Savoie, et de laisser l’Allemagne en repos.

Avant de m’en aller je lui racontai combien j’avais été frappé de ce que le Comte de Haugwitz m’avait dit de l’attitude menaçante que la Russie devait prendre contre ses voisins ; et je lui fis mes représentations sur cet objet, dans le même sens dans lequel j’avais parlé au *Comte de Haugwitz*. Il me dit qu’il était persuadé que le *Comte de Haugwitz* avait beaucoup exagéré la chose ; que, quant à lui, il n’en croyait rien, et qu’il en parlerait au Roi à la première occasion qui se présenterait.

*Mardi 8 Octobre.* *Sa Majesté la Reine* avait désiré que je lui fusse présenté. Je devais avoir cet honneur ce matin ; mais j’ai reçu en sortant un billet de M. le Chambellan Busch, qui m’a annoncé, que comme Madame la Grande Duchesse de Weimar, qui avait du partir aujourd’hui, prolongeait son séjour jusqu’au soir, l’audience serait remise à demain.

On avait reçu dans la nuit, par le Capitaine Muffling, un des aides-de-camp du Duc de Weimar, que celui-ci avait envoyé pour faire une reconnaissance, la première nouvelle authentique par rapport au mouvement des Français. On a su qu’ils avaient entièrement quitté les environs de Wurtzbourg, et Schweinfurt, et que toutes leurs forces étaient du côté de Bamberg. Sur cela, l’ordre a été donné à tout ce qui se trouvait de troupes du côté de Gotha et Eisenach, de retourner en toute hâte à Erfurth, pour se porter sur la Sâle, et les corps de Rûchel et de Blücher ont reçu celui de suivre ce mouvement.

Je me suis entretenu avec tout ce que j’ai rencontré de militaires pour obtenir des éclaircissemens sur cette mesure subite. J’étais considérablement surpris de ce qu’il eût fallu la découverte du Capitaine Muffling pour apprendre aux Généraux prussiens une chose qui, selon mes faibles lumières, aurait dû être prévue depuis long tems.

Les Français avait le choix entre trois plans pour entamer et attaquer l'armée prussienne. Le premier était celui de forcer les défilés de la forêt de Thuringe, et d'enfoncer le centre de leur position. Mais comme on ne leur connaissait guères le principe de saisir leur ennemi par le coté où il désirait qu'ils le saisissent, on n'était point autorisé à leur prêter un plan de cette espèce. Ce fut là cependant, à en juger d'après plusieurs données, la supposition de plus d'un homme marquant, et peut-être du Duc de Brunswick lui-même. Je me rappelle très distinctement que dans ma fameuse conversation avec M. de Kalkreuth, ce général, un des plus sages, des plus instruits, des plus expérimentés, avait tracé sur la carte une ligne entre Königshofen et Neustadt, (en avant de Schweinfurt sur la Sâle de Franconie), disant que selon tout ce qu'on savait, et c'était le 4 Octobre, les Français avaient pris cette position. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter à quel point l'hypothèse était chimérique. Le second plan possible des Français était celui de tourner l'armée prussienne sur la droite, pour gagner par Fulda, Eichsfeld, le chemin de Magdebourg. Si un pareil projet avait été conçu, il se serait infailliblement annoncé par quelque grand rassemblement de forces du coté de Francfort, et par quelque tentative sensible, de pénétrer dans la Hesse et dans le pays de Fulda. Mais aucun syntôme quelconque, aucune réunion, pas le moindre mouvement de ce coté n'avait pu en faire naître le soupçon. Il ne restait donc que la troisième hypothèse, qu'ils tourneraient les Prussiens par *leur gauche*, et tacheraient de se précipiter sur la Saxe. Tout se réunissait pour la probabilité, ou plutôt pour la certitude de ce projet ; et malgré la déplorable ignorance qui regnait au quartier-général sur les vrais mouvemens de l'ennemi, les données généralement connues suffisaient pour les calculer et pour les prévoir. Quel sujet donc de tristes réflexions que cet ordre tardif du 8 Octobre, pour opérer un revirement général, qui aurait du avoir lieu huit jours plus-tôt, et dont on aurait été entièrement dispensé, si, d'abord, en se décidant à la guerre, on en avait su déterminer le caractère, la marche, et le but.

Le fait est que toute cette dislocation, moyennant laquelle le tiers de l'armée prussienne se trouvait entre Gotha et la Werra, tenait à des idées vagues et mal dirigées de quelque grand mouvement en avant, par lequel on se serait porté sur le Meyn. Si on avait eu la génie et le courage de débiter par ce même mouvement, bientôt tout aurait changé de face. On aurait alors forcé les Français à établir le théâtre de la guerre sur les points que les Prussiens auraient choisis, et de renoncer à l'envahissement de la Saxe, ou d'affaiblir leurs opérations en les multipliant. Tel avait été le plan proposé par les hommes les plus éclairés et les plus capables. Mais au lieu de l'embrasser à tems, on n'avait fait que flotter sans cesse entre un système maladroitement défensif, et le projet d'une campagne offensive ; et rien n'était arrêté à cet égard,

lorsque déjà un ennemi entreprenant, familiarisé depuis long tems avec la victoire, en concentrant toutes ses forces sur un point, eut simplifié et tranché la question.

Je m'aperçus bientôt que parmi les officiers à qui je parlais, il n'y en eut pas un seul qui, quelle que fût son opinion particulière, n'envisageât le fond de la chose comme je viens de le présenter ici. Ce que j'entendis de plus satisfaisant, fut toujours l'observation stérile, que rien n'était encore perdu, que quelque pût être le dessein de l'ennemi, on aurait tout ce qu'il faudrait de tems et de moyens, pour le faire échouer.

Mais au milieu des discussions à ce sujet, il se manifesta une nouvelle erreur, plus pernicieuse que toutes les précédentes ; puisqu'elle était plus généralement répandue ; et puisqu'elle ouvrait directement l'abîme qui, quelques jours plus tard, a tout englouti. En demandant au Général Phull, c'est à dire à un des premiers militaires de l'armée, ce qu'il pensait de l'état des choses, et du plan que l'armée commençait à développer, il me répondit littéralement ce qui suit : “ Sauf ma protestation générale et invariable contre l'idée d'une campagne défensive, je crois que le projet des Français de s'avancer par la route de Barchin, est le plus avantageux pour nous qu'ils aient pu adopter ; c'est celui que je leur aurais indiqué moi-même, s'ils m'avaient demandé mon avis.”

Pour comprendre comment un homme intelligent a pu tenir un langage pareil, il faut savoir, que tout le monde sans exception était dans la ferme persuasion que les Français prenaient la route de Hoff pour se porter en droiture sur Dresde, par Plauen et Zwickau, et que ni Phull, ni qui que ce soit leur avait jamais supposé le plan de déboucher entre la Sâle et l'Elster, de se diriger sur Nauembourg, et de tourner de si près l'aile gauche de l'armée prussienne. On s'imaginait, tout au plus, que quelque colonne détachée entamerait la route de la Gera, pour menacer les magasins prussiens et se porter dans la plaine de Leipsig : et on crut qu'après avoir aisément déjoué cette entreprise, on envelopperait le corps principal de l'ennemi dans sa marche téméraire sur Dresde, et qu'on finirait ainsi le premier acte de la guerre.

Il est sûr, au reste, que si le Prince de Hohenloe, mieux placé que tout autre pour reconnaître à tems que l'ennemi méditait réellement le plan que personne n'avait voulu lui attribuer, au lieu de retirer ses forces, et de concentrer sa position, s'était vigoureusement porté en avant, pour occuper les principaux passages, et que l'armée du centre eût promptement secondé ce mouvement, il y aurait eu moyen de défendre l'entrée du vallon de la Sâle, et de déconcerter les projets de l'ennemi ; et sous ce rapport-là, malgré toutes les fautes antérieures, il était peut-être permis de soutenir, le 8 Octobre, que rien n'était encore perdu.

Le Comte Goetzen et venu chez moi à midi. Il m'a assuré qu'il n'avait jamais vu le Roi aussi content qu'il l'avait été ce matin ; qu'il lui avait dit : “ Dieu soit loué ! Voilà du

“ moins cette maudite incertitude finie. Nous savons à quoi nous en tenir, nous nous battons ! ” Il a ajouté que, quant à lui, il n'avait jamais désespéré du Roi ; que le connaissant mieux que personne (il a été élevé avec lui) il savait qu'une excessive timidité, et une défiance injuste de ses propres moyens, étaient, au fond, les seuls défauts de ce Prince ; que pour peu il remportât un succès, il deviendrait un autre homme. Il a vivement déploré la résolution de confier le commandement au Duc de Brunswick. C'était la première fois que le Comte Goetzen me parla sur ce ton. Jusqu'ici, il avait été le seul qui, au lieu de partager mes craintes, les eût plutôt combattues ; trop fortement attaché au Roi, trop profondément intéressé au succès, il n'avait jamais pu se résoudre à convenir de la défectuosité radicale de l'entreprise. Je vis donc que c'était la force de la vérité qui, à la fin, lui en arracha l'aveu. Ainsi, lui dis-je, l'opinion générale du Duc de Brunswick est finalement la votre aussi ? Il me répondit : “ Mon opinion a toujours été que cet homme est né pour le malheur de la monarchie prussienne ; ne m'en demandez davantage. ” Cette réponse n'était pas faite pour m'encourager.

Ce qui ne fut guères plus, était une visite que je reçus peu après de MM. de Montjoye et de Sartoris, l'un Chambellan du Duc de Brunswick, l'autre son Ministre résident près la Cour de Berlin ; tous deux fort attachés à sa personne, mais chantant, ce jour-là, ses éloges sur un ton qui me paraissait préluder à des défaites bien plus qu'à des victoires. Après une conversation générale ils m'ont demandé si, une fois au quartier-général, je ne voulais pas me présenter chez le Duc ; ajoutant qu'il avait parlé de moi à plusieurs reprises, et qu'il me recevrait certainement avec plaisir. Loin de décliner cette proposition, j'avais un grand intérêt à l'accepter : ils se chargerent de m'annoncer pour ce soir.

J'ai diné chez le Comte de Haugwitz avec M. de Lucchesini, les Ministres de Saxe, et de Hesse, M. de Cesar, ci-devant envoyé de Prusse à la Haye, M. de Schladen, M. de Böhm de la légation prussienne à Paris, et des autres. Après dîner le Comte de Haugwitz m'a prié, au nom du Roi, de rédiger une proclamation à l'armée, sur l'objet et le caractère de la guerre ; une autre adresse au public de la monarchie prussienne dans le même sens ; et, ce que me parut assez bizarre, une prière pour être récitée dans les églises. (N.B. Ces deux pièces n'ont jamais vu le jour.) Il me demanda, ensuite, si je ne voulais pas écrire à Vienne ? Je lui répondis que j'étais trop occupé de ce qui se passait autour de moi, et trop peu recueilli pour écrire des lettres : la chose en resta là pour cette fois-ci.

Lorsque je fus rentré chez moi, M. de Lombard est venu me faire une visite. Il était un peu mieux, et assez bien pour se faire porter. Il m'a parlé de nouveau avec beaucoup de franchise. Il m'a dit que le Roi venait de lui dire qu'il remettait encore pour quelque tems l'envoi d'un officier à



Vienne ; qu'il ne fallait pas trop presser cette Cour ; qu'il était parfaitement content de ce qu'il savait de ses dispositions. " Je ne sais pas, a-t-il continué, si nous devons également bien augurer de celle de Londres ; je ne suis pas sans inquiétudes à cet égard." J'ai observé que je ne concevais pas ce qui pouvait lui avoir inspiré ces inquiétudes ; et comment l'extrême facilité avec laquelle le Gouvernement Anglais avait consenti à envoyer un négociateur ne les avait pas complètement calmées. Il m'a répondu qu'elles étaient fondées sur l'accueil très froid que leurs premières ouvertures avaient trouvé à Londres ; et sur ce qu'il croyait présenter que l'Angleterre leur ferait de bien dures conditions. " Ce serait malheureux " a-t-il poursuivi, " mais nous saurions prendre notre parti. Avec l'esprit dont aujourd'hui le pays est animé partout, nous ne manquerions pas de ressources pécuniaires ; et quoique peu versé moi-même dans ces objets, je sais par ce que d'autres m'ont dit, que nous pourrions faire une ou deux campagnes, sans recevoir des subsides de l'étranger." J'allais produire mes objections lorsqu'il m'a interrompu pour ajouter avec beaucoup de vivacité : " Quoiqu'il en soit, les ministres anglais se rendraient bien responsables, s'ils pouvaient sacrifier à un point d'honneur outré, ou à un ressentiment particulier, la plus belle occasion qu'ils aient encore eue pour co-opérer à l'affranchissement de l'Europe. Ils feraient un mauvais calcul dans tous les cas ; vainqueur ou vaincu, le Roi de Prusse trouverait toujours le moyen de leur faire regretter une jour une indifférence cruelle, ou une opiniâtreté déplacée."

Ce langage que je ne pouvais attribuer qu'à des préventions invétérées contre l'Angleterre, ou au trouble d'une mauvaise conscience se roidissant de loin contre des obstacles dont elle ne se sentait que trop responsable, me parut tout-à-fait extraordinaire. Il me parut, de plus, particulièrement dangereux dans la bouche de celui qui influait de la manière la plus directe sur les opinions personnelles du Roi ; et dans un moment où la Prusse ne pouvait expier ses torts que par la condescendance la plus illimitée. Je crus donc devoir le relever sans beaucoup de ménagement. Je lui dis que je trouvais ces plaintes non seulement prématurées, mais encore arbitraires et injustes ; que selon moi le Gouvernement anglais avait fait preuve d'une magnanimité peu commune, en se prêtant sur le champ à une négociation avec une Puissance qui l'avait si cruellement offensé ; que le soupçon d'un ressentiment particulier ne pouvait pas même atteindre les hommes publics de l'Angleterre ; que celui d'une indifférence cruelle sur le sort du Continent serait exclu par leur intérêt évident, s'il ne l'était pas par la libéralité de leurs principes ; et que, quant à ce qu'il craignait de leur opiniâtreté, je ne voyais pas même sur quoi pouvait porter cette plainte, puisque, si j'étais bien instruit, on leur avait, du moins éventuellement, offert la restitution du seul objet sur lequel ils pourraient s'opiniâtrer. J'ai ajouté qu'il ne pouvait pas

ignorer qu'il y avait à peine quinze jours que l'Europe était encore remplie d'incrédules sur la sincérité du changement inattendu, survenu dans le système de la Prusse ; que j'aurais été moi-même de ce nombre, si des circonstances particulières ne m'avaient pas mis dans le cas d'en reconnaître à tems la réalité ; que loin d'être surpris de l'accueil froid qu'il disait avoir été fait à Londres, à leurs premières propositions, je ne revenais pas de mon étonnement de ce que l'Angleterre y était entré *si tôt* : que si le Comte de Haugwitz, au lieu de m'annoncer l'arrivée prochaine d'un négociateur anglais, m'eut annoncé la conclusion de la paix entre l'Angleterre et la France, je n'en aurais été que médiocrement frappé ; et que si un contretems pareil avait coïncidé avec le moment où une nouvelle guerre continentale allait éclater, je soutiendrais encore qu'il serait souverainement injuste d'en accuser le Gouvernement anglais.

Ces observations ont paru le faire rentrer en lui-même, il a changé de ton. Il s'est rappelé, en plaisantant, d'anciennes discussions que nous avons eues à Berlin sur la politique anglaise, et m'a dit, qu'au moins je ne lui ferais pas le tort de croire qu'il donnait encore dans les trivialités des \* \* \* (nommant des personnages ridicules que nous avons connues autrefois) " sur l'or et les intrigues de Pitt, les horreurs " de la tyrannie maritime." Puis il a passé brusquement à la Russie, en me disant ; " Vous m'avouerez, au reste, " qu'il est difficile de trouver un allié comme celui que nous " avons dans cet Empereur de Russie." Il s'est expliqué en me racontant, qu'en réponse au premier avis que le Roi lui avait donné de ses intentions, l'Empereur lui avait écrit une lettre qui serait un monument éternel de sa grandeur d'âme ; qu'il avait déclaré dans cette lettre, qu'il ne s'agissait, entre lui et la Prusse, ni de négociations ni de stipulations ; qu'il ne lui demanderait pas même ce qu'il comptait faire en cas de succès ; qu'il s'en remettrait absolument à lui ; que la seule chose qui l'intéressât, était de voir les Français bien et dûment battus ; que pour cet effet, il offrait au Roi la totalité de ses forces, et de l'argent même s'il en avait besoin ; qu'il saurait bien trouver le moyen de réaliser toutes ces promesses.

Je lui repliquai qu'avec l'idée infiniment respectable que j'avais eue depuis long tems du caractère de l'Empereur de Russie, je ne pouvais que féliciter la Prusse de ses dispositions à son égard, désirant seulement, du fond de mon âme, que celle-ci n'eût rien négligé pour que les secours qu'elle attendait de sa part, arrivassent avant qu'il fût trop tard.

A six heures du soir, j'ai fait ma visite chez le Duc de Brunswick. J'ai passé une demi-heure avec lui. Cette entrevue ne fut guères remarquable par les choses qui y furent traitées ; car, en vérité, ce que le Duc me dit, se réduisit à des phrases de valeur intrinsèques ; mais elle fut extrêmement intéressante par l'occasion qu'elle me fournissait d'examiner de près l'homme qui me parlait, et de le confronter, pour ainsi dire, avec l'opinion

peu favorable que tant de juges compétens avait prononcée sur lui. Je proteste, qu'en me dégageant, autant qu'un homme peut le faire, de toute prévention établie contre ce Prince; et décidé à le juger comme si je n'avais jamais entendu parler de lui, je l'ai trouvé tels que les autres l'avaient caractérisé; et absolument au dessous de sa tâche.

Il y avait dans toute sa manière d'être, dans sa contenance, dans ses regards, dans ses gestes, dans son langage, quelque chose de mal assuré, de louche, d'impuissant; une agitation, qui m'annonçait rien moins que la confiance de ses forces, un genre de politesse qui semblait d'avance demander pardon des revers qui devaient lui arriver; une modestie outrée, qui ne pouvait être qu'une affectation toute pure, ou excès de crainte de ne pouvoir pas répondre à l'attente publique. Il s'arrêta d'abord longtems à me dire des choses flatteuses, ce qui dans une aussi grande occasion, où je l'aurais eru trop occupé pour penser à des compliments me parut tout-à-fait déplacé, et m'impatienta furieusement. A la fin il entra en matière; et ce fut pour se lamenter beaucoup sur ce qu'on avait eru toujours pouvoir négocier et transiger avec Buonaparte; lieu commun bien bisarre dans la bouche d'un homme qui, plus qu'aucun autre, avait prôné et nourri cet erreur. Il se mit à parler ensuite de l'Autriche, disant que quoique tout-à-fait étranger aux mesures et combinaisons politiques, il soupçonnait cependant qu'on n'avait pas songé assez tôt à entamer une négociation avec cette puissance, ni employer tous les moyens convenables pour s'assurer de son concours; lequel était pourtant d'une nécessité indispensable. Enfin il parla de la guerre, mais toujours en homme qui n'aurait rien eu de commun avec elle; qui se serait tout au plus réservé le rôle de juger ce que d'autres y feraient. Quoique fort embarrassé dans cette conversation, je cherchai, de tems en tems, des tournures pour lui donner un caractère plus prononcé, mais je ne pus jamais y parvenir. Il me répéta une fois après l'autre, d'un ton qui achevait de me déconcerter, "pourvu qu'on ne fasse pas de grandes fautes;" et lorsqu'enfin je pris la liberté de lui dire: "Mais, Monseigneur, tout le monde doit espérer qu'on n'en fera pas sous votre direction," il me répondit, "Helas! Je puis à peine répondre de moi-même, comment voulez-vous que je réponde des autres?" propos qui contrastait bien singulièrement avec sa situation, et les sentimens qui auraient du le pénétrer à la veille d'aussi grands évènements. Nous fumes interrompus par l'arrivée de plusieurs officiers qu'on annonça, et je me sentis si peu à mon aise, que je saisis avec empressement cette occasion favorable pour partir. En descendant l'escahier de l'auberge, j'ai été arrêté pendant plusieurs minutes par une quantité d'hommes qui en obstruaient toutes les avenues; et je me suis livré aux réflexions les plus sombres, sur tout ce que cette courte entrevue m'avait présenté de cruel dans l'avenir.

Il y eut ce jour-là à *Erfurth* un évènement très insignifiant en lui-même, mais qui semblait plus occuper le quartier général, que ne l'avait pu faire le gain d'une bataille. Le Ministre de France, *La Forêt*, arriva tout-à-coup. On lui avait déclaré à Berlin, que comme le *General Knobelsdorff* avait été retenu à Mayence, on ne lui garantissait pas qu'il passerait les frontières de la Prusse; cependant, le Comte de *Haugwiz* l'a avoué lui-même, aucun ordre n'était donné pour lui refuser le passage; et si, avec les passeports qui lui avaient été délivrés pour quitter Berlin, il eut pris le chemin de Magdebourg et de Cassel, personne ne l'aurait empêché de sortir. Son arrivée à *Erfurth* était, à tout prendre, le comble de d'effronterie. Tout le monde en convenait, et on n'avait qu'à lui signifier poliment l'endroit où on eut jugé convenable qu'il restât. Point du tout: des délibérations solennelles s'ouvrirent. Les Ministres, le Duc de Brunswick, le Roi lui-même, tout s'agita, comme si le problème le plus épineux était venu s'offrir à leurs méditations. Cette affaire eut l'air de faire oublier la guerre. Il fut enfin résolu, à neuf heures du soir, que *M. et Madame la Forêt* passeraient la nuit à *Erfurth*, *sauf à délibérer de nouveau le lendemain* sur les mesures définitives à adopter dans un cas aussi hérissé de difficultés.

Je me rendis chez *M. de Lucchesini* après cet incroyable conseil d'état. Je lui demandai si *La Forêt* était porteur de quelque commission importante, ou s'il avait fait, de son propre chef, quelque nouvelle ouverture de négociation. Il me jura, en riant, que ni l'un ni l'autre était le cas; et je le savais bien, puisque *la Forêt* avait déclaré sincèrement lui-même à des personnes que le rencontrèrent en route, que depuis quinze jours il était sans nouvelles de Paris, et dans les plus terribles inquiétudes. Je témoignai donc tout mon étonnement de ce que, dans un moment aussi grave, on put attacher tant de prix, et sacrifier tant d'heures précieuses à un objet aussi peu de conséquence. *M. de Lucchesini* partageait complètement mon opinion. Il me dit que je reconnaîtrais à cela un des plus malheureux défauts du *Comte de Haugwiz*; qu'il ne savait jamais mettre une juste proportion entre le tems qu'il consacrait à une affaire, et le degré d'importance qu'elle pouvait avoir; et qu'une misère l'absorbait souvent aux dépens des plus grands intérêts.

Passant à d'autres objets, il m'a beaucoup parlé ce soir de l'étrange conduite de *M. Oubril* à Paris; de la sagesse, et de la dextérité de celle de *Lord Lauderdale*; des affaires de *Naples*, sur lesquelles, entr'autres, il est entré dans des détails qui ne peuvent pas trouver leur place ici, mais qui m'ont appris, en substance, que la Cour de *Naples* n'a pas à se reprocher le fameux traité de neutralité signé l'année dernière, dans un moment si malheureusement choisi; que le *Marquis de Gallo* l'avait négocié et conelu sans ordre ni instruction quelconque; que la peur et les menaces ont extorqué la ratification; qu'ainsi l'indigne trahison de ce ministre, couronné à la fin par un

engagement formel avec le nouveau gouvernement, a été la cause prochaine de la catastrophe finale de l'ancien.

Avant de partir je me suis déterminé, non pas sans quelque répugnance, à lui parler de l'impression que m'avait laissée ma visite chez le Duc de Brunswick. Je savais que quelque disposé qu'il pût être à sympathiser avec moi, à cet égard, (et je m'aperçus bien qu'il ne l'était que trop), il ne m'en parlerait jamais à cour ouvert; car, outre que le Duc occupait une place de trop de conséquence pour qu'il pu déceimment convenir de son incapacité totale à la remplir, c'était le Duc encore qui avait suggéré au Roi de garder *M. de Lucchesini* auprès de sa personne; en quoi, vu l'ensemble des circonstances où il se trouvait, il avait rendu un service réel. Le Marquis, comme je l'avais prévu, tâcha donc de me rassurer de son mieux; mais il perdit absolument ses peines. Je le connaissais déjà trop pour me méprendre sur son opinion secrète, et pour ne pas entrevoir à travers ses panegyriques officieux la confirmation déplorable de mes craintes.

*Jeudi, 9, Octobre;* à neuf heures, j'ai été introduit chez Sa Majesté la Reine. Dans la disposition où je me trouvais déjà, après tout ce que j'avais vu et entendu, avec des espérances bien plus faibles encore que celles que j'avais apportées au quartier-général, avec des inquiétudes sérieuses et toujours croissantes, je redoutais, je puis le dire, cette audience; j'avais tort. Au lieu de m'embarrasser, elle m'a plutôt soulagé et relevé; et si la confiance n'avait pas été que trop loin de moi, elle l'aurait fait rentrer dans mon cœur.

Depuis un an, j'avais entendu une infinité de bien de cette princesse. J'étais préparé à la trouver absolument différente de l'idée qu'on avait eue d'elle autrefois; mais je ne l'étais pas assez à cette réunion de grandes et de belles qualités qu'elle déploya dans chaque moment d'un entretien d'environ trois quarts d'heure. Elle s'exprima avec une précision, avec une fermeté, avec une énergie, et, en même tems, une mesure et une prudence, qui m'auraient enchanté dans un homme; et cependant elle répandit sur tout ce qu'elle disait, une teinte de sensibilité profonde, que ne me laissa pas oublier un instant que c'était une femme que j'admirais. Pas un mot qui ne fut à sa place; pas un sentiment, pas une réflexion qui ne fut d'une harmonie exquise avec le caractère général de ses discours; le tout un assemblage de dignité, de douceur, et de charmes, tel que je crus ne l'avoir jamais rencontré.

Elle me demanda d'abord ce que je pensais de cette guerre, et quel était mon espoir, en ajoutant aussitôt "Je ne vous fais pas ces questions pour que vous m'inspiriez du courage; je n'en manque pas, Dieu merci; et je sais d'ailleurs que si vous aviez une mauvaise opinion, ce n'est pas à moi que vous le diriez; mais j'aime à savoir sur quoi les hommes en état de juger fondent leurs espérances, pour examiner ensuite si leurs motifs s'accordent avec les miennes." Je lui dit tout ce qui se présentait à mon esprit, pour faire sortir

le beau côté de la chose. J'appuyais principalement sur l'état de l'opinion publique, sur les dispositions favorables des contemporains, sur les vœux qui s'élevaient de toutes les parties de l'Allemagne pour le succès de l'entreprise de la Prusse. La Reine m'a répondu que, pendant long tems, elle avait nourri des doutes, et des doutes bien pénibles, sur la manière précisément dont le public, celui surtout des autres pays, envisagerait cette expédition, puisqu'elle ne savait que trop qu'on n'aimait pas la Prusse, et qu'elle comprenait aussi pourquoi on ne l'aimait pas. Mais que depuis quelques semaines elle avait appris là-dessus des choses qui la rassurait beaucoup ; elle a ajouté : "vous connaissez le passé mieux que moi ; mais le moment n'est-il pas venu pour l'oublier ?" Elle se mit ensuite à parler longuement sur la guerre de 1805 ; et quoiqu'il y eût dans tout ce qu'elle en disait quelque chose qui paraissait trahir au fond d'inquiétudes secrètes, et de lugubres présentiments, cette partie de la conversation n'en fut pas moins, et peut-être, par cette même raison, la plus intéressante de toutes. Je fus étonné de l'exactitude avec laquelle elle parcourut tous les évènements, cita chaque date, retraça les moindres détails ; mais je fus également étonné, et vivement pénétré de l'intérêt, de la sensibilité, de l'émotion avec laquelle elle parla des malheurs de la Maison d'Autriche ; plus d'une fois je vis ses yeux mouillés de larmes. Elle raconta entre autres, avec une simplicité touchante, que le jour où elle avait appris les premiers désastres de l'armée autrichienne, le Prince Royal son fils avait mis, pour la première fois, l'habit militaire ; et qu'en le voyant elle lui avait dit "J'espère qu'au jour où tu pourras faire usage de cet habit, la seule pensée qui t'occupera sera celle de venger tes malheureux frères." Elle s'informa avec beaucoup d'intérêt et de délicatesse de plusieurs circonstances personnelles, sur lesquelles je répondis aussi bien que je le pus ; et s'exprima sur l'Empereur et l'Impératrice absolument comme elle aurait pu désirer que, dans un cas analogue, on l'eût fait sur le Roi et sur elle-même. Une circonstance qui me frappa, et qui ne fut certainement pas l'effet du hasard, c'est qu'au milieu des détails où elle était entrée sur cette campagne, elle ne nomma pas une fois le Général Mack. Je crois qu'elle voulait éviter exprès tout ce qui aurait pu amener un parallèle en bien ou en mal, tout ce qui aurait pu m'engager à parler du Général en Chef de l'armée prussienne. Aussi, tout en faisant mention de plusieurs généraux de cette armée, du Prince de Hohenloe, du Prince Louis, Schmettau, de Rüchel, de Blücher, de Tauentzien, je remarquai que pas une fois elle ne prononça le nom du Duc de Brunswick.

Elle me demanda ensuite si j'avais lu un article du *Publiciste*, où elle se trouvait indignement mal-traitée : je ne l'avais pas encore vu. Elle en cita quelques phrases, puis elle dit : "Dieu sait que je n'ai jamais été consultée sur les affaires publiques, et que je n'ai jamais ambitionné de l'être. Si je

“l’avais été, je l’avoue, j’aurais voté pour la guerre : je crois qu’elle était indispensable. Notre position était devenue si équivoque qu’il fallait en sortir à tout prix. Il fallait mettre un terme aux reproches et aux soupçons qui pesaient sur nous ; c’est bien moins *par calcul*, que *par sentiment d’honneur*, et par devoir, qu’il fallait prendre ce parti.”

Elle parla ensuite de la partialité qu’on lui reprochait pour les Russes. Elle dit que c’était bien la plus injuste et la plus absurde des accusations ; qu’elle avait rendu justice, comme elle ne cesserait jamais de faire, à l’ardeur, au dévouement, aux vertus de l’Empereur Alexandre ; mais que, loin de regarder la Russie comme l’instrument principal de la délivrance de l’Europe, opprimée par un conquérant dont la France était le point de départ, elle n’avait jamais considéré ses efforts, que comme un dernier point d’appui pour les autres ; intimement persuadée que le grand moyen de salut se trouvait dans l’union la plus étroite de tout ce qui porte le nom Allemand.

On s’était beaucoup entretenu ces jours derniers de la répugnance que témoignait la Reine à quitter le quartier-général. Les voix étaient partagées à ce sujet. Le plus grand nombre était prononcé contre toute prolongation de son séjour. Des hommes, mêmes très estimables, le désapprouvaient ; l’autres le blamaient sans aucun ménagement, Lombard, par exemple, m’en avait parlé la veille, dans des termes extrêmement durs. Quelques-uns toutefois en pensaient différemment. Le Général Kalkreuth entr’autres m’avait dit à Auerstedt, “Protectez, chaque fois que vous en trouverez l’occasion, contre le projet de renvoyer la Reine ; je sais ce que je dis, sa présence est absolument nécessaire.” Ce n’était pas à moi à décider entre ces avis opposés. La seule chose que je puis, et que je dois dire, c’est que la conduite de la Reine a été, pendant tout ce séjour, à l’abri de la plus légère critique, marquée invariablement au coin de ce que la décence la plus recherchée, la dignité, la délicatesse, la modestie, la prudence pouvaient prescrire à une princesse de son rang, dans la situation peu commune, où elle se trouvait. Je crois même que, tout bien examiné, et en mettant à part le danger qu’elle pouvait courir, mais qui était nul à ses yeux, j’aurais voté aussi pour qu’elle restât. Rien ne pouvait la remplacer auprès du Roi ; et comme elle ne paraissait presque point en public, et n’avait aucune préention à paraître, l’avantage de sa présence l’emportait sur les inconvénients. Ayant tant entendu discuter cette matière, j’étais curieux de m’en instruire un peu à la source ; j’ai saisi un moment pour dire à la Reine, “Je sais qu’on est fort occupé à Dresde de l’espoir de posséder Votre Majesté pour quelques jours.” Voici ce qu’elle m’a répondu. “Je vous avoue que dans d’autres circonstances un séjour à Dresde m’aurait fait grand plaisir. À présent je n’en jouirais pas, ma tête est trop remplie de choses sérieuses. Je ne sais pas au reste ce que je deviendrai. En ceci, comme en tout, je me soumets

“aux ordres du Roi. Je craignais de retourner à Berlin. Je craignais les bruits alarmants auxquels on est toujours en prise à une grande distance du théâtre des évènements. Vous savez combien la malveillance est active.” (Elle avait dit la veille à M. de Goetzen : comment pourriez-vous me réleguer à Berlin ? Vous voulez donc que j’apprenne les nouvelles de la guerre par M. de Bray.) “Je le dis franchement, autant que cela dépendra de moi je resterai ; le Roi m’a heureusement permis de l’accompagner encore demain, je ne partirai que lorsqu’il le voudra.”

Elle ne m’avait absolument rien dit pour mon propre compte, ni du commencement, ni dans tout le cours de l’audience ; ce que j’ai trouvé d’un tact, et d’une dignité parfaite. Ce n’est qu’en me congédiant, qu’elle m’a honoré d’une seule petite phrase, mais d’un genre si exquis que je ne l’oublierai jamais : Madame la Duchesse de Hildburghausen, sœur de la Reine, a assisté à toute l’audience.

En sortant du palais j’ai rencontré une quantité de troupes ; c’était une partie des régimens revenant de Gotha et Eisenach. Le Roi était à cheval ; Goetzen, derrière lui, s’est approché de moi, et m’a dit : “excellente nouvelle ! Les Français ont attaqué Tauentzien, et il les a bravement repoussés.” Un autre officier que j’ai rencontré, m’a dit qu’un courier était arrivé de Vienne, avec la nouvelle que l’Empereur avait déclaré sa neutralité : je me suis rendu chez le *Comte de Haugwiz* pour vérifier tous ces récits. Je l’ai trouvé avec le *Marquis de Lucchesini*. On m’a montré d’abord le rapport du *Général Tauentzien*. Il y était dit que les Français s’étaient avancés sur lui le 7, et le 8, et avaient fort mine de l’attaquer ; mais que le trouvant prêt à les recevoir, ils avaient abandonné leur projet, après avoir perdu quelques hommes : qu’après cela, il avait fait sa retraite de Hofa à Schleitz dans le meilleur ordre possible, telle qu’elle lui avait été prescrite. La seule chose qu’il ajoutait à ce rapport était l’observation, un peu prématurée sans doute, “Que l’ennemi avait montré, dans cette tentative, *une certaine timidité* qu’on ne lui connaissait pas habituellement.” Quoique très content du *Général Tauentzien*, très content surtout de ce que je croyais sa jonction avec le corps du Prince de Hohenloe, opérée sans perte et accident, (car alors nous ne pouvions pas savoir ce qui se passait en ce moment même à Schleitz) je ne pouvais cependant point accorder à cet évènement le titre d’une affaire, bien moins encore celui d’un succès ; attendu qu’il n’y avait eu aucun engagement quelconque. Je fus donc extrêmement étonné lorsque j’appris que le Comte de Haugwiz avait l’intention d’en faire le sujet d’un bulletin imprimé, qui serait envoyé par de couriers à Berlin, Dresde, Vienne, je erois même à St. Petersbourg et à Londres. Je l’entendis dire sur cela les choses les plus extraordinaires, pour ne pas dire les plus extravagantes. Je ne dissimulai point mon opinion ; d’autant



moins que je m'aperçus bientôt que le Marquis le partageait absolument. Nous réunimes nos efforts pour combattre l'idée de ce bulletin, qui ne pouvant offrir aucun détail, par la bonne raison qu'il n'y en avait aucun dans le rapport, aurait commencé l'histoire de cette guerre par celle de la retraite possible d'un corps avancé. Le *Comte de Haugwiz* insista toujours. Dans les intervalles de cette discussion, reparut d'un moment à l'autre l'étrange et ridicule affaire de M. la Forêt. Il n'était pas parti. On avait encore tenu un conseil ; rien n'était décidé. Cet objet, je le vis bien, l'emportait pour le coup sur tous les autres. En revenant à celui du bulletin, il fut enfin résolu, après de longs débats, qu'il n'y en aurait point d'imprimé ; mais qu'un courrier serait expédié à Dresde, avec la nouvelle de l'évènement. Le Comte de Haugwiz alla s'enfermer pour trois heures, cherchant une rédaction qui ne donnât ni trop ni trop peu d'espérance à l'Electeur de Saxe.

J'avoue que je n'avais jamais été plus frappé de la modicité de moyens du *Comte de Haugwiz*, et du peu de proportion entre sa tâche et sa tête. Le *Marquis de Lucchesini* me jettait de tems en tems des regards qui me prouvaient qu'il lisait dans mon âme. Enfin les incidens de cette matinée, joints à une quantité d'autres données que j'avais recueillies les jours précédens, me confirmaient définitivement dans l'opinion que ce Ministre, que presque tous ses contemporains regardaient comme un artiste consommé en fait de ruses, et de profondeur politique, n'était au fond qu'un homme faible et borné, dont les fautes nombreuses et cruelles résultaient bien moins d'une volonté déterminée au mal, que d'une incapacité perpétuelle de mieux faire.

Il fut aussi question du dernier courrier de Vienne. On m'assura qu'aucune déclaration n'avait été faite sur la neutralité ; qu'au contraire, il avait été dit au *Comte Finkenstein* que l'Empereur ne s'engagerait à rien ; qu'il n'y aurait qu'une neutralité de fait, et que cette mesure n'empêcherait pas même qu'on n'envoyât un officier au quartier-général prussien. Tout cela devait avoir été dit avant le retour de l'Empereur à Vienne. On ajouta que le Roi en avait été extrêmement satisfait. On ne me montra cependant pas la dépêche, comme on l'avait fait quelques jours auparavant, à l'arrivée du dernier courrier ; et cette circonstance me fit soupçonner qu'il y avait des choses dont on n'était pas absolument content, et qu'on aimait mieux me cacher. Ce qui vient à l'appui de ce soupçon c'étaient les nouvelles instances qu'on me fit, dans ce même moment, pour m'engager à écrire à Vienne ; instances dans lesquelles *M. de Lucchesini*, cette fois-ci, se joignit à *M. de Haugwiz*. Mon parti était pris à cet égard ; mais je sentais bien que les objections légères par lesquelles j'avais combattu la première proposition de ce genre, ne me tireraient pas d'affaire contre la seconde. Je me décidai donc à alléguer, avec les modifications

que la politesse pouvait exiger, le véritable motif de mon refus. Je déclarai franchement, que je ne voulais pas écrire, parce qu'une lettre, datée d'Erfurth, n'aurait pas même cet air de liberté et de véacité qu'il lui faudrait pour produire son effet. M. de Lucchesini m'entendit à merveille, et ne me pressa plus après cette déclaration; ce qui probablement détermina le Comte de Haugwitz à abandonner aussi ses instances.

Après avoir diné chez *le Comte de Haugwitz*, je fus non seulement témoin, mais acteur moi-même dans une autre scène bien propre à caractériser les personnes qui dirigeaient la pièce. J'avais rédigé une proclamation aux troupes, d'après le vœu manifesté la veille. Le Roi en avait été content, mais ne l'avait pas trouvée assez populaire. J'ai représenté *au Comte de Haugwitz* que ce que le Roi demandait était une chose inexécutable; qu'une pièce calculée en même tenis sur les premières classes de l'armée, et sur la conception du simple soldat était un problème contradictoire; que pour se mettre à la portée de celui-ci, il vaudrait mieux faire une adresse à part, et laisser l'autre comme elle était. Cet avis ne fit pas fortune: de longues et fatigantes discussions s'établirent sur chaque phrase de la proclamation. *Le Comte de Haugwitz* me dit que le Roi attachait un si grand intérêt à cette pièce, qu'il s'en était occupé toute la matinée. Il me sollicita constamment d'essayer de la rendre un peu plus vulgaire. J'y ai travaillé pendant une heure. J'y ai fait tous les changemens qui m'ont semblé conduire au but, quoique bien persuadé que je n'y parviendrais jamais; puisque la nature de la chose s'y opposait: car il y avait plusieurs grands passages de ma première rédaction, dont le Roi n'avait pas voulu que l'on retranchât un mot. Enfin le Comte de Haugwitz la lui a présentée de nouveau. Il m'a fait appeler à 6 heures du soir, et me l'a rendue toute couverte de notes, de corrections, et d'additions, que le Roi avait écrites lui-même, la plupart au crayon, quelques-unes indéchiffrables. Il m'a comblé d'excuses sur ce qu'on me tracassait tant pour cette pièce, ayant l'air de croire que je pourrais en être fâché malgré toutes les protestations, mêlées de quelques plaisanteries, par lesquelles je me suis défendu contre ce soupçon. Après cela il m'a déclaré que la pièce ne pouvait absolument pas rester dans l'état où le Roi l'avait mise. Il y avait en effet des incorrections de style, et une confusion d'ancien et de nouveau, à laquelle il était difficile de remédier. *Le Comte de Haugwitz* prétendait donc que je procédasse à une nouvelle rédaction, dans laquelle je conserverais des phrases du Roi qui me paraîtrait bon et admissible. Après quelques momens de réflexion j'ai cru devoir me refuser à cette proposition. Je lui ai dit que je n'étais point-du-tout retenu parcequ'il pouvait y avoir de pénible dans ce nouveau travail; mais qu'il me paraissait tout-à-fait contraire au respect que je devais au Roi, de traiter de la manière indiquée, une pièce

à laquelle il avait travaillé de main propre ; qu'une opération pareille lui déplairait peut-être beaucoup ; et que je voyais Son Excellence trop embarrassée elle-même, pour croire qu'elle put répondre de l'issue. Il était en effet d'un embarras difficile à peindre, et qui m'aurait fait rire si le moment avait été moins sérieux. Il me demanda donc avec instances de lui proposer un autre expédient ; car telle qu'elle est, répéta-t-il toujours, elle ne peut pas être imprimée et publiée. Je lui proposai à la fin de dire au Roi, que nous n'avions pas pu déchiffrer ses notes (ce qui était vrai en grande partie) et qu'il daignât faire transcrire la pièce par quelqu'un habitué à lire son écriture. Je nommai le *Comte Goetzen*, sachant que s'il en était une fois chargé, l'affaire se trouverait en bonnes mains, et serait terminée sans de nouveaux incidents, d'autant plus que j'étais sûr que le Roi aimerait mieux s'adresser à lui qu'à tout autre. Cette proposition soulagea singulièrement le Comte de Haugwitz. Le Roi l'adopta. Goetzen fit de son mieux pour amalgamer les notes du Roi avec mon texte, et il en résulta finalement un ouvrage de marqueterie qui fut imprimé le lendemain en grande hâte, et qui, malgré ses bigarrures, et ses imperfections, aurait pu produire quelque effet, si la marche rapide des événemens ne lui avait pas enlevé jusqu'au tems qu'il eut fallu pour le répandre, et pour le lire.

À huit heures du soir j'ai vu le Général Kalkreuth, arrivé à Erfurth dans la journée. Il m'a demandé comment j'avais trouvé l'état de choses. Je lui ai dit qu'il m'offrait une quantité de raisons pour nourrir les plus sérieuses inquiétudes ; et que rien que la confiance, toujours égale, manifesté par un grand nombre d'officiers, en dépit de tous les symptômes alarmans, ne leur tenait encore une espèce de balance. Il ne s'est rétracté sur aucune de ses tristes prédictions. Il a dit, que le terme fatal avançait à grands pas, et que comme rien d'essenciel n'était changé, à moins qu'il ne se fit un miracle en leur faveur, le résultat serait tel qu'il l'avait annoncé.

J'ai passé le reste de la soirée chez le *Marquis de Lucchesini*. Je lui ai parlé ouvertement sur plusieurs circonstances inquiétantes ; sur la fluctuation et le décousure que je remarquais dans les mesures militaires ; sur le caractère de plusieurs personnages dirigeans, tel que, peu-à-peu, il se développait à mes yeux. La Forêt était toujours à Erfurth ; ce n'est que ce soir, qu'après tant de discussions, on s'était déterminé à envoyer le lendemain à Langensalza. Je n'ai pas pu m'empêcher de dire au Marquis que cette affaire m'avait beaucoup affecté ; non pas par elle-même, puisque, après tout, le séjour de M. la Forêt au quartier-général était tout au plus une chose indécente, mais point une chose dangereuse ; mais à cause de l'irrésolution, de la faiblesse, et pour tout dire la petitesse que le Duc de Brunswick, et surtout M. de Haugwitz avaient montrée dans un cas aussi simple. Il en est tombé d'accord à l'instant ; il en a sincèrement gemi

lui-même. C'est à cette occasion qu'il m'a dit, que sans s'aveugler sur son propre mérite, il regardait comme un véritable bonheur que le Roi l'eût retenu auprès de lui ; qu'il s'était fait la loi de ne se mêler absolument que des objets sur lesquels on le consultait ; et que pour ne pas donner de l'ombrage, ou faire de la peine au *Comte de Haugwiz*, il n'avait pas écrit une ligne depuis qu'il était au quartier-général ; mais, qu'en effet, il ne savait pas trop ce que seraient devenues les affaires, s'il n'avait pas sans cesse assisté, poussé, reveillé, et orienté le Comte de Haugwiz ; et que personne n'était moins propre à travailler dans un moment de crise et de difficulté. Après une déclaration pareille, j'ai cru pouvoir me livrer aussi à quelques réflexions de ma part. Je lui ai dit, que tout cela faisait trembler ; que je ne concevais pas ce que deviendrait le Roi entre *un général en chef* tel que le Duc, dans mon opinion, quoique lui, M. de Lucchesini, eût l'air de la combattre, et *un ministre* tel qu'il était lui-même obligé de peindre M. de Haugwiz ; que si je ne le voyais pas, lui (et je parlais ici avec pleine conviction) soutenir le mouvement, et monter les ressorts, je craindrais, tout de bon, que la machine ne s'arrêtât entièrement. Je lui ai demandé encore si, avec un caractère tel que nous le connaissions au Comte de Haugwiz, il n'y avait pas tout à redouter pour la stabilité, les bases de l'entreprise ; et si, d'un jour à l'autre, on ne devait pas s'attendre à un nouveau changement de système, surtout en cas de quelque revers. Il me répondit : " Oh pour cela, non. Il ne peut plus retourner sur ses pas ; le mouvement général l'entraîne ; et d'ailleurs je vous réponds que personne n'est aujourd'hui plus acharné contre Napoléon que le Comte de Haugwiz et Lombard. L'un et l'autre, comme je vous l'ai dit, ont cru l'avoir dans leurs poches ; ils ont été trompés et humiliés ; ils ne le pardonneront jamais."

*Vendredi, 10 Octobre.*—Le quartier-général devait se transporter à Blankenhayn ; les régimens de la seconde ligne du centre devaient défiler devant le Roi, avant qu'il s'y rendît. Le Roi est parti à cheval à 9 heures du matin ; immédiatement la Reine la suivit avec deux voitures, auxquelles elle avait réduit toute sa suite. (Il n'y avait plus que Madame de Voss, Mlle. de Tauentzien, M. de Busch, et deux femmes de chambres.) Ils se sont arrêtés plus de deux heures hors de la porte d'Erfurth, pour voir passer les régimens. C'étaient deux bataillons de gardes à pied ; le bataillon de la vieille garde, le régiment du Roi (infanterie) ; celui du Duc de Brunswick, celui des gardes du corps, celui des gens d'armes, celui des dragons de la Reine, et un autre régiment de cavalerie. J'avoue que voyant ces troupes aussi belles, aussi fraîches que si elles sortaient pour la première fois de leurs quartiers, les officiers remplis d'enthousiasme, les hommes d'une tenue superbe, les chevaux de la plus grande beauté, malgré tout que je savais pour trembler, je me suis abandonné un moment au charme trompeur de l'espérance ; mais ce fut aussi la dernière fois que ce sentiment entra dans mon cœur.

La colonne diplomatique ne devait partir d'Erfurth que le lendemain. Le Comte de Haugwitz nous dit que le calme ayant succédé aux tempêtes, nous jouirions ce jour de notre liberté. Il me confia en particulier que rien ne le soulageait tant que de se voir délivré de ces éternels conseils de guerre, qui lui mangaient tout son tems. Il est vrai que c'était une chose bien bizarre que de voir M. de Haugwitz et M. de Lucchesini occupés pendant la plus grande partie de la journée, à assister à des délibérations militaires, où, surtout le premier de ces ministres, qui en savait à peine assez pour s'orienter sur une carte de postes, devait être d'une ressource merveilleuse. Ce qu'on appelait à Erfurth un conseil de guerre était composé du Roi, du Duc de Brunswick, du Maréchal de Möllendorff, du Colonel Kleist, aide-de-camp général du Roi, de MM. de Haugwitz, et de Lucchesini. Jamais d'autres généraux n'y furent admis ; et au lieu de consulter les talens qui n'étaient pas rares dans cette armée, et l'expérience militaire qui, quoique plus clair-semée, n'y manquait cependant pas absolument, on fatigua en pure perte des hommes dont les heures précieuses appartenaient à de tout autres travaux, et on les détournait absolument de ceux-ci, au grand détriment des plus importantes affaires.

Nous avons diné chez le Comte de Haugwitz. Il était de la meilleure humeur du monde ; M. la Forêt venait d'être expédié ; l'affaire de la proclamation était terminée ; la manifeste s'imprimait à Weimar, sous la direction de M. de Schladen ; d'un moment à l'autre, on attendait l'arrivée de Lord Morpeth que l'on croyait parti de Hambourg le 2, ou le 3 ; et d'un général Russe qu'une lettre de Berlin avait dit en route. Quant aux affaires militaires, la retraite du Général Tauenzien sur Schleitz paraissait au Comte de Haugwitz le présage du plus grand succès. Tout enfin semblait lui sourire ; et qui aurait assisté à ce dîner ne se serait jamais imaginé que ce jour, que cette heure-là même, commençait la défaite de l'armée, et la chute de la monarchie prussienne.

Après dîner j'ai été dire adieu à Lombard, qui devait partir pour Berlin le lendemain. La manière dont le Roi s'était séparé de lui annonçait toute une chose, plutôt qu'une disgrâce ; et les bruits qu'on a fait courir là-dessus étaient dénués de toute espèce de fondement. Je l'ai trouvé extrêmement ému. Il m'a remercié de la manière la plus affectueuse, du bien qu'il prétendait être résulté de mon séjour. Il m'a dit que le Roi y était également sensible, et que dans des tems plus tranquilles, il s'en souviendrait avec reconnaissance. Il a même ajouté que si, sous quelque rapport que ce fût, le Roi pouvait m'être utile, il répondrait d'avance de tout ce que je pouvais lui demander. Je lui ai dit, que la bonne opinion de Sa Majesté était le seul objet de mes vœux ; que je ne demandais au Roi que des succès et la délivrance de l'Allemagne.

Mon but étant de chercher des éclaircissemens partout où il y avait une chance d'en trouver, je n'ai pas repoussé

l'occasion d'entamer ce soir une conversation avec M. de Böhm, attaché depuis dix ans à la légation prussienne à Paris ; homme de peu de moyens, exclusivement occupé de ses affaires particulières ; mais que sa position n'en avait pas moins mis dans le cas d'observer ce qui se passait autour de lui. Dans une époque comme celle où je me suis trouvé à Erfurth, tous les coeurs s'ouvrent, tous les secrets percent ; chacun a besoin de prouver aux autres que lui aussi a prévu et calculé les évènements.

Je pouvais tirer de celui-ci quelques renseignemens sur les dernières démarches de M. de Lucchesini à Paris. Malgré la sincérité avec laquelle il m'avait parlé lui-même sur la plupart des choses passées, la bienveillance personnelle avec laquelle il m'avait traité à Erfurth, l'agrément de sa conversation, l'amabilité toujours égale de son commerce, et tant de qualités attrayantes par lesquelles il savait captiver tout le monde, je n'avais jamais pu oublier le rôle qu'il joua dans les longs égaremens de la Prusse ; et j'étais fort intéressé à savoir comment il avait pu se résoudre à changer de conduite aussi subitement, et à travailler lui-même, pour amener la rupture avec la France. J'ai donc demandé à Böhm, si avec l'attachement connu que le Marquis avait toujours eu pour Paris, la nécessité de faire des rapports qui préparaient la perte de sa place n'avait pas paru l'affliger beaucoup. Il m'a dit, que si le Marquis n'avait pas été entièrement convaincu de ce que, de manière ou d'autre, l'amitié entre la Prusse et la France touchait à sa dernière heure ; et qu'en dissimulant la vérité, il se rendait responsable en pure perte, il ne se serait pas déterminé à parler comme il avait fait dans ses rapports. Cette réponse était suffisamment claire ; mais l'entretien, une fois en train, il y donna encore beaucoup de développement. Il me dit, qu'il n'avait jamais eu à se plaindre de M. de Lucchesini, et qu'il ne lui voulait aucun mal ; mais qu'il avait toujours complètement désapprouvé sa conduite politique, puisque les autres avaient au moins eu pour excuse ou de n'être pas assez instruits pour juger le mal dans toute son étendue, ou d'avoir été entraîné par les caresses et protestations d'amitié du Gouvernement français ; tandis que le Marquis avait trop connu le fond de la chose pour s'y méprendre, et avait été trop maltraité par Buonaparte pour ne pas le détester cordialement : qu'ainsi le seul motif qui ait pu l'engager à ne pas dire les choses comme il les voyait, se trouvait dans son malheureux attachement à la place qu'il occupait à Paris : que cet attachement s'expliquait en partie par l'empire illimité que Madame de Lucchesini exerçait sur lui : que celle-ci, qui n'aurait pas troqué Paris contre le Paradis, s'évanouissant à l'idée seule de la quitter, tourmentait sans cesse son mari pour qu'il employât tous les moyens qui pouvaient prolonger son séjour. De là, selon M. de Böhm, son long silence, ses tergiversations continuelles, et ses efforts toujours renouvelés pour prévenir une rupture avec la France,

malgré tout ce qui en annonçait la nécessité. Cette explication ne suffisait, certainement pas, pour rendre comte de tout ce qu'elle prétendait embrasser ; mais je n'en crois pas moins qu'elle contenait un grand fond de vérité.

Ce soir enfin j'ai eu la dernière conversation suivie avec *M. de Lucchesini* lui-même. Elle est devenue particulièrement intéressante ; aussi s'est-elle prolongée jusqu'à deux heures du matin.

En observant que depuis plusieurs semaines on était sans nouvelles de St. Pétersbourg, il a vivement déploré la lenteur et l'indécision par laquelle on s'était privé d'une assistance plus prompte de la Russie. Il m'a dit, et *M. de Haugwitz* m'avait déjà confié la même chose, en rejetant tout le tort sur le Roi, qu'au lieu d'expédier *M. de Krusemarck*, comme on aurait pu et du le faire, avant la fin du mois d'Avout, on s'était malheureusement avisé de vouloir attendre le première rapport de *Knobelsdorff* ; et que ce rapport n'étant arrivé que le 17 Septembre, ce ne fut que le 18 que *M. de Krusemarck* partit de Berlin. Il ne pouvait donc être arrivé à St. Petersbourg que le 30 : par conséquent, l'ordre de se mettre en marche n'ayant pas pu parvenir aux troupes Russes avant le 6 ou 7 Octobre, il était impossible qu'elles se trouvassent sur le théâtre de la guerre avant la mi-Novembre. Il a articulé tout ce calcul d'un ton d'inquiétude qui ne lui arrivait pas souvent de prendre. Il m'avait dit plus d'une fois : " Nous pouvons seuls commencer la guerre, mais nous ne pouvons pas la continuer, et bien moins encore la finir seuls." Cette fois-ci, il avait l'air de craindre que même la première partie de la tâche ne serait pas sans difficulté.

C'était là le moment que je crus devoir saisir pour discuter avec lui la grande et épineuse question qui depuis longtems me pesait sur le coeur ; et j'ai senti que pour ne pas manquer mon but, il fallait l'aborder sans détour ; je lui ai dit donc brusquement, que tout bien considéré, j'étais encore à comprendre pourquoi ils avaient choisi le moment actuel pour commencer la guerre. Il m'a paru vivement surpris, et il m'a dit : " Comment donc, je ne m'attendais pas à cela. Après tout ce que vous savez maintenant, vous m'adressez encore une question pareille ? " J'ai répondu que j'avais précisément voulu attendre le moment où je serais bien informé de tout, pour lui présenter mes doutes sur un objet sur lequel lui seul était en état de me donner les derniers éclaircissements. Je me suis amplement expliqué. Je lui ai dit en substance, " que mon principe fondamental avait été, de tout tems, que le seul et unique moyen pour rétablir l'équilibre contre la France se trouvait dans une réunion sagement concertée de tout ce qui restait de forces en Europe ; que pour réaliser un état de choses conforme à ce principe, la réunion des deux grandes puissances de l'Allemagne m'avait constamment paru la première et la plus essentielle des conditions : que l'année dernière j'avais pleinement désespérée du

“ succès, aussitôt que je m’étais aperçu qu’on le croyait  
 “ possible sans le concours assuré de la Prusse ; qu’à moins  
 “ d’une inconvénience palpable, je ne pouvais pas en juger  
 “ autrement, lorsque je voyais se préparer la même entreprise  
 “ sans que l’on pût compter sur l’Autriche ; que dans l’un  
 “ comme dans l’autre cas, les secours de la Russie, quelques  
 “ grands et respectables qu’ils pussent être, ne balançaient  
 “ pas dans mon esprit, l’absence de la donnée fondamentale,  
 “ convaincu, comme je l’avais toujours été, que lorsqu’il  
 “ s’agissait d’une guerre contre Buonaparte, la Russie, par la  
 “ nature des choses, ne pouvait être ni l’équivalent de la  
 “ Prusse pour l’Autriche, ni l’équivalent de l’Autriche pour  
 “ la Prusse : que plusieurs conjonctures connues rendaient  
 “ même la position de la Prusse particulièrement problématique  
 “ et difficile ; que lorsqu’elle avait pris sa résolution, elle  
 “ ne savait pas même avec certitude (il en était souvent  
 “ convenu, quoique ajoutant toujours que toutes les proba-  
 “ bilités étaient contre) si l’Empereur de Russie ratifierait  
 “ ou non le traité du 19 Juillet : que brouillé avec l’Angleterre,  
 “ elle savait bien moins encore, savait à peine aujourd’hui,  
 “ si celle-ci lui accorderait des subsides, et à quelles conditions  
 “ elle les accorderait ; que pour commencer sous des auspices  
 “ aussi précaires, dans une époque où les armées françaises  
 “ se trouvaient au coeur de l’Allemagne, dans une saison  
 “ si fort avancée, sans allié proprement dit, sans ressource  
 “ certaine en cas de revers, une guerre où la Prusse jouait  
 “ évidemment de son existence, il aurait fallu, selon moi, des  
 “ motifs, non-seulement de la première force, mais encore  
 “ de la première urgence.” Et vous ne les admettez donc  
 “ pas ? m’interrompit-il ; “ Franchement non ; j’admets que  
 “ vos motifs sont justes et puissants ; je serais bien le dernier  
 “ à le nier ; mais je ne puis pas les trouver urgents, pas tels  
 “ qu’ils devraient être à mes yeux pour justifier dans les  
 “ circonstances données une explosion instante et subite.”  
 Et tout ce qu’on vous a fourni de preuves de la malveillance,  
 et de la perfidie de Napoléon contre nous, et contre tout le  
 monde ?

“ Je n’en avais pas besoin pour savoir qu’il méditait votre  
 “ destruction ; aurais-je pu en douter un instant ? Mais tout  
 “ ce qui m’a été communiqué jusqu’ici, et je présume que  
 “ je n’ai plus rien à apprendre, ne m’explique pas, je persiste  
 “ à le dire, la nécessité d’une guerre immédiate. Il ne vous  
 “ aurait pas attaqué avant l’hiver ; il ne vous auroit pas  
 “ même enlevé sans façon votre pays d’Hanovre ; car la  
 “ paix avec l’Angleterre n’était pas signée, et il aurait  
 “ fallu du tems pour l’exécuter : toutes les autres demandes  
 “ ou chicanes auraient admis des négociations. Quant aux  
 “ menaces, aux insultes, aux affronts, dont vous auriez été  
 “ sans doute assaillis au premier signal de résistance, je ne  
 “ dis pas, Dieu m’en préserve, que vous auriez du y rester  
 “ indifférens ; mais il m’est permis de croire que, les ayant



“dévorer en secret pendant un si grand nombre d’années, vous auriez pu les ignorer pour quelques mois. Si j’avais eu à donner un avis, voici ce que j’aurais proposé : tout dissimuler pour le moment ; affecter la plus grande soumission ; employer l’hiver à familiariser les autres puissances avec la révolution opérée dans votre système politique ; s’arranger par une voie détournée avec l’Angleterre ; s’assurer complètement de la Russie ; profiter de ses bonnes dispositions pour inspirer de la confiance à l’Autriche, et délibérer encore sur l’époque et les moyens, pour réaliser subitement quelque grande et puissante mesure.”

J’avais tant médité sur ce sujet, jour et nuit, que mon raisonnement, je puis le dire, coulait de source. Le Marquis n’y était point préparé. Le silence que j’avais gardé jusqu’ici sur cette question, aussi majeure que critique, lui avait fait croire que je donnais aveuglement dans leur plans ; et mon horreur, très fortement prononcé, pour l’exécration tyrannie qui nous écrase, mon désir ardent et connu de voir arriver le moment de la délivrance, l’avaient confirmé dans cette opinion. Son état pendant que je parlais, l’inquiétude exprimée sur sa figure, une contenance ordinairement à tout épreuve mais cette fois-ci visiblement embarrassée ; tout me prouva, d’une manière indubitable, qu’au fond de son ame il était tout à fait d’accord avec moi. Voici, cependant, la tournure qu’il prit pour me répondre. Il me dit que je ne pouvais pas ignorer que, soit qu’elle l’ait mérité ou non, la Prusse avait perdu depuis quelque tems la confiance de l’Europe entière ; qu’il posait en fait que cette confiance préliminaire, indispensable de tout concert quelconque, ne pouvait être reconquise *qu’à coups* de canon : que si, sans entrer en guerre, elle avait fait des propositions à ses voisins, personne ne l’aurait seulement écoutée ; *que telle était sa position fâcheuse qu’elle se voyait aujourd’hui obligé de commencer par là, où on aurait mieux aimé finir* ; que cette réunion même de forces et de volontés, qu’il regardait avec moi comme le dernier moyen de salut, ne pouvait plus s’établir que sur le base du premier succès ; que si le Roi n’avait pas pris ce parti, le seul que lui serait resté à prendre était *de renvoyer tous ses ministres* : que tout intérêt personnel à part, il pouvait me certifier, me prouver même au cas de besoin, qu’une mesure pareille aurait été traitée par la France comme la déclaration de guerre la plus caractérisée, et aurait également rendu tout concert préparatoire impraticable ; que d’ailleurs, la confédération du Rhin un fois formée, l’Empereur d’Allemagne une fois détroné, et l’ambition de Buonaparte ne s’endormant pas une minute, il était difficile de calculer quel progrès il aurait fait jusqu’au printems.

Je lui ai répliqué que “j’étais loin de contester ce dernier argument ; qu’il avait peut-être également raison quant aux effets qu’aurait produits un changement brusque dans

“ le Ministère ; que des inconvéniens graves, je ne me le  
 “ dissimulais pas, se rencontraient dans toutes les hypothèses  
 “ et pour quelque mesure que l’on se fût décidé : que je  
 “ persistais cependant à regarder comme le plus formidable  
 “ de tous, celui d’une guerre solitaire, entamée la veille de  
 “ l’hiver, et sans ressources prochaines au cas d’un malheur :  
 “ que, du moins, on aurait du tenter toujours la voie des  
 “ négociations, et voir jusqu’où elle aurait conduit : que par  
 “ là on se serait ménagé encore l’avantage précieux de débiter  
 “ par une proposition de paix générale laquelle, faite aux  
 “ noms des quatre grandes puissances, aurait probablement  
 “ engagé Buonaparte à réfléchir sur ce qu’il allait entre-  
 “ prendre ; et, qu’en attendant, l’opinion publique, déjà  
 “ considérablement montée, et plus provoquée, plus irritée,  
 “ plus décidée chaque jour, aurait secondé les efforts de tant  
 “ de Gouvernemens réunis avec une énergie tout-à-fait  
 “ incalculable.”

Sur cela, il m’a dit, à la fin, “ Eh bien, soyez donc persuadé  
 “ que si l’affaire avait été mise en délibération, c’est de cet  
 “ avis-là que je me serais rangé. Ce n’est pas moi qui ai  
 “ voulu qu’on commençât la guerre dans ce moment ; j’ai  
 “ fait mon devoir en écrivant tout ce que je savais ; mais la  
 “ résolution était prise avant que l’arrivée de mes dépêches  
 “ à Berlin me fût connue. Le fait est qu’il n’y avait plus à  
 “ délibérer. Le public avait décidé la question ; les têtes  
 “ ardentes l’avaient emporté. Vous savez ce qui s’était  
 “ passé à Berlin ; la fermentation était au comble ; le cabinet  
 “ ne pouvait plus y résister : au fonds il devait en juger comme  
 “ le public ; mais quelque pût être son désir d’opérer avec  
 “ plus de maturité, il n’était plus le maître du moment. Le Roi,  
 “ le dernier qui se soit rendu, a été obligé de céder lui-même  
 “ pour mettre fin aux importunités, aux tribulations, aux  
 “ instances dont il était sans cesse assailli.”

Cet argument n’admettait plus de réponse ; car je ne pouvais  
 pas lui dire que cette fermentation même, dont il me parlait,  
 n’était qu’un des malheureux effets de la trop longue durée  
 d’un système essentiellement faux, et justement odieux.  
 D’ailleurs j’avais gagné ma thèse ; le Marquis m’avait nettement  
 avoué que si le Cabinet de Berlin eut eu la liberté et la force  
 de se déterminer d’après un calcul raisonnable, il aurait  
 suivi un autre système, et celui même qui me paraissait le  
 plus sage : cet aveu était tout ce qu’il me fallait.

Mais pour épuiser la question sous tous les rapports, je  
 l’ai abordée encore sous celui des avantages particuliers que  
 la Prusse pouvait se promettre de cette guerre. J’ai dit,  
 “ qu’à cet égard-là je la trouvais placée dans une position  
 “ extrêmement bizarre. Ils (les Ministres) ne niaient pas,  
 “ et ne pouvaient pas nier, que la cause directe de leur  
 “ armement était le projet de Napoléon de leur enlever le  
 “ pays d’Hanovre. L’époque où ils s’étaient décidés à cet  
 “ armement, le 7 Aout, prouvait, d’une manière évidente, qu’ils

“avaient voulu ou engager l'Empereur de Russie à refuser sa sanction au traité d'Oubril, ou empêcher que la paix de l'Angleterre ne se joignit à celle de la Russie, ou, enfin, se mettre en état de soutenir la possession de ce pays quand même l'Angleterre et la Russie se seraient accordées avec la France, pour le leur arracher. Et, cependant, pour se reconcilier avec l'Angleterre, ils se trouvaient aujourd'hui obligés de lui offrir la restitution du Hanovre; de l'objet pour la conservation duquel, ils s'étaient proprement déterminés à prendre les armes.” Il a voulu d'abord échapper à une explication positive par un faux fuyant très adroit, en disant que c'était bien moins la crainte de perdre la Hanovre, que la perfidie du Gouvernement français qui, après les avoir forcés à l'occuper, les menaçait de les en dépouiller soit par la force soit par les intrigues, qui les avait conduits à cet armement. Je ne me suis pas contenté de cette subtilité; d'autant moins que l'occasion m'a paru trop favorable pour m'instruire à fond de leurs véritables intentions à cet égard. J'ai dit que “j'admettais sa distinction; que je voyais effectivement dans les procédés de Buonaparte vis-à-vis de la Prusse, un trait d'infamie et de noirceur qui justifierait un demi-siècle de guerre. Mais que je savais aussi, d'un autre côté, qu'on n'était rien moins qu'indifférent à Berlin sur la perspective de perdre le Hanovre; que des personnes de poids, et des personnes même qui avaient hautement désapprouvé la manière dont on avait acquis ce pays, m'avaient dit que, la chose une fois faite, on ne pouvait plus retourner sur ses pas; et que cette possession était d'une nécessité indispensable pour la Prusse.”

(Voilà ce que, par exemple, M. de Stein, opposé autant que possible au principe de la première occupation, m'avait déclaré sans détour au mois de Juillet à Dresde.)

Il s'est expliqué alors avec plus de franchise. Il m'a dit, “que tout dépendait de la tournure qu'on donnerait aux négociations avec l'Angleterre; que si cette puissance insistait sur la restitution, et s'il ne se présentait aucun moyen pour l'y faire renoncer, plutôt que de garder le pays d'Hanovre malgré elle, on le rendrait; *sauf à chercher quelque bon équivalent dans les résultats d'une guerre heureuse*; mais que pour peu qu'il serait possible de convaincre l'Angleterre de l'insuffisance des raisons par lesquelles elle pourrait s'opiniâtrer sur ce pays, ce serait à elle que l'on proposerait des équivalens, *jusqu'à concurrence même de la Hollande*, si elle voulait contribuer à la conquérir. Maintenant, a-t-il ajouté, vous connaissez le dernier de nos secrets.”

J'étais en effet suffisamment instruit pour porter un jugement définitive. J'avais su avant mon voyage que la grande majorité des personnes estimables à Berlin avaient désiré et demandé cette guerre, par des motifs dont elles n'auront jamais à rougir; pour mettre un frein au progrès d'une

puissance monstrueuse ; pour briser les chaînes de l'Allemagne ; pour relever leur propre pays de la dégradation cruelle où il était tombé aux yeux des contemporains éclairés. Je savais, à présent, que les Ministres du Roi avaient embrassé le même parti ; d'abord par la crainte que leur inspiraient les instances toujours renouvelées de leurs adversaires, et la fermentation générale des esprits ; ensuite par leur propre conviction de la perfidie du Gouvernement français, et par le chagrin d'en avoir été joué et bafoué ; finalement, par la perspective séduisante que leur offrait la chance du succès, soit en légitimant et consolidant une possession qui, jusques-là, n'était qu'usurpée et précaire, soit en leur procurant d'autres acquisitions qui en auraient balancé la perte, sans leur ôter l'espoir et les moyens de s'en emparer de nouveau, un peu plus tard. Je savais que le Roi, toujours fortement prononcé contre la guerre, avait été entraîné malgré lui dans cette singulière coalition de tous les partis ; qu'il avait pris sa résolution bien moins par calcul que par désespoir.

Mais je voyais aussi, d'un autre côté, qu'aucun des individus, ou des partis qui avaient co-opéré à ce projet n'en avait dûment mesuré la profondeur ; qu'aucun n'avait mûrement réfléchi ni sur le choix du moment pour le réaliser, ni sur les moyens convenables pour en assurer le succès, ni sur le parti à prendre si l'issue ne répondait pas à leur attente ; que le tout était *une entreprise précipitée*, que l'excès des malheurs communs pouvait *excuser*, que les intentions de ses premiers auteurs pouvaient *ennoblir*, mais que la sagesse et la bonne politique désavouaient complètement : une entreprise que l'exécution la plus hardie, et des mesures d'une conception extraordinaire auraient peut-être conduits à un résultat heureux, en dépit de son imperfection fondamentale ; mais qui, dès que l'on se meprenait sur son caractère, l'assimilait à des guerres d'autrefois, la confiait à des hommes de routine, l'enfermait dans la sphère étroite de quelques combinaisons vulgaires et mesquines, n'offrait plus que des dangers sans équivalent, et des desastres sans remède.

Je suis revenu chez moi à deux heures du matin. Mon esprit, et mes sens étaient trop agités pour que le sommeil ait pu trouver accès ; je me suis donc mis d'abord à rédiger la minute de cette dernière et mémorable conversation ; mais non content de cela, et trop plein encore de ces grands objets, j'ai rassemblé et consigné dans un mémoire toutes mes idées sur l'origine de cette guerre. Ce mémoire me servira un jour pour répondre à la sottise et à la calomnie qui ne manqueront pas de m'accuser d'y avoir contribué par mes conseils.

*Samedi, 11 Octobre.*—à 8 heures du matin nous sommes tous partis d'Erfurth ; le Comte de Haugwitz, le Marquis de Lucchesini et son fils, MM. de Gortz, et de Waitz, MM. Pierre Lombard et le Coq. Lombard l'ainé était parti une heure avant nous, pour se rendre en droiture à Berlin. Nous autres

devions rester à Weimar. Le Comte de Haugwitz avait choisi ce séjour, puisque plus éloigné du théâtre de la guerre. Il se trouvait, cependant, ou du moins aurait du se trouver, hors de la ligne des opérations, l'armée se portant sur la Sâle, et le Roi ayant pris la route de Blankenhayn. Il m'avait dit la veille, lorsque je parlais de mon retour à Dresde : "Restez avec nous encore quelques jours ; nous serons à Weimar en même tems tranquilles et instruits : nous touchons, comme vous voyez, aux grands évènements."

Avant de monter en voiture, le Comte de Haugwitz avait reçu un premier avis d'un combat malheureux arrivé la veille à l'avant garde du corps de Hohenloe ; mais il n'en avait pas vu les détails ; et il ne voulait en parler à personne. Comme le chemin près d'Erfurth était très mauvais, nous sommes allés à pied pendant plus d'une heure. Je me suis aperçu de quelque chose de mauvais par le silence profond du Comte de Haugwitz : je lui en ai demandé la raison, il m'a dit qu'il souffrait des dents.

Nous sommes entrés à Weimar à onze heures, et j'ai été frappé de surprise et d'épouvante par le spectacle qui s'est offert à mes yeux. Une bagarre, comme je ne l'avais pas encore rencontrée. Les rues gorgées de troupes, de chevaux, de chariots ; au milieu de cela des officiers de toute arme, des généraux, des personnes de la suite du Roi, que je n'avais pas attendues ici. Les voitures s'arrêtent. Je vois arriver le Conseiller du Cabinet Lombard qui, pale et défait, me demande si son frère est dans la mienne ; puis s'approche et me dit : "Vous ne savez pas ce qui passe ; nous avons perdu une bataille, le Prince Louis est tué." Ce coup subit était hors de mes calculs, et au-delà de mes craintes. J'en ai été comme anéanti. Une catastrophe aussi cruelle aurait suffi, toute seule, pour m'abattre. Ici, elle se présentait encore entouré de présages les plus funestes, et comme l'affreux avant-coureur de quelque autre désastre mortel. J'avance sans savoir ce que je fais. Je vois M. de Schladen, et le Comte de Gortz, au milieu de la foule. Je me précipite de la voiture ; je leur demande des explications ; non pas sur le malheur de la veille, dont je me sentais déjà trop instruit, mais sur ce qui se passe autour de moi. On me dit, "le quartier-général est ici. Le Roi et la Reine viennent d'arriver ; la marche des troupes est suspendue. Le Duc fait former un camp ; tout est dans la plus grande consternation." À ces mots mes forces m'abandonnent. Quelque faibles débris d'espérance qui s'étaient encore cachés dans mon âme, disparaissent comme un rêve trompeur, et l'abîme s'ouvre devant moi. Le tourbillon me porte en avant. J'arrive à ce qu'on appelle l'Esplanade. J'y vois trois ou quatre cens officiers de tout grade, et de toute couleur. J'y vois aussi des hussards Prussiens et Saxons ; plusieurs d'entr'eux grièvement blessés. Je demande des nouvelles à droite et à gauche. J'apprends en même tems les nouvelles facheuses du corps de Tauentzien, attaqué

le 9 près de Schleitz, et repoussé avec une perte considérable. Cependant je suis bien de comprendre ce qu'il y a de commun entre ces tristes affaires, et un changement complet du plan des opérations. Il me paraît plutôt que le mouvement vers la Sâle n'en devient que plus indispensable ; qu'il aurait dû être exécuté avec une célérité et une vigueur redoublées. Je m'aperçois, et pour comble de chagrin, tout le monde est persuadé comme moi, que le Duc de Brunswick, effrayé, déconcerté, bouleversé par une première nouvelle désastreuse, n'a eu dans ce mouvement rétrograde, dans ce camp tombé des nues, d'autre but que de gagner du tems sur lui-même ; de revenir de son premier abatement ; de consulter, non pas les généraux, car il n'en fit rien, mais ses propres incertitudes et terreurs. Je vois le mécontentement et la méfiance peints sur chaque figure. Une agitation sourde regne partout. Je rencontre *le Général Kalkreuth*. Il me dit. "Venez chez moi ce soir : bientôt nous ne compterons plus par jours, mais pas heures." Je rencontre un moment après *le Général Phull*, qui d'un ton mêlé de douleur et de rage me dit : "On perd la tête, cela ira furieusement mal." Entraîné, étourdi, confondu par tout ce que j'entends, au point d'avoir presque oublié pendant une heure cette perte dont je ne me consolerais pas toute ma vie, je vois le *Prince Auguste* de Prusse, qui m'aborde avec un mouvement inexprimable. Je ne l'avais pas vu depuis Berlin. Il connaissait la liaison entre son illustre frère et moi : dans quel moment nous nous retrouvons, me dit-il ! Et les larmes étouffaient sa voix. Mais bientôt il se retire, et remontant son ame aux mâles sentiments qui convenaient à la grandeur de la circonstance, il me parla sur le présent, et sur l'avenir, dans des termes qui devaient rendre ce Prince aussi intéressant qu'estimable à mes yeux.

Le Comte de Haugwitz nous a donné à diner, à deux heures, dans une auberge. Le silence, l'embarras, la consternation, la tristesse ont présidé à ce diner. Pour celui qui se rappelait le dernier diner d'Erfurth, le contraste devait être frappant, et la chute lugubre. Ce qu'il y avait de plus désolant était l'ignorance profonde dans laquelle on se trouvait sur les projets, et les mouvemens de l'ennemi. On ne savait pas même quelle direction donner à ses craintes. Chacun était le maître de composer le tableau de l'avenir avec les couleurs les plus sombres que lui présentait son imagination. Tout le monde paraissait d'accord sur un point ; et ce point était précisément une chimère. On croyait les *Français* en pleine marche sur *Dresde*. Tout le reste était couvert d'un nuage. On admettait que quelque détachement pourrait se porter contre *Gera* et *Leipsig* ; mais que l'armée de l'ennemi, toute entière, avançait dans cette même direction, voilà ce qui était aussi inconnu à *Weimar*, qu'il pouvait l'être alors à *Berlin*, ou à *Vienne*.

Après diner est arrivé le Capitaine de Kleist, premier aide-de-camp du malheureux Prince Louis. Il nous a donné les

détails du combat de *Saalfeld*, mais pas ceux de la mort du Prince, dont la mêlée l'avait séparé quelque tems avant la catastrophe. La triste fin de ce Prince admirable inspirait en général très peu d'intérêt parmi ceux qui, pour le bien de la chose, auraient dû le regretter le plus. Il y en eut dont les calculs personnels étouffaient les sentimens : d'autres étaient trop fortement frappés de l'imprudencé, et de la témérité de sa conduite, pour s'occuper du juste tribut dû à tant de rares qualités, et à un dévouement aussi héroïque. Plusieurs se livrèrent même sur son compte aux propos les plus indécens, et les plus atroces. Tous, enfin, étaient tellement pénétrés du danger de leur propre position, qu'ils ne trouvaient pas le tems pour jeter un regard en arrière ; de sorte que cet événement cruel et décisif, car il le fut bien plus qu'on ne l'imaginait dans ce premier moment, passa comme un incident subalterne.

Le Roi qui, après la Reine, en fut peut-être le plus vivement touché, ne voulut voir personne. Depuis qu'on était au quartier-général, le Marquis de Lucchesini était chaque jour à six heures prendre le thé chez la Reine. Ce jour-là, se trouvant chez lui à la même heure, je lui ai demandé s'il ne comptait pas s'y rendre comme à l'ordinaire. Je l'ai même pressé d'y aller, observant que cette résolution du Roi de se séquestrer tout-à-coup de tout le monde, me paraissait de plus mauvaise augure. Il m'a dit que, quoique invité une fois pour toutes, il n'osait pas se présenter ce jour à moins d'être appelé exprès.

En attendant, les plus sinistres symptomes se développaient de toutes parts. Je me suis rendu chez *le Général Kalkreuth*. En me voyant entrer, il m'a dit ; "Eh bien ! le terme fatal " qui je vous ai annoncé est là, nous voici au milieu de la " crise sans savoir ce que nous deviendrons dans deux jours." La conversation allait s'entraîner sur ce texte affligéant, lorsque j'ai vu entrer chez lui une espèce de députation d'officiers, toute composée d'hommes connus par leur mérite et leurs talens. L'un d'entr'eux portant la parole a dit, " Nous venons " au nom de tout ce qu'il y a d'estimable dans l'armée, pour " conjurer votre excellence d'avoir pitié de nous et de l'état. " Le Roi a déjà perdu la moitié de sa couronne." Comment Messieurs ! Comment ! les a interrompu le Général. " Oui " excellence, la moitié de sa couronne. Nous savons bien " ce que nous disons ; et il perdra incessamment l'autre moitié, " si le Duc de Brunswick continue à nous commander. Le " mécontentement est au comble : nous ne répondons de " rien, de rien même de ce que peut se passer ici, si on ne " trouve pas le moyen d'éclairer le Roi sur sa position. C'est " votre excellence qui doit s'en charger ; c'est elle qui doit " prendre la direction ; et nous ne partirons d'ici, quoiqu'il " arrive, sans que nous ayons obtenu ce que nous demandons." J'ai été tellement effrayé de ce discours, et tellement embarrassé d'y être présent, que j'ai tâché de gagner la porte, mais le général m'a retenu en disant à demi voix, il est bon que

vous soyez témoin de ceci. Ils se sont mis alors à exposer tous les motifs qui les avaient conduits à cette démarche. Ils ont parlé du camp de Weimar, et de la manière dont on venait de l'exécuter, avec la plus amère dérision, et le plus profond mépris. Ils ont assuré que, pour combler la confusion, le Duc s'était brouillé, à propos de cette mesure, avec son propre favori le Colonel Scharrenhurst ; qu'il lui avait dit les choses les plus dures. Ils ont ajouté, qu'au reste le Duc ne savait absolument plus ni ce qu'il faisait, ni ce qu'il voulait faire, ni où il était, ni où il allait ; que les plus étranges propos rétentissaient d'une extrémité à l'autre de l'armée. Le général leur a répondu avec dignité et sagesse. Il leur a dit que si, ce soir même, le Roi lui offrait le commandement, quelque fâcheux que pût être l'état des choses, il l'accepterait sans objection ; mais qu'aucun homme raisonnable ne pouvait prétendre qu'il se présentât lui-même pour le demander : qu'une démarche pareille, également contraire à ses sentimens, et au respect qu'il devait au Roi, serait un acte de démence dans un moment où ces Messieurs eux-mêmes, quoique testement et fort imprudemment, parlaient de la perte de la couronne. Ils ont insisté longtems, et, à la fin, dans des termes si forts que le général n'a plus voulu les entendre, et les a congédiés brusquement.

Cette scène, qui m'avait terriblement affecté, a amené une longue conversation, dans laquelle le Général Kalkreuth ne m'a plus laissé de doute sur l'étendue et l'extrémité du danger. J'ai appris que non seulement le Duc de Brunswick n'avait aucun plan fixé et raisonnable sur l'ensemble des opérations, mais qu'il en dirigeait encore très mal les détails ; qu'il fatiguait les troupes par des dispositions confuses et contradictoires ; par de marches, et contremarches inutiles ; par une mauvaise répartition des cantonnemens ; par des difficultés continuelles sur les subsistances ; par une infinité de fausses mesures qui épuisaient leurs forces en pure perte. Il m'a dit que, quoique personne ne parût s'en douter, il était sûr que les Français passeraient des forces considérables vers *Leipsig* ; et si on leur permet, a-t-il ajouté, de s'emparer du pont de *Kösen*, toute la Saxe est perdue pour nous, et nous verrons ce qui arrivera après. Il m'a déclaré qu'il regardait la résolution du Duc de Brunswick de concentrer l'armée près de Weimar comme un trait de déraison militaire, qui surpassait celle de Mack lorsqu'il s'était enfermé à *Ulm* ; puisque tous les magasins prussiens se trouvaient sur *la Sale à Nauembourg, Weissenfels, Mersburg, Halle*. Il se condamnait de propos délibéré à mourir de faim dans trois jours : enfin il m'a nettement annoncé que si cela ne changeait pas dès le lendemain, il craignait qu'au jour d'une bataille, qui ne pouvait guères être éloigné, une partie des troupes, excédée de fatigue et de misère, ni fit que médiocrement son devoir ; ce fut la première fois que j'entendis prononcer ce mot terrible.



La journée avait été si orageuse, que je n'avais pas même pensé à demander mon logement. En le cherchant à 9 heures du soir je me suis rappelé que, depuis mon arrivée à Weimar, je n'avais pas rencontré le *Comte Goetzen*. Je me suis fait conduire chez lui. Il était absolument le seul qui ne m'offrit aucun symptôme de consternation et d'abattement. Mais je ne m'en suis pas moins aperçu que, sous les dehors du calme et de la sérénité, l'inquiétude était au fond de son âme. Il m'a raconté ce qui s'était passé la veille à *Blankenhayn* ; comment le Roi et la Reine y avaient appris les nouvelles de *Saalfeld* ; dans quel danger ils se trouvaient pendant plusieurs heures, les Français étant entrés à Rudelstadt, à deux lieues du quartier-général ; quelles mesures on avait pris dans cette circonstance, où, à la tête de cinquante hussards il s'était rendu, au milieu de la nuit, jusqu'aux portes de Rudelstadt pour bien reconnaître ce qui s'y passait. En parlant du Duc, et de son camp, et de toute sa conduite, il ne m'a pas donné un éclaircissement, il ne m'a pas fait une réflexion, qui n'eût confirmé et augmenté mes inquiétudes, et justifié tous mes pressentimens.

Je suis à la fin arrivé dans mon logement, excédé d'agitation et de fatigue ; mais j'ai cherché en vain le sommeil. Les rues étant encombrés de chevaux, de chariots, de canons, un vacarme horrible s'est prolongé toute la nuit ; et l'idée de l'issue épouvantable vers laquelle je voyais avancer cette entreprise, et avec elle les destinées de l'Allemagne et de l'Europe, m'a jetté dans une fièvre d'angoisse dans laquelle j'ai soupiré après le lendemain.

*Dimanche, 12 Octobre.*—Je suis sorti à 7 heures pour trouver le *Marquis de Lucchesini*. Il n'était pas du nombre de ceux qui avaient absolument perdu la tête : cependant, il s'en fallait de beaucoup qu'il fût tel que je l'avais vu jusqu'ici. Il m'a fortement conseillé de partir. J'étais occupé de la même idée. Toute prolongation de mon séjour devenait inutile, et quant à mon propre intérêt, j'avoue que je n'avais pas la moindre désir d'assister au dénouement qui se préparait. J'en avais parlé la veille au *Comte de Haugwitz*. Peut-être sans bien savoir pourquoi, il avait protesté contre mon projet. M. de Lucchesini en jugea autrement. Il me dit, qu'il était à peu près sûr que les Français poussaient des détachemens sur *Nauembourg* ; que les moyens de partir se diminuaient d'une heure à l'autre ; que la première alarme subite qui nécessitât un déplacement, pouvait me mettre dans le cas de ne plus trouver de chevaux nulle-part, et qu'alors je serais obligé de partager leur sort à tout événement : ces réflexions me déterminèrent.

En rentrant en ville (le Marquis était logé au fauxbourg,) j'ai rencontré une quantité d'officiers de ma connaissance, tous également irrités contre le *Duc de Brunswick* et ses mesures. Les murmures et les plaintes étaient dans toutes les bouches. Ce qui a un peu relevé les esprits, c'est qu'à

10 heures le Roi est parti avec le Duc de Brunswick pour conférer avec le Prince de Hohenloe, qui avait établi son quartier-général à Cappellendorff, entre Weimar et Jena. Je les ai vus passer sous les fenêtres du Prince Héréditaire de Weimar, chez lequel j'ai monté pour quelques momens. Le Duc avait l'air déconcerté, le Roi calme mais de très mauvaise humeur, tout autre qu'il me paraissait à Erfurth ; c'est la dernière fois que je les ai vus.

Arrivé chez le Comte de Haugwitz je l'ai trouvé enfermé avec M. de Beyme. Je suis entré dans la chambre de P. Lombard, qui m'a reçu en larmes. Je lui ai reproché son découragement, et combien il avait tort d'augmenter, au lieu de combattre, celui du Comte de Haugwitz. J'ai voulu lui représenter que rien n'était encore perdu ; mais je me suis bientôt aperçu que tous mes efforts étaient inutiles, que l'idée d'une catastrophe prochaine et inévitable s'était emparée de toutes les têtes.

Quand le Comte de Haugwitz a été seul, je lui ai annoncé mon intention sérieuse de quitter le quartier-général ; et cette fois-ci, il ne s'y est que faiblement opposé. Je lui ai demandé des passeports, un ordre pour les maîtres des postes, et quelques autres choses. Il m'a dit que je n'avais qu'à tout expédier selon ma propre convenance ; qu'il signerait tout. Je l'ai fait. En signant le passeport, il m'a comblé de choses obligéantes, tant en son nom, qu'en celui du Roi. Il m'a demandé avec instance de ne pas partir avant d'avoir diné avec lui ; j'ai pu d'autant plus aisément me rendre à sa proposition que j'étais sûr de n'avoir pas de chevaux avant 4 ou 5 heures du soir.

J'ai ensuite vu le général Phull, qui m'a lu un mémoire qu'il venait de composer à la hâte, sur les mesures à prendre pour le moment. J'ai à peine besoin de dire, qu'il y prouvait la nécessité urgente de quitter sur le champ la position absurde où l'on se trouvait, de se rapprocher des magasins, et d'occuper tous les débouchés de la Sâle, de prévenir l'ennemi sur les points importans de Darnburg, Cambuy, Kôsen, Nauenbourg, qu'à la fin on commençait à croire sérieusement menacés. Il est plus qu'inconcevable que ni le Duc de Brunswick, ni le Prince de Hohenloe, ni aucun autre des généraux dirigeants n'ait voulu se convaincre d'une chose, qui ne pouvait pas échapper à un ignorant, pour peu qu'il eût l'usage de ses sens. Mais le général Phull m'a dit en même tems, que depuis trois jours le Duc ne lui avait pas parlé. Je l'ai fortement engagé à communiquer son mémoire à M. de Lucchesini ; puisque, bien ou mal, il était une fois reconnu qu'il était presque le seul que le Duc consultait encore sur ses démarches. Nous avons été le trouver. Le mémoire a été lu. Le général l'accompagna de plusieurs observations très lumineuses. Il a vivement déploré la fatalité qui a fait échouer son plan primitif, approuvé par les hommes les plus capables de l'armée ; et d'après lequel, on aurait dû se porter avec les premières forces

disponibles sur le Meyn, pour y établir le théâtre de la guerre. Il a critiqué sans aucun ménagement le prétendu plan du *Duc de Brunswick*. Il a exposé avec beaucoup d'énergie sa faiblesse, sa pusillanimité et son inconséquence. Cet entretien, aussi intéressant que pénible, a été interrompu par l'arrivée de *M. de Goethe*, qui est venu faire une visite au Marquis : mais celui-ci a promis que ni le mémoire, ni le commentaire ne seraient perdus pour l'intérêt public ; et qu'il en ferait tout son profit. Je ne sais pas si le *Duc de Brunswick* a jamais reconnu les fautes funestes par lesquelles il avait préparé la ruine de l'armée, et de la monarchie. Dans tous les cas il les a reconnus trop tard.

Le diner chez le *Comte de Haugwitz* a été un peu moins triste que celui de la veille, et *M. de Lucchesini* a tout fait pour l'égayer. On a parlé pour la première fois de l'occupation et de *Gera*, et de *Zeitz*, par les troupes françaises ; mais toujours comme une expédition passagère, comme d'un léger coup de main, sans que personne ait pu imaginer que toutes leurs forces se portèrent sur ce point. Après le diner, on est venu annoncer que le *Roi* et le *Duc de Brunswick* étaient de retour, et que l'armée se mettrait en marche le lendemain. Cependant, aucun ordre n'a été donné. *M. de Lucchesini* m'a dit que si quelque changement essentiel se faisait jusqu'au lendemain matin, il aurait soin de m'en faire avertir, à l'endroit où je passerais la nuit, pour que je partisse en possession des nouvelles les plus fraîches. *My Lord Morpeth*, ni aucune personne de la Russie n'était arrivé jusqu'à mon départ.

Après 4 heures, j'ai dit mes adieux, à tout ce qui était réuni chez *M. de Haugwitz*. Le moment était tel qu'indépendamment de toute considération personnelle, et il est vrai qu'on m'avait traité pendant ce séjour avec une distinction et bienveillance extrême, j'aurais été ému en pensant à la situation où je les laissais ; et à l'incertitude lugubre de l'avenir. Le *Comte de Haugwitz* m'a dit, " j'espère que ce ne sera pas pour long tems. Nous devons nécessairement nous revoir. Si nos affaires vont bien, je vous donne rendezvous à *Wurtzbourg* ; c'est là que nous voulons nous entretenir sur l'arrangement futur de l'Allemagne." Ce furent ses derniers mots ; il était vivement attendri, jusqu'à verser des larmes en me quittant.

J'ai été trouver le général *Phull* ; il m'a donné des conseils sur mon voyage. Mon projet était de gagner *Mersburg*, pour aller ensuite soit à *Halle*, soit à *Leipsig*, selon les circonstances. Il a fortement protesté contre ce projet. Il m'a dit qu'avant ce soir, les Français seraient infailliblement à *Nauembourg*, et que demain, en traversant le pays, je pouvais les rencontrer partout. Il m'a demandé ma parole que je prendrais le même chemin par lequel il avait fait partir la Grande Duchesse de *Weimar*, par *Allstedt*, et que surtout je ne passerais la *Sâle* que là où je pourrais le faire en pleine sûreté.

Je suis parti de Weimar à cinq heures. En allant à Buttelstedt, où je devais séjourner la nuit, j'ai entendu de loin le bruit du canon. Les Français étaient entrés à Nauembourg. A Buttelstedt encore une canonade, long tems prolongée, s'est fait entendre par le silence de la nuit. J'ai su ensuite que l'ennemi avait employé cette nuit à démolir le pont entre Lobeda et Burgan.

*Lundi, 13 Octobre.*—Je me suis arrêté à Buttelstedt, jusqu'après 9 heures. N'ayant pas eu de nouvelles de M. de Lucchesini, j'ai présumé que rien de décisif n'arriverait aujourd'hui. Ce n'est qu'à midi en effet, que le Duc s'est déterminé de porter l'armée du Roi sur Auerstedt. M'étant procurer au poids de l'or deux mauvais chevaux, j'ai entamé la route d'Allstedt. Arrivé à trois heures dans cet endroit, j'ai annoncé l'intention d'aller à Eisleben ; mais personne n'a voulu m'y conduire. La nuit menaçant de me surprendre, j'ai du me contenter d'un arrangement moyennant lequel j'ai gagné Langerhausen, où déjà la terreur était entrée avant moi.

*Mardi, 14 Octobre.*—Tout ce que j'ai pu obtenir, c'étaient des chevaux de poste pour Mansfeld. Car quand j'ai parlé de Halle, ou seulement de Eisleben, j'ai eu l'air d'avoir nommé le chemin de l'enfer. L'occupation subite de Nauembourg, et la retraite de plusieurs divisions de train avaient tellement répandu la consternation, que l'on voyait l'ennemi partout.

En allant à Mansfeld j'ai entendu, au milieu des montagnes qui entourent cette ville, la terrible canonade qui m'a annoncé l'événement décisif. Tout était dans des alarmes inexprimables. De Mansfeld, on m'a mené à Sandersleben, où j'ai rencontré le régiment de Natzmer, faisant partie du corps du Prince Eugene de Wurtemberg, qui se portait à marche forcée sur Halle. J'ai voulu passer la Sâle à Alsleben, mais le bac y étant endommagé, j'ai été obligé de descendre jusqu'à Bernburg. J'y suis arrivé à 6 heures du soir, trop heureux d'obtenir la promesse d'avoir des chevaux pour le lendemain : la ville était remplie de Prussiens, appartenant au corps du Prince de Wurtemberg.

*Mercredi, 15 Octobre.*—Je suis parti de Bernburg à huit heures. Arrivé à Coethen, j'y ai trouvé deux négocians anglais venant de Leipsig, les premières personnes qui m'ont dit que les choses allaient bien pour la Prusse ; que le Prince de Hohenloe avait battu les Français. Je me suis trouvé à Dessau à trois heures. On m'a assuré que le Prince venait de recevoir la nouvelle d'une victoire complète. La ville avait l'air d'un désert. Pas un cheval, quelque chose que j'eusse pu faire. On m'a dit que j'en trouverais plutôt à Werlitz ; et comme c'était le chemin de Wittenburg, et que de plus, le Prince y étant rendu, j'avais l'espoir d'y vérifier la prétendue nouvelle, j'engageai le postillon de Coethen à m'y conduire ; mais j'ai manqué le Prince, qui était retourné à Dessau par un autre chemin ; et ce n'est qu'avec peine que j'ai obtenu deux chevaux pour le lendemain.

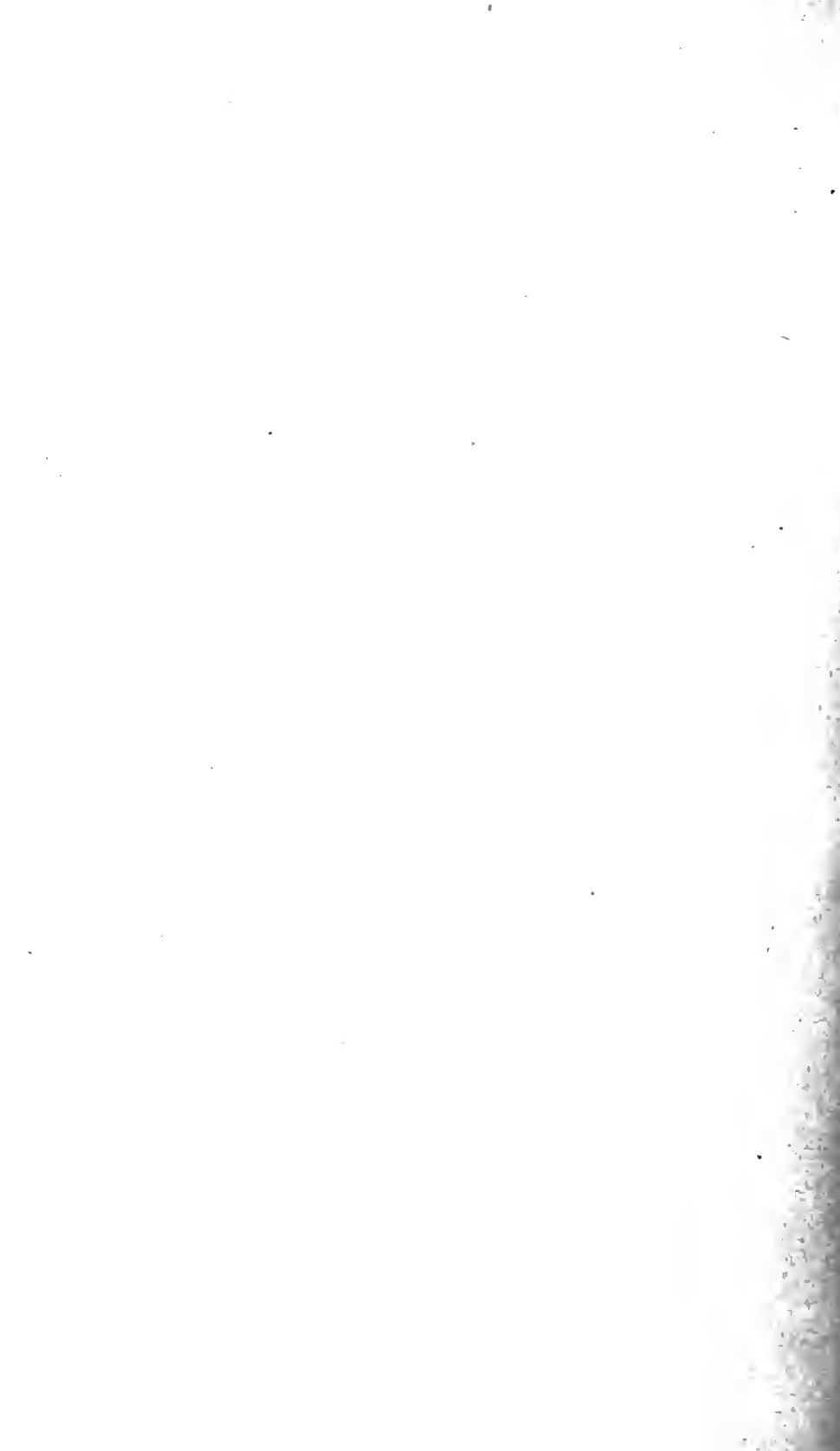
*Jeudi, 16 Octobre.* Après m'être promené pendant une heure dans ce superbe jardin, tourmenté par des idées qui n'étaient guères en harmonie avec ses beautés, je suis parti pour Wittenburg. J'y ai trouvé à l'auberge Madame la Grande Duchesse Anne, née Princesse de Cobourg, deux Messieurs Taroleff, Russes, et plusieurs négocians de Berlin, revenant de Leipsig. L'allégresse était générale. Quatre différentes lettres de Leipsig, du 14 and 15, qu'on m'a données à lire, annoncerent la défaite totale des Français. Pas un homme à Wittenberg qui en eût douté un instant. Pendant que je m'y trouvais, le Prince Antoine de Radzivill est arrivé de Berlin, pour se rendre au quartier-général, et y recueillir des détails sur la catastrophe de son illustre beau-frère. Je lui ai parlé longtems. Il m'a dit que cet évènement avait produit à Berlin une consternation profonde, et que l'état dans lequel se trouvait Madame la Princesse Louise ne pouvait pas se concevoir. J'ai ensuite continué ma route sur Torgau, où je suis arrivé à minuit, et où la victoire des Prussiens était répandue comme partout ailleurs.

*Vendredi, 17 Octobre.*—Parti de Torgau à 7 heures, je suis arrivé à 2 heures à Groffenhayn. Là on se berçait de victoires. Les officiers Saxons que j'y ai rencontré, ont fait l'observation que depuis deux jours on n'entendait plus aucun coup de feu. Ils en ont induit que la guerre s'éloignait, et que tout allait à merveille. Enfin je suis arrivé à Dresde. C'est là seulement que les plus épouvantables nouvelles sont venues fondre sur moi. J'y avais été précédé de quelques heures par le premier avis de la bataille perdue, et presque avec moi était arrivé le Major de Tunk, qui en a annoncé les premières suites pour la Saxe.

Je me suis félicité pour mon compte des faux bruits qui m'avaient considérablement adouci les deux derniers jours de ce triste voyage ; mais bientôt j'ai été cruellement payé de tout ce qui m'avait été épargné par là de peines et de désolation ; et lorsque j'ai quitté Dresde, deux jours après, les portes de l'espérance ont paru se fermer derrière moi sur l'Allemagne et sur l'Europe.

FINIS.

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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,

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HIS MAJESTY THE KING has been pleased to ratify and confirm the terms of the Commission issued by Her late Majesty, appointing certain Commissioners to ascertain what unpublished MSS. are extant in the collections of private persons and in institutions, which are calculated to throw light upon subjects connected with the Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, or Scientific History of this country; and to appoint certain additional Commissioners for the same purposes. The present Commissioners are:—

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REPORT  
ON THE  
MANUSCRIPTS  
OF  
J. B. FORTESCUE, Esq.,  
PRESERVED AT  
DROPMORE.  
VOL. IX.

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Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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## ERRATUM.

INTRODUCTION TO VOL. VIII.



Page xviii, line 44, *for* Luxembourg *read* Neufchatel.

This Report has been prepared and edited, on behalf of  
the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, by MR. WALTER  
FITZPATRICK.

## INTRODUCTION.

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This volume contains letters and other documents selected from the Dropmore Papers for the three years from the beginning of 1807 to the end of 1809.

At the opening of the year 1807 the Coalition Ministry of "All the Talents" was, to outward seeming, firmly established. It had hitherto surmounted the dangers and difficulties which beset it from the beginning.<sup>1</sup> Moderation in pursuing its avowed policy of military and economical reform, and religious toleration; an evident desire to consult as far as possible his wishes and even his prejudices; and no doubt the presence of Lord Sidmouth in the Cabinet had, to some extent at least, disarmed the fears and the dislikes of the King, and baffled hostile influences immediately surrounding him, which were used by a weak but unscrupulous Opposition to procure its own return to office. Then again the mutual esteem and warm friendship which intimate association begot between Fox and Grenville; a patriotic determination among the great body of their colleagues to sacrifice individual partialities and distrusts in order that the Confederacy might fulfil its purpose of uniting the forces of the Monarchy against external peril, had quelled any tendency to cabal in the Ministerial ranks, and brought conflicting elements into harmonious co-operation. That the popular favour which welcomed the formation of the Government in February, 1806, had not diminished, became manifest when an appeal to the country in the following autumn greatly enlarged its majority in the House of Commons, and strengthened its authority in the House of Lords. One incident, indeed, of this contest must have suggested uncomfortable doubt with regard to the King's real disposition. He withheld from Lord Grenville the large donation from his Privy Purse he was in the habit of contributing to the election fund of a Prime Minister of his own choice. But, on the whole, his relations with an administration forced on him by necessity had been franker and smoother than might have been anticipated by statesmen of experience in the political life of the time.

This appearance of stability in the Government, however, concealed from the public eye, and even from its own more sanguine adherents, a rapid development of elements of weakness within itself, and approaching peril of a character practically unsurmountable. The results achieved had been due in large measure to the commanding ability, cool judgment,

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to Volume VIII.

and genial qualities of Fox. His death was an irreparable blow, leaving the Ministry without a competent leader, a guiding mind. No one could be more conscious of his incapacity to supply the loss than was the titular head of the administration, Lord Grenville himself. Writing early in 1807 to Lord Buckingham, during one of those almost morbid fits of despondency into which the anxieties and responsibilities of his high office too frequently plunged him, he made the following frank confession: "I want one great and essential quality for my station, and every hour increases the difficulty. I can still, and could still, for a few years, as long as my eyesight is spared to me, labour at my desk; but I am not competent to the management of men. I never was so naturally; and toil and anxiety more and more unfit me for it." There was no self-deception here. In the calm atmosphere of the House of Lords, which allowed them free exercise, his oratorical gifts—clear conception, lucid expression, forcible argument, fervour of conviction—made him a mainstay of Government; and, in Opposition, commanded universal attention. In the debates of the House of Commons he had made little mark. The stimulating breath of a popular assembly, instead of inspiring and bracing, seemed to paralyse his faculties. As Speaker of the Commons, an office which supposes "competence to the management of men," he had been a conspicuous failure. This sense of personal inefficiency threw him back, on the death of Fox, into his old habit of relying for counsel and support on the more ambitious spirit and stronger will of Lord Buckingham, whom interested aims, jealousies, and freaks of temper made a very unsafe guide. At the same time, the loss of the controlling power hitherto exercised by his great colleague in the House of Commons revived in Lord Grenville's mind the keen sense of radical differences dividing his own following from their Liberal allies which had retarded the formation of the Coalition Ministry. Although, like Burke and Pitt, always zealous for economical reform and constitutional rule, he dreaded innovation on the existing system of Parliamentary representation as leading straight to Jacobinism. He seems to have thought personal government, with its systematic corruption and political servility, a lesser evil than any change which should transfer the franchise from rotten boroughs to large but unrepresented centres of population. Lord Howick, who succeeded Fox as leader of the House of Commons, had been at one time deeply bitten by this revolutionary mania, as the Grenville brethren considered it, which had also in a milder form infected the principles of Lord Henry Petty. Both of these statesmen, since taking office, had suppressed obnoxious opinions in the interest of union, and become hardly less conservative than Lord Grenville himself. But there was a strong Radical element prominently represented by Mr. Whitbread, Howick's brother-in-law, in the



Liberal wing of the party in the House of Commons ; and this section found itself re-enforced every year by men of the rising generation, including the eldest sons of Whig peers in the Cabinet, who returned to the political ground of progressive reform from which their fathers had been scared by the atrocities and impieties of the French Revolution. In these circumstances, Lord Grenville and his brothers considered that the situation absolutely required a firm and capable leader of Conservative principles in the House of Commons. Howick, whose association with the Grenvilles had hardly as yet ripened into intimacy, might no doubt, in his present mood, fully serve this purpose ; but the failing health of Lord Grey made his tenure of the post extremely precarious. And no candidate could be found in the Ministerial ranks willing and competent to fill it, and acceptable to all the parties of which Government was composed. It was in these circumstances that Lord Grenville, by the advice of his brothers, authorised Lord Wellesley to carry on the negotiation with Mr. Canning, of which some account has been given in the Introduction to Volume VIII. of the Dropmore Papers. That there existed at the time, in anticipation of Fox's death, a strong disposition on the part of leading members of Pitt's last Ministry, if not of "the whole body of Pitt's friends," to re-unite with Lord Grenville, is confirmed by a document which has come to light since that Introduction was written. It is the report of a communication made by the Bishop of Lincoln, Pitt's tutor, confidential secretary and biographer, to Lord Carysford, and forwarded by the latter to the Prime Minister on July 27,<sup>1</sup> 1806. The Bishop professed to speak with authority on behalf of Castlereagh, Canning, and Rose. Wellesley's negotiation, however, was merely tentative, found no practical issue, and does not even seem to have been disclosed by Lord Grenville to the other chiefs of the Coalition. The proposals for junction made to him were on a scale and involved changes incompatible with the engagements he had contracted with Mr. Fox. Towards the close of the year, Lord Grey's serious illness brought the question of leader of the House of Commons again into the foreground. Under further pressure from members of his family, Lord Grenville consented to hold a private conference with Mr. Canning, who showed a disposition to accept the post. The question had now reached a stage at which reticence was no longer admissible ; and Lord Grenville found that in seeking to avert a more remote and perhaps imaginary danger, he had evoked another of a much graver character. Lord Sidmouth refused to accept Canning as a colleague,<sup>2</sup> and made the negotiation entered upon without his consent a ground for tendering his own resignation of office. Lord Holland, and apparently also Lord Howick, considered that Sidmouth had

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Holland to Viscount Howick, March 6, 1807.

been given just cause for complaint. And Lord Temple, who arranged his uncle's meeting with Canning, warmly objected, with his father's concurrence, to admitting into the Ministry Mr. Rose, the old friend and confidential adviser of Pitt, who now united his political fortunes to those of Mr. Canning.<sup>1</sup> Worries and disappointments of this kind inseparable from a position to which he felt himself unequal, made the responsibilities of office almost insupportable to Lord Grenville. It was only, indeed, the over-mastering influence of his brothers that restrained his ever-growing desire to cast off the fetters of power, and seek rest in congenial pursuits of literature and gardening, for which Dropmore and the wider domain of Boconnoc offered alluring prospects. This was hardly a frame of mind suitable for the head of a Government which, at the opening of the Session of 1807, suddenly found itself confronted by two questions, both of which must bring it into conflict with the Crown; and one of which bristled with difficulties that, if not absolutely insuperable in the particular circumstances of the time, were such as needed statesmanship of the highest order to surmount.

It was probably a misfortune for Lord Grenville, as well as for "his oldest friend," that antagonism aroused among the followers of Fox by high-handed policy in India had excluded Lord Wellesley from the Coalition Cabinet. Each possessed in superabundance qualities wanting in the other. Of all the statesmen trained in the great Administration of Pitt, Wellesley appears to have been the most highly endowed by nature with the qualifications which command success in a public career at periods when national peril opens great opportunities. He had ardent ambition elevated by patriotism, vivid imagination, capacity for large and liberal views which time developed, ability to discern and appreciate new forces and political conditions in the long and arduous struggle against Napoleon. As War Minister, if allowed a free hand, he would probably have ranked hardly second to the elder Pitt. A man so sensitive as he was to the influence of a genial nature and superior mind must have gained much from familiar intercourse with Fox, who, even in the sobriety of mature wisdom, seems to have been particularly indulgent to the faults and weaknesses of what has been termed an "Irish temperament." Wellesley's enterprising spirit and insight might have supplied the motive power in dealing with Continental affairs, so wanting to the Grenville Ministry after the death of Fox. On the other hand, Grenville's moderation and long experience in British politics might have corrected the arrogant temper and egotistical illusions which Wellesley brought back to England from seven years of autocratic rule in India. Their firm friendship and

<sup>1</sup> Earl Temple to Lord Grenville, February 24, 1807 }  
 Marquis of Buckingham to " " 19, " } pp. 53-57.  
 Thomas Grenville to " " 23, " }

complementary qualities might have forbidden rivalry. And a revival of old habits of intimacy in a household so adorned with domestic virtues as Lord Grenville's, might have checked irregularities of private conduct, which later on became a scandal and greatly lowered Wellesley in public estimation. As it was, intense irritation at what he thought unjust persecution, and ascribed to Whig malignity, impatience of a state of forced inaction, and the urgent pressure of brothers hungering for employment, and bred up in the narrow tradition of English rule in Ireland, led him to forget the obligations he and they owed to thirty years of devoted friendship; and to form a connexion with politicians whom he despised, but who espoused his grievances, courted his alliance, and flattered his ambitious hopes of political predominance from which, as they knew well, he was excluded by the King's dislike.

The questions now forcing themselves on the attention of Government with an urgency that could not be evaded were (1st) the obstructions opposed by the Duke of York at the Horse Guards to the operation of Windham's Army Bill, dooming it to failure. This involved a constitutional struggle with the Royal prerogative, which the Government did not live long enough to bring to an issue. The second question was that of discontent in Ireland, the result of long misrule and broken pledges of redress. Discontent permeated every class of the great majority of the Irish people, constituting a danger for the British Monarchy, which the rapid progress of Napoleon in the subjugation of continental Europe made more formidable every day. The main cause of this general disaffection, with the numerous evils resulting from it, still lives for the English reader in the pages of Burke and Lecky. It was a corrupt, intolerant, and tyrannical system of Government worked for their own exclusive advantage, by a section of the Protestant population, styling themselves the "English Interest" or "Protestant Ascendancy." Unfortunately no phase of the system could be touched by the hand of reform without arousing throughout Great Britain political and religious prejudices against which the strongest Minister, unless armed with all the authority of the Crown, contended in vain. Pitt made three assaults on it. In 1793 he compelled the Irish Government, sorely against its will, to pass a Relief Bill through the Irish Parliament, which freed Catholics from their worst grievances, and even gave them a share of political power in the shape of the electoral franchise. Again in 1794, when the aristocratic Whigs, under the sway of Burke, who aimed at uniting all the conservative forces of the Monarchy against the destructive forces of the French Revolution, united with Pitt, it was announced by the Duke of Portland, their nominal leader, who had negotiated the terms of this alliance with the Prime Minister, that these included a change of system in Ireland, and a complete repeal of Catholic disabilities. And he persuaded Lord FitzWilliam

to accept the post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in order to give effect to Whig principles of toleration which were also those of Grattan. The announcement caused great clamour among the ruling faction in Dublin Castle. Their complaints found a powerful organ in England in a former Viceroy, the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville's brother, who had sought their aid in his angry conflict with the Whigs on the Regency question in 1788, and had left them in power. Buckingham eagerly seized the opportunity of discharging his smouldering discontent at what he regarded as neglect by Pitt of his claims for extraordinary services rendered to the King. In letters to Pitt and Grenville, he accused them of breaking faith with old adherents, and dishonouring himself, by handing over Ireland to the Whigs; and renounced all intercourse with them. Grenville's anguish was almost too deep for words. Although as anxious as before for junction with English Whigs of the particular section to which he and Pitt himself originally belonged, he became the vigilant champion of his brother, as against the Irish Whigs, who also represented to a great extent his own political convictions in regard to Irish affairs. This untimely conflict between policy and intense fraternal affection, embroiled the whole situation. Pitt denied having agreed to any change of system in Ireland; and as the terms of the compact between himself and Portland had not been committed to writing, they became the subject of heated controversy. Wherever the truth lay, Pitt's position was now difficult. He was bound to a certain extent by arrangements made in Ireland by Lord Buckingham; and by the closest ties personal and political, to Lord Grenville. And there seems to be no doubt from what followed that he now encountered unexpected opposition from the King, who did not love a Whig of whatever brand. On the other hand, his union with the great Whig landowners brought much needed strength to his Administration, while enfeebling the Opposition, and must if possible be maintained. A compromise was patched up. FitzWilliam was permitted to go to Ireland on certain conditions. Lord Chancellor FitzGibbon, who ruled that kingdom under the ægis of Lord Westmorland, was not to be removed except for insubordination. Whigs were not to be employed to the detriment of present holders of office. The new Viceroy, as Pitt told Grattan, was not to introduce a Catholic Relief Bill into the Irish Parliament, but might accept it if pressed on him; and generally no change of importance was to be made without consulting the Cabinet. Lord FitzWilliam was welcomed in Dublin with general acclamations. But he soon found that in Burke's words to Windham, "without effective support of the English Ministry a man in the pillory has a post of honour in comparison with a Lord Lieutenant." He was "as a Bashaw of Egypt governed by the Beys."<sup>1</sup> Finding his situation intolerable, FitzWilliam removed a prominent Bey,

<sup>1</sup> Windham's *Diary*.

Mr. Beresford, from his post of Controller of Customs, allowing him to retain full pay as a retiring allowance. To this step he understood Pitt to consent at a private conference before he left London. Afterwards, finding that a Catholic Relief Bill, introduced into the Irish House of Commons by Grattan, had been received with general acquiescence, he reported the fact officially to Portland, as Home Secretary. Receiving no answer to this communication, he reported again that he would accept the Bill unless otherwise instructed. In the meantime "the clique," as Burke called the "English Interest," had not remained passive. Beresford hurried over to London, made the political atmosphere ring with his outcries, and, aided by Lords Westmorland, Auckland, and other allies, gained the Royal ear. Then the Head Bey, FitzGibbon, admonished the King, with the authority of a keeper of his conscience, that by accepting Grattan's Bill he would violate his Coronation oath: a Constitutional doctrine to which Auckland's brother-in-law, the Archbishop of Canterbury, lent the sanction of the Church. George III accepted it eagerly, and reproached Pitt for listening to the sentimentalities of Mr. Burke. Pitt gave way. The Duke of Portland abandoned FitzWilliam, who, though backed up by a vote of confidence from the Irish Parliament, was recalled from Dublin, amidst extraordinary manifestations of public grief, and was refused any explanation by Government in the British House of Lords. Lord Camden crossed the Channel as his successor, with special orders from the King to maintain "Protestant ascendancy." And Lord FitzGibbon, created Earl of Clare, set to work, in concert with the new Viceroy, to pave the way for Legislative union with Great Britain, in order to place the system which made Ireland, in Burke's phrase, *non regnum sed magnum latrocinium*,<sup>1</sup> on an impregnable basis. The story of how this purpose was pursued is a mournful chapter of Irish history. This was Pitt's first defeat in an effort to improve Irish Government. The second occurred in 1801. An attempt to carry an Act of Union through the Irish Parliament on the lines of "Protestant Ascendancy" having failed, an authorised announcement by Lord Castlereagh of the intention of the British Cabinet to make the passing of that Act the immediate prelude of their complete emancipation, induced the Irish Catholics to acquiesce in, and thus lend an appearance of national sanction to shameful traffic in which national independence was bought and sold, at the nation's own expense, by political tricksters and boroughmongers. No sooner had the Act passed, when Lord Clare, who had hitherto "lain low" watching silently his colleague Castlereagh's tactics, appealed again, with the secret support of Lord Loughborough, Lord Chancellor of England, to the King's conscience to protect the Protestant Constitution. His Majesty responded as before, rejecting with disdain as "Scotch metaphysics" Dundas's

<sup>1</sup> Windham's *Diary*.

suggestion of Ministerial responsibility. Pitt resigned office, with most of his colleagues, but in a few weeks threw the Irish cause over, in the expectation of being allowed to resume what had always been the joy of his heart, and the passion of his life. And when, in 1804, both Houses of the United Parliament rejected by immense majorities the petitions presented by Fox and Lord Grenville on their behalf, it was evident to Irish Catholics that in bartering away an independent Legislature they had fastened their own fetters more securely. What Pitt could not accomplish, Grenville could not even attempt.

There were, however, other phases of Irish misrule which, being rather social than religious or political, might, it was thought, be remedied or at least alleviated without endangering Protestant ascendancy or wounding the King's conscience.

Perhaps the worst feature of the worst system of land tenure then existing was an arrangement by which the burden of tithes payable to the established Church had been shifted from landowners and large farmers of fertile grazing land to the small potato plots of rack-rented cottiers, who had besides to maintain their own chapels and priests, and the miserable hedge schools to which the repeal of a law condemning Catholics to absolute ignorance, now allowed them to send their children. And in many districts the grievance was made intolerable by the exactions of tithe proctors, representing non-resident clergy, who enjoyed the revenue of a parish without incumbrance of church or congregation. This burden, which crushed and demoralised the peasantry, was a perennial cause of public disorder. It was specified in Pitt's great speech to the House of Commons in 1800, as one of the evils to which a legislative union would enable Government to apply a remedy. It had long occupied Lord Grenville's thoughts; and when the outbreak of "The Threshers," of which it was the cause, convulsed Connaught in 1806, he pressed it earnestly on the immediate attention of the Irish Government. The Duke of Bedford and himself, as staunch supporters of the Church established, desired to reform this great abuse as a means of strengthening its supremacy. In a long letter, dated March 14, 1807,<sup>1</sup> the Duke expounded various plans for effecting their object. But the atmosphere in which he lived was so charged with suspicion that he feared to provoke an outcry of religious intolerance by even hinting at any such purpose until he found an opportunity of taking counsel with the Archbishop of Armagh and other Irish prelates of the established Church, and until a measure had been framed for immediate submission to Parliament. It was, therefore, agreed that tithe reform should remain an official secret till those conditions had been satisfied.

Another grievance, which required very cautious handling, silently engaged the consideration of the Irish Executive.

<sup>1</sup> p. 82.

In few countries was education so richly endowed, but the benefits were confined to a small minority of the population. Dublin University enjoyed large revenues from confiscated estates, which it expended in a spirit of fanatical bigotry, typified by Dr. Duigenan in the British Parliament. Other large estates, as well as an annual grant of 24,000*l.*, maintained the Charter Schools for the object of bringing up the children of Catholic parents in the creed of the established Church; while the whole sum hitherto provided for Catholics was an annual grant of 9,000*l.* for the education at Maynooth of 200 priests, who had formerly been trained in foreign seminaries. This endowment was the first step in a scheme entertained by Pitt before the passing of the Act of Union of paying the Catholic clergy, in order to bring them under the control of the British Government. It proved very insufficient for the needs of the various dioceses concerned, and Lord Grenville raised it to 13,000*l.* a year. Sir John Newport, perhaps the ablest and most liberal-minded member of the Irish Government, having discovered in the course of his researches as Chancellor of the Exchequer, an education fund which Lord Castlereagh had diverted from its proper uses to purposes of corruption, was now at work to recover and apply it to the extension of public instruction. However, as this reform required management and perhaps fresh legislation, it still remained a benevolent project.

But although these grievances were rampant, without certain promise of redress, Protestant ascendancy had laid aside much of its aggressive character since the death of Lord Chancellor Clare in 1802. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardwicke, coercive enactments, passed before the Union, were suspended, and ordinary law resumed its reign. Under the Duke of Bedford and the Irish Whigs, Government assumed a very friendly attitude towards the Catholics, and sought occasions for the first time to give them minor posts in the Administration, to which the Relief Act of 1793-4 had made them eligible. Lord Grenville hoped and expected that, in return, they would for the present desist from active agitation, which could only embarrass the English Ministry without advancing their own cause. It was, therefore, with great vexation that he learned early in 1807 that at Catholic meetings representing all classes, it had been resolved to petition Parliament during the approaching session for a repeal of their disabilities. Moreover, the vigorous assertion of equality of rights which informed these resolutions, so different in tone from the humble supplication of former years, excited the resentment and the fears of Lord Buckingham and himself, as disloyal in spirit, and likely to blow into a flame smouldering fires of Protestant intolerance. As a matter of fact a change had been silently progressing in Ireland, of which neither of them took sufficient account. The Volunteer movement during the war of American Independence

breathed new life into a country which had been crushed into abject submission. The years following the liberation of Irish trade and the Irish Legislature, by the force of that movement, had been a time of unprecedented prosperity, of which a partial repeal of penal laws had given the Catholics an abundant share. A new Catholic middle class, enriched by trade and rapidly acquiring property in land, had sprung into existence. Some of them were descendants of old proprietors who, despoiled of their lands after the capitulation of Limerick, had sunk down among the peasantry; and in these, at least, the memory of the "violated treaty" still lived as a great national wrong. They produced leaders, such as Mr. Keogh, who, encouraged by Grattan and the Presbyterians of Belfast, had broken away from the policy of timid subservience insisted on by aristocratic leaders like the Earl of Kenmare, and, going over to England in 1793, had obtained concessions from Pitt which seemed to open the way for complete emancipation. As a body they were staunch loyalists, in opposition to Jacobin principles. But the recall of Lord FitzWilliam; the reign of terror and lawless violence that followed in vindication of "law and order"; the promises so freely given in order to pass the Act of Union, and almost immediately ignored when that object was attained, had filled them with deep distrust of British government. They believed that they had been deliberately cheated to serve an English object; that their dearest interests and aspirations were mere counters in the political game of English party. Though bearing the same burthens and under the same obligations of service as their Protestant fellow-subjects, they saw themselves excluded indefinitely from the higher ranks of professions, and the higher posts of public trust; and, as usual in struggles for liberty, every measure of partial relief had made the sense of inequality more galling. Besides, concessions made to them in 1794 had been practically revoked. Corporations to which they were then made eligible remained closed by a Test Act of Charles II, which the House of Lords now refused to repeal. The right of voting for members of Parliament then granted could only be exercised with safety by great numbers of them in accordance with the orders of landlords, often hostile to their claims, on whose estates they were tenants at will. By a clause in the Act of 1794, commissions in the Irish Army, then a separate body under the control of the Irish Parliament, were opened to them, up to the rank of General on the Staff. As there was no Irish Navy, the naval service was not referred to. Government pledged itself at the same time to pass another Act through the British Parliament, making the concession valid throughout the Empire. No step was taken to redeem this pledge; but so long as the Irish Parliament lasted, the liberty of conscience of the Irish soldiers was not interfered with. But when the Act of Union merged the Irish Army into the British Army,



then under the direct control of the Sovereign, exercised through the Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards, the Catholic officer lost his commission when his regiment was transferred from Ireland, and the Catholic soldier was compelled to attend the services of the established Church. Every measure of relief Irish Catholics had obtained seemed to them to have been wrung from England by the pressure of some great peril: the revolt of America, the Volunteer movement, the French Revolution, the United Irish Association. "England's adversity is Ireland's opportunity" had already won currency as a political maxim. The recent subjugation of nearly the whole Continent by Napoleon now exposed England to a conflict which must tax all the resources she could command. As Mr. Keogh, the chief promoter of a Catholic petition, argued, according to reports from Ireland, it was only fear inspired by such a crisis as that now apparently imminent that would compel English prejudice to listen to Irish claims; and therefore a petition must strengthen the Coalition Ministry in an effort to overcome the forces of intolerance arrayed against it. This language Lord Grenville and his brethren branded as rebellious, and refused to tolerate. But the Lord Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary, William Elliot, wrote privately that it had been ascertained from Lords Fingal and French, and other leading Catholics, that admission to Parliament would not now be pressed if other grievances were removed; and they both earnestly counselled concession. It was clear that some concession must be made if the course of Irish Government was to continue smooth; and Lord Grenville resolved to shape compliance so as to satisfy another Imperial need, which became more urgent every day. As has been already stated,<sup>1</sup> one of the greatest of England's difficulties in conflict with revolutionary France was to recruit the ranks of her army and navy to a degree of strength sufficient to answer all the calls of national policy. Crimps, press-gangs, and lavish expenditure in bounties notwithstanding, this difficulty had been increasing of late years. Napoleon's victories gradually reduced the supply of German mercenaries who had figured so prominently in British expeditions. Horse Guards' intolerance completely checked recruiting in Ireland, where the priests had brought their influence to bear against a system of compulsory proselytism.<sup>2</sup> This was now the chief cause of difficulty in filling the ranks of the army, the old limitations which penal laws and national jealousies had imposed on Irish recruiting having vanished with the Irish Parliament. In Ireland there was a Catholic population of more than four millions, engaged for the greatest part in agriculture, under wretched conditions. Small plots

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to Volume VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville, January 14, 1807.

of inferior land, rack-rented under pressure of severe competition, held on precarious tenure, and therefore badly cultivated, burdened also with tithes, afforded a miserable subsistence to families unusually large owing to the habit of early marriage. The wage of a labourer was 4*d.* or 5*d.* for a day of twelve hours; and even at this rate, owing to absenteeism, decrease of trade, and other circumstances, there was a dearth of employment. The conditions and the standard of living were far inferior in Ireland to those existing in Great Britain; and in the absence of Catholic education, the only road of advancement open to the most intelligent peasant or artizan was that of renouncing his religious creed. In such circumstances, with a more tolerant policy, Ireland was the natural recruiting ground of the British army and navy; the career of a soldier or sailor which repelled the well-fed English workman, as slavery under the lash, was, for crowds of half-starved Irish labourers, a welcome escape from stagnation in sordid poverty to a condition of comparative comfort and honourable adventure. But the Duke of York, already strenuously at work to defeat Windham's military reforms, showed no disposition to help a Ministry which he had declared to be a "national calamity." Lord Grenville, anxious in all things to avoid collision with the King, sought eagerly, especially after he had fixed his mind on the conquest of Spanish America, to meet the wants of the Empire by raising exclusively Catholic regiments in Ireland for service in the Mediterranean, Portugal, and countries professing the same religion.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with his wishes, Mr. Elliott, the Irish Chief Secretary, employed Colonel Handfield, an officer of some distinction, to prepare the plan of such a regiment, which was forwarded to Downing Street.<sup>1</sup> But, as the Duke of Bedford reported, the scheme met with little favour in Ireland. Protestants suspected a new Popish plot; Catholics objected to it as another mark of separation from their countrymen of other creeds.<sup>2</sup> So the plan was abandoned, and Grenville resolved to risk the proposal of throwing open the military and naval services to all subjects of the Crown without distinction of creed, hoping that the increasing danger and needs of the monarchy would counteract the King's well-known repugnance to any further repeal of religious disabilities. It has been stated that the Government only intended at first to fulfil the pledge given in 1794, of making the Irish Act of that year legal throughout the British Empire. The correspondence now published affords clear evidence to the contrary. William Elliott, indeed, had already informed Lord Grenville that this tardy reparation would no longer be acceptable in Ireland. Besides, it afforded no sufficient remedy for what Government particularly wanted to cure, the failure of recruiting.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot to Grenville, January 11, 1807.

<sup>2</sup> Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville, January 14, 1807.

It should be stated that the official letters on this subject are printed, as Lord Grenville arranged them, under the heading of "Irish Catholic Question," *pp.* 100-120; whereas private and confidential letters on the same topic are given in the usual way, according to their respective dates.

On February 9, Lord Spencer, Secretary of State for the Home Department, sent to the King an official despatch from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated February 4, with the draft of an answer which the Cabinet submitted for his Majesty's approval. The Duke's despatch announced an intention of the Irish Catholics to petition Parliament again for relief from their remaining disabilities, and an enquiry from them whether the Cabinet would support their petition. It stated further that the Lord Lieutenant had gathered from informal inquiries that a measure of partial concession would satisfy the petitioners for the present, as evidence of good will; and it asked for instructions. Lord Spencer's official reply strongly deprecated the presentation of a petition for objects impossible of attainment, and provoking discussion hurtful to the public interests and to Catholics themselves. The Irish Government, therefore, should discourage the proceeding, while carefully abstaining from offering any inducement for the purpose of averting it. The Cabinet, however, the answer continued, had already come to a resolution on the grounds of justice, policy and consistency, to open the military profession to Irish Catholics, the non-fulfilment of the pledges made to them in 1794 having created for them an absurd and injurious position at a time when the dangers of the Empire required the co-operation of all his Majesty's subjects in its defence. Two clauses, therefore, would be introduced into the Mutiny Act: one enabling the King to confer "any military commission whatever on any of his liege subjects, to be lawfully exercised in all places within and without the Empire, and under no other condition than that of taking an oath of allegiance and fidelity"; the other giving "all his Majesty's subjects, however employed in his forces, a legal right to full toleration as to the exercise of their religious profession." There is nothing ambiguous here. The draft was adopted by all of the Cabinet present, including Lord Sidmouth, the law lords being absent on duty. And the King's answer, returned on the following day, February 11, shows that he fully apprehended the meaning of their advice. This answer rejected a proposal which opened the whole question of Catholic disabilities. His objections to it, the King said, "have never varied, for they arise from principles by which he has been guided through life and to which he is determined to adhere. On this question a line has been drawn from which he cannot depart"; and he called Lord Spencer's attention to what occurred when the subject was brought forward in 1801. It need hardly be pointed out that this answer could not have referred to the Irish Act of 1793-4 to which the

King had assented without pressure, having graciously received the Irish delegates at Court. "The line drawn" seems to be the restriction in that Act on Catholics from attaining a higher military grade than that of Colonel; and the proposal he rejected in 1801 was for a removal of all disabilities whatsoever, civil and military. It is clear from a letter of Lord Buckingham, dated February 11, that Lord Grenville now considered the situation of the Ministry desperate, and joyfully welcomed the prospect of resignation or dismissal as a release from official trammels. But his deep sense of the dangers, internal and external, to which the monarchy was exposed, inspired on the same day a personal appeal to the King, transmitting and enforcing an appeal from the entire Cabinet that he would reconsider his decision. Both appeals represented that the measure now proposed was perfectly conformable *in its principle* to the concession made by the King in 1793-4; and that as the power it conferred was lodged in his Majesty's hands alone, no danger to Protestant interests could arise from it. On the other hand, it would convert elements of disorder in Ireland into elements of Imperial strength. Nothing, it was declared, but a conviction of its indispensable necessity for the public welfare could induce the Cabinet to recommend a concession repugnant to the Royal feelings. To this pressure the King gave way, with unconcealed reluctance. In a reply to Lord Grenville, dated February 12, he consented, "under the circumstances in which it is so earnestly pressed, and adverting particularly to what took place in 1793," to the proposed clauses being inserted in the Mutiny Act for the consideration of Parliament. But he declared that he could not "go one step further"; and trusted that he should not be distressed with any further applications of the same character. In a third minute, dated February 12, the Cabinet thanked the King for deferring to their advice. And on the same day Lord Spencer's despatch to the Duke of Bedford, which was the subject of this discussion, went to Ireland. Next day, February 13, Lord Grenville wrote to Chief Secretary Elliott, setting forth at considerable length the difficulties Ministers had had to encounter in obtaining the Royal consent, and the impossibility of passing any further measure of relief against the King's will backed by public opinion, so lately declared in Parliament and now incensed by the language of Mr. Keogh; and he suggested an appeal on the part of the Irish Government to the reason and good feeling of more moderate members of the Catholic body to abstain from supporting a petition which must embarrass and endanger a friendly Government, without possible advantage to themselves. On February 17, the Duke of Bedford wrote that Mr. Elliott had read Lord Spencer's despatch of the 12th to a deputation of Catholic gentlemen, who listened without expressing any opinion. And on the following day he wrote again that a general meeting of Catholics,

to which the deputation reported what they had learned from the Chief Secretary, passed a unanimous resolution to proceed with a petition. No doubt Catholics of the middle class, whose views were now in the ascendant, would have preferred the opening up to them of the Bar, corporations, bank directorships, and especially the office of High Sheriff, which might have afforded them some protection against jury-packing, than that conceded of the higher military grades. Besides, the concession granted, by stimulating recruiting in Ireland, must strengthen the British army and navy, and thus lighten the pressure of public apprehension in England—on which they counted for complete redress. Shortly afterwards, Lord Ponsonby, nephew of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, after conference with Lord Grenville, went over to Dublin to use his personal influence against the proposed petition. This step, taken without consulting the Duke of Bedford, proved a false move. It aroused suspicion among the Catholics, and provoked a unanimous resolution in favour of prompter action in the course already determined on. The moderate leaders, while disapproving of this haste, thought it a duty to the cause in which all were embarked to avoid division in the Catholic ranks, and therefore accepted the decision of the vast majority. The sentiments on this subject of Lord Fingall, first of them in rank and public consideration, were expressed in letters dated March 2nd and 4th to Lords Buckingham and Grenville, with whom he lived on terms of personal regard. And Grenville thenceforth followed the judicious advice of the Lord Lieutenant to leave the Catholics to follow their own line. On March 3 Lord Howick, acting as Home Secretary for Lord Spenceer, who was ill, sent another despatch to the Lord Lieutenant, with copies of the new clauses about to be inserted in the Mutiny Act, in order that the Duke might be able to confirm the statement made to the Catholic deputation by Mr. Elliott, on which some doubt had been cast, that those clauses would enable Catholics to hold, *in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, any military commission or appointment whatsoever . . . under no other condition than that of taking an oath of allegiance and fidelity.* This despatch, as Lord Grenville tells us, was sent for the King's consideration on Monday, March 2, returned on Tuesday morning without objection, and forwarded to Dublin. On Wednesday, March 4, Lords Grenville and Howick went to the palace. Howick had audience first. His business appears to have been to inform the King that for greater convenience he had embodied in a separate Bill the clauses relating to Catholics and others he had intended, with his Majesty's permission, to insert in the Mutiny Act. On coming out of the closet, he informed his colleague that the King had again expressed repugnance to the measure, but consented to its being proposed to Parliament. Grenville, therefore, did not advert to the subject during his audience, immediately

following, "*nor did his Majesty say anything to him upon it.*" On the same day, March 4, Lord Howick moved the first reading of the Bill in the House of Commons. Mr. Perceval opposed it in an inflammatory speech as destructive of the Protestant Constitution in Church and State, but it was read a first time, and the second reading was fixed for March 12. Already, however, the Royal dislike of the Bill had become known in political circles. Lord Malmesbury, whom the failure of past attempts to embroil the Sovereign with his Ministry had almost reduced to despair, set to work again with renewed hope. He maintained intimate relations with the Duke of York, and with influential members of the Royal Household. He had acquired absolute control over the Duke of Portland, now merely the wreck of a feeble politician; and Burlington House became the headquarters of a cabal, of which Lord Eldon, Mr. Percival, and the Dukes of York and Cumberland appear to have been members, which worked on the King's conscientious scruples, and used all the weapons of faction for the overthrow of the Ministry. On Wednesday, March 11, after a week of silence, the King informed Lords Grenville and Howick that he had not assented to the introduction of the new Army Bill; he had assented only to granting wider legal operation to the Irish Bill of 1794 in fulfilment of pledges given at that time. Lord Grenville was too devoted a servant of the Crown to cast a doubt on this declaration, however surprising it may have appeared to him. What in fact could he say? It has been suggested that Lord Howick blundered in framing his Bill through ignorance of the Irish Bill of 1794. Lord Howick, however, merely repeated, and tried to give effect to the pledge given, with his Majesty's consent, in Lord Spencer's despatch to the Duke of Bedford, dated February 12. As to possibility of mistake owing to the King's failing eye-sight, it seems sufficient to say that his private secretary, Major, afterwards Sir Herbert Taylor, was a man of ability and honour, whose faithful discharge of the duties of his office has never been questioned. The explanation seems to lie in the kingcraft of which George III had shown himself a master in dealings with his Ministers during the whole course of his reign, exercised under the influence of increasing mental disease. Disease warped his judgment, apparently without diminishing the keenness of other faculties. Lord Malmesbury, who felt strong personal attachment to his Sovereign and had intimate knowledge of what passed in the Royal Household, remarks of his behaviour during Pitt's Ministry in 1804, that only Lord Eldon had any influence over him, and "his cunning and art are marvellous."<sup>1</sup> Lord Auckland, who condemned the new Military Bill as "political suicide," and maintained close relations with leading members of the Opposition, came to the conclusion that the King would have allowed the Bill.

<sup>1</sup> *Diary and Correspondence of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury.*

to run its course in Parliament but for "secret intrigue."<sup>1</sup> No doubt George III had assented to it with great reluctance. The Ministry seemed firmly established. Even those members of the Cabinet who professed the same repugnance to the measure he felt himself, had concurred in urging him to concede it. Age and blindness made him desire repose. But secret intrigue aroused into morbid activity his old illusion as to violating his Coronation oath and forfeiting the Crown to the Prince of Wales; and the tactics of the Opposition raised such a commotion throughout Great Britain as encouraged him to repudiate a concession which he may have considered as unfairly extorted; while opening to him a prospect of restoring the system of personal rule, which was the constant aim of his reign, and ridding himself of Ministers, whom he henceforth treated as personal enemies. As to the formidable nature of the agitation excited throughout the country, we have the emphatic testimony of Lord Grenville himself. Writing on March 11 to the Duke of Bedford to express agreement with the view of the latter that legislation on Irish tithes must be deferred to another Session, he gives the following reason: "The difficulties of the subject of tithes, always considerable, are much increased . . . by the rash and intemperate conduct which the Catholics of Dublin have been so inconsiderate as to adopt. A spirit of bigotry has been awakened in this country to a degree which it is not easy to conceive without being an eye-witness of it. And so far from there being the least probability of success in obtaining for the Catholics the full and complete toleration which accords with your Grace's opinion and mine, it appears to me still very doubtful whether the measure now actually in progress in Parliament may not be defeated by the intolerant principles which prevail so extensively in this country, and by the spirit of intrigue which is so actively at work on the subject." He implored the Lord Lieutenant not to abandon his post in a crisis so full of danger to the peace of Ireland. It soon appeared that Lord Grenville under-estimated the forces now in full operation against the Ministry. They shattered it to pieces. Lord Sidmouth declared that he also had assented to the Bill under a false impression of its meaning. He waited on the King to express his sympathy and tender his resignation of office; and he opened a negotiation with Mr. Perceval for joint action to defeat the measure in Parliament.<sup>2</sup> And although he consented at the King's request to remain in the Cabinet, it was only on condition of having liberty to oppose his colleagues on this question. The Law Lords Erskine and Ellenborough, though sharing Sidmouth's dislike of the Bill, and no longer invited to attend meetings of the Cabinet, showed no inclination to secede from the Ministry. The Prince of Wales, on the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> *Diary and Correspondence of Lord Auckland.*

<sup>2</sup> *Walpole's Life of Spencer Perceval.*

aggrieved no doubt by the impartial attitude of Lord Grenville in regard to his charges against his wife, and already under the spell of "Manchester House" witcheries, hurried down to Windsor to announce an intention "not only to speak, but to vote against the Catholic Bill." This defection however did not count for much. George III, about this time, contrasting his own unpopularity during the early part of his reign with the loyal acclamations which greeted his appearances in public for many years before its close, declared that he owed the first phase of public opinion to an obnoxious Minister, and the second to his eldest son. But it showed how the tide ran. Finally, the Duke of Portland, at Lord Malmesbury's instigation, wrote to the King, offering his services to throw out the Government Bill in the House of Lords, and to form a new Administration. Meantime, Lord Howick had postponed the second reading in the House of Commons, while Lord Grenville took counsel with the majority of the Cabinet. If the need of the Bill were so urgent in the public interests as Ministers had represented to the King, their plain course seemed to be to resign, and let the consequences of the situation fall on the authors of it. This was the opinion of the Foxites,<sup>1</sup> and of Lord Grenville himself. But there was a strong disinclination on the part of other Grenvilles to breaking up the Government on such an issue.<sup>2</sup> The Prime Minister, therefore, in deference to his brothers, set himself to ascertain in what sense, literal or liberal, the King was disposed to interpret the Irish Act of 1794. There was no Irish navy at that time; but as Ireland supplied sailors as well as soldiers, it was commonly understood that the British Act promised would open to Catholics all naval commissions below the rank of commodore. Then another Irish Act of Parliament had opened public employment of every kind without restriction to Protestant Dissenters. Would the King concede anything to them? His Majesty curtly refused to have Catholic officers in the navy, or to allow Protestant Dissenters to hold any office of public trust outside of Ireland. As the Irish Bill, thus interpreted, had no value as a political remedy, the Cabinet informed the King in a minute written by Lord Grenville on March 15, of their decision to withdraw without attempting to modify the measure introduced by Lord Howick; while reserving to themselves full liberty to express their opinion in Parliament as to the necessity in the public interests of removing disabilities which made Ireland the vulnerable point of the British Empire; and of giving such advice on the subject in future as the exigencies of the State might seem to them to require. The King replied on March 17, after a conference with Lord Eldon, expressing his fixed resolve never to make any further concession to the Catholics, and requiring from his Ministers a written pledge never again to trouble him with any proposal on the subject. The Cabinet

<sup>1</sup> Lord Holland to Lord Howick.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Grenville to Duke of Bedford, March 13.



on March 18, in very respectful terms, refused to bind themselves to a line of conduct so contrary to that enjoined by their duty to the Crown and their oaths as Privy Councillors; whereupon the King announced his intention of forming another Administration. But before the correspondence reached this stage, Lord Spencer, Home Secretary, still ill in the country, and all the leading members of the Irish Government, had declared their intention of abandoning posts they could no longer hold with credit to themselves or advantage to the public. Thomas Grenville, hitherto the most earnest of the Cabinet for staying in, now found himself unable to separate from his friend Lord Spencer. These resignations were mortal blows which the Coalition Government could not survive. And thus Lord Grenville, by lingering in office against his own better judgment, afforded the King an opportunity of asserting in the plainest manner an unconstitutional prerogative, which the Tory Opposition practically admitted, and which the Sovereign continued to exercise in various ways till the end of the following reign.

On the night of March 18, Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury were summoned to Windsor. Hawkesbury was the eldest son of the Earl of Liverpool, who as Mr. Jenkinson, in the earlier years of this reign, had been leader of the "King's friends" in the House of Commons. His High Tory principles, amiable temper, and courtly manners made him a particular favourite with the Royal Family. Early on March 19 the two noblemen were received by the King, who during an audience of 2½ hours read to them his correspondence with his Ministers on the subject of the Catholic Bill, and gave them his version of what had passed in conversation with Lord Howick. He then commissioned them to carry his commands to the Duke of Portland to form a new Administration. The Duke was to take counsel with Lord Chatham, and find some place for Lord Westmorland. They found Portland and his mentor, Malmesbury, awaiting them at Burlington House. According to their report of the King's communication to them, as recorded in Malmesbury's *Diary*, the clauses for the Mutiny Act to which his Majesty gave consent would have only allowed wider operation to the Irish Bill of 1794; whereas the Bill submitted for his approval by Lord Howick on March 4 opened all commissions to Catholics without restriction. To this he refused his consent; nevertheless, Howick introduced the Bill into the House of Commons, the Ministry presuming on his political helplessness to put force on his conscience; and afterwards seeking to impose on him such hard and inadmissible conditions as left him no option except to dismiss them or to forfeit his Crown. Lord Grenville, he admitted, "personally had behaved very well."<sup>1</sup> Having listened to this statement and offered his services to Portland, with the reserve imposed by increasing deafness, Malmesbury retired to his own house, apparently in full expectation of

<sup>1</sup> *Diary and Correspondence of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury.*

being called into the new Cabinet, perhaps for a time as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Here he repeated, no doubt in good faith, what he had heard from Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury to the numerous friends and acquaintances who called on him to seek information, or congratulate him on the success of his political manœuvring. When some of his visitors informed him, on the authority of Lord Hardwicke and of the Bishop of Lincoln, who had read the official correspondence, that Lord Grenville had imposed no unreasonable conditions on the King, Malmesbury replied that they could not have seen *all* the papers; and when this plea was disproved, he insisted that Hardwicke had been "tampered with" by Grenville, and that the Bishop "bore spite" against the King for refusing to make him Archbishop of Canterbury. It was in this spirit that a new electoral campaign opened. On March 26 and 27, Lords Grenville and Howick called the attention of the Houses of Parliament to "a garbled and misleading version of the official Cabinet minutes" on the subject of the Catholic Bill, published in the *Morning Post* by some one who had access to them, and signed "Protestant." On this occasion, we are told, the Duke of Cumberland occupied the first seat on the Government bench in the House of Lords, in order to proclaim that it was he who had overthrown the late Ministry.<sup>1</sup> Ministers present denied all knowledge of the publication; but the fraud had answered its purpose of prejudicing the public mind. Malmesbury, however, found to his intense mortification—he was the dupe of his own state-craft—that in the construction of a new Administration Portland was treated as a mere figure-head; while his own claims were altogether ignored. Not one personal friend or confidant of the Prime Minister, his mentor complained,<sup>2</sup> found a seat in the Cabinet. Eldon was Lord Chancellor; Hawkesbury as Home Secretary led the House of Lords. Chatham returned to his old position as Master of the Ordnance. Spencer Perceval, who had led the opposition to the Catholic Bill in the House of Commons, became, by his Majesty's particular desire, leader of that House as Chancellor of the Exchequer. An able lawyer and a clever debater, who used the tactics and weapons of a special pleader in Parliamentary warfare, Perceval had been Attorney General in the Administrations of Addington and Pitt. Of finance he hardly appears to have mastered the rudiments. He was a Tory of a narrow and fanatical type, intolerant in religion, an enemy of reform in every shape, but justly liked and respected for amiable qualities and personal virtues. In public life he showed courage and pertinacity as a party chief, but marked deficiency in any higher quality of statesmanship. Going down for re-election at Northampton, as organ of the King's personal sentiments,

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Sir S. Romilly.*

<sup>2</sup> *Diary and Correspondence.*

he sounded the No-Popery alarm in the country, and proclaimed the policy of the new Administration. He told the electors that he had relinquished the legal profession in order to fulfil the duty incumbent on every loyal subject of aiding the King in his courageous defence of the Protestant Constitution in Church and State, against the insidious designs of his discarded advisers. This appeal raised a storm of indignant loyalty, which soon raged throughout the kingdom. Perceval's sacrifice of professional emolument however, as *Peter Plymley* reminded him, had not been quite so disinterested as his words might lead the public to believe. The King conferred on him the easy and well-paid office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, tenable for life; and he held the reversion of the richest sinecure in the kingdom, that of Registrar of the Admiralty Court, worth 12,000*l.* a year, and now enjoyed by his brother, Lord Arden. The framers of the new Government showed particular solicitude to secure the support of Marquis Wellesley, whose great ability and renown would have brought strength and lustre to their cause. Distracted on one hand between the promptings of his own ambition, resentment at the "persecution," as he called it, of the Whigs, the entreaties of three younger brothers whose advancement he had made his particular care, and the bait of the Garter, for which he had hitherto asked in vain, and on the other by an earnest appeal from Lord Grenville, his oldest and staunchest friend, he wavered for a time, declined office, but promised support. His three brothers were taken into the new Administration. Sir Arthur Wellesley accepted the post of Chief Secretary at Dublin Castle, on receiving assurances, as informed Lord Grenville, from the Portland Government and the Duke of York, that this step would give him an additional claim to military employment. Lords Melville and Chichester and Mr. Yorke, disapproving of No-Popery tactics, took the same line as Lord Wellesley. Lord Sidmouth, alone of the late Ministers, had been received by the King in a special audience to take leave, and been honoured besides by a gracious letter of his Majesty's approval. But leading members of Pitt's last ministry refused to accept him again as a colleague; and so the offer of co-operation he had made to Mr. Perceval was courteously declined. And Mr. Canning brought his negotiation with Lord Grenville to a close by announcing to him in person a determination to adhere to the King.

Of the new Ministers, Canning was conspicuous for brilliant and attractive qualities. Nature had gifted him with wit and eloquence of a high order, with capacity for large views and generous sympathies. But, as his friend Malmesbury often lamented, early and rapid advancement in a political career, through the favour of Pitt, had spoilt him. Having had no experience of the checks which might have curbed and regulated the ambition and vanity which consumed him,

he had not acquired the patient self-restraint and cool judgment which are essential elements of pre-eminence in the public life of Constitutional Monarchy. Although a good-natured man at bottom, in his desire to display his distinguished literary gifts, to conquer in debate, he indulged in reckless sarcasm and ridicule, which not only made him bitter personal enemies, but exhibited him to duller politicians as wanting in the sobriety and discretion required for the efficient conduct of public affairs. "So plausible and clever in argument as to make all he wishes to do seem right,"<sup>1</sup> he twisted or suppressed facts to suit the purpose of the moment, without heeding the inevitable consequence of inspiring general distrust. The circumstances of the new Ministry seemed to open to him a near prospect of becoming himself Prime Minister. To reach this goal he bent all his efforts, with a blind confidence in his own superior merits, a blind contempt for dangerous competition, a disregard of legitimate individual pretensions and the obligations of party, which courted disaster. Perhaps, indeed, the chief obstacles in his path were faults of his own; headlong egotism and a passion for secret intrigue. He told the Duke of Portland, with the air of one who could name his own place, that he would cede the office of Foreign Secretary only to Lord Wellesley or Lord Malmesbury. When given, after Wellesley's refusal to enter the Ministry, a choice between the Foreign Office and the Admiralty, he went to consult Malmesbury, whose secret aspirations he no doubt divined. After some hesitation, Malmesbury advised him to take the Foreign Seals, and was rewarded by finding himself installed as confidential adviser in the business of that Department, and by the appointment of his son, Lord FitzHarris, as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Canning, however, had to endure the deep mortification of seeing Perceval leader of the House of Commons. He refused to acknowledge the Chancellor of the Exchequer's official superiority; but he heartily adopted, as the sure road to the King's favour, the No-Popery policy with which Perceval had publicly identified the new Administration.

Lord Castlereagh, whose services in passing the Act of Union, however discreditable to himself, gave him undeniable claims on the British Government, had been appointed in Pitt's last feeble Ministry, through the influence of Lord Camden, his own near relative and Pitt's particular friend, Secretary of State for War. Having, in Opposition, strenuously opposed Windham's Army Bill, in co-operation with the Duke of York, the new arrangements brought him back to his former post to restore a discarded military system.

Before, however, the reins of Government changed hands, a Bill introduced by Lord Grenville to give effect to the Resolutions of the previous Session abolishing the slave-trade

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<sup>1</sup> *Diary of Lord Malmesbury.*

had passed through both Houses of Parliament, and received the Royal Assent.

The late Ministers lost no time in challenging their successors to a trial of strength by a motion in Parliament that, in refusing to accept the pledge demanded from them by the King, they had performed their plain duty. The strength they had acquired by a recent election, and the unconstitutional character of the pledge, seemed to assure them of success in the House of Commons. But with the cry for "Church and King" resounding through the land, their solid majority dissolved "like the fabric of a vision." Perceval, while repudiating personal responsibility for the dismissal of his predecessors, charged them with having caused their own downfall and the No-Popery tumult by an unfair and unnecessary attempt to do violence to the King's conscience. Castlereagh, an avowed partizan of Catholic emancipation, sought to repel the reproach of fanning the No-Popery flame by flinging random taunts and derisive epithets at the front Opposition bench. Canning answered a similar charge by declaring that he only favoured Catholic relief if the King did; and that the only vote he had given on the question was against it. He expatiated in a strain of fulsome panegyric on the King's virtues and sound mental and bodily health; and declared that if the House ventured to cast censure on their Sovereign's conduct, he and his colleagues would appeal to the country in his Majesty's defence. This menacing language, which Lord Howick described as unexampled in the annals of that House, and Lord Malmesbury admits to have been "too imperious in threatening dissolution," produced all the effect intended; giving Ministers a majority of 32. All Lord Sidmouth's followers, with the exception of Mr. Vansittart, voted with them. The Prince of Wales' friends, the "Saints," including Wilberforce, and a number of members who feared to face a No-Popery storm in their constituencies, stayed away. Another motion in the Commons impugning the conduct of the Ministry, was lost on April 25 by a majority of 48. In the House of Lords, as might be expected from an assembly habitually docile to the Royal wishes, the victories of the Ministry were much more decisive. But it could only rely, as Lord Malmesbury tells us, on a regular majority of 23 in the Commons. A few months before its principal members had raised a loud clamour, and set every engine of factious intrigue at work in order to prevail on the King to refuse his consent to a dissolution during the recess of a Parliament which had already sat for four years. Now they dissolved again in the middle of a Session, with entire disregard of the public and private interests involved in various measures depending in Parliament, in order to take full advantage of the irrational excitement they had kindled, and which, in

the nature of things, must soon subside. The King's Speech on this occasion has been fitly described as a personal appeal to his subjects against the dismissed Cabinet. The battle-cry of the Ministry was "Church and King." The first trial of strength in the new Parliament showed the Tory party established in power with a majority of 200 in the House of Commons, and a practically impregnable position in the House of Lords.

Thus ended the brief life of the Coalition Ministry of "All the Talents"; composed with few exceptions of Whigs of various shades, from the aristocratic conservatism of Lord Grenville to the broad, sympathetic liberalism of Lord Holland. Forced into office by public needs against the will of a popular Sovereign, at a time of profound national discouragement, of financial embarrassment, and of political reaction, its shortcomings in war against an unrivalled master of the art, whose sword had broken to pieces three successive European coalitions, exposed it to just if malevolent criticism; while its valuable measures of internal improvement, misrepresented, decried, and finally annulled by popular prejudice, corrupt servility, and party virulence, have received but scant recognition in days of democratic progress. But it proclaimed principles which survived it and produced fruit in more enlightened times. And its leading statesmen left an example of public virtue and independent spirit which has done much to exalt and purify English political life. Lord Grenville, although a strenuous opponent of Parliamentary reform, for which, indeed, a time of mortal strife with revolutionized France was hardly opportune, resumed from the moment of his becoming Prime Minister, the task of economical reform which Burke, and Pitt in the earlier years of his first Administration, had pursued to such public advantage. Renouncing, as far as the condition of affairs allowed, Pitt's later habit of defraying extraordinary expenditure by loans at high interest, in fallacious reliance on a sinking fund, he insisted that annual outlay for the public service should be covered to a larger extent by annual taxation. He vigorously cut down extravagant expenditure, especially for military administration, in which corrupt abuses still flourished under the shadow of the royal prerogative; and he lent staunch support to Windham's Army Bill. The system of recruiting which the Coalition Ministry of Fox and Grenville found in operation, appears to have been at the same time extravagant, inefficient and demoralizing. The active army was largely maintained by drafts from a national Militia, raised by ballot, with liberty to those thus chosen to purchase substitutes. Bounties were again paid to allure Militia men into the line, the sums received in this way by individuals sometimes amounting to thirty pounds. The money thus gained was spent too often in drunkenness and riot, to the great detriment of public morals and public order; and these orgies were not infrequently

followed by desertions and attempts at re-enlistment for additional bounty, which the terrors of the lash and even more drastic punishment failed to repress. This system being found insufficient for the needs of the State, had been supplemented during Pitt's last Ministry by the "Additional Force Act," which proved a complete failure. Windham aimed at making military service popular and attracting to it a better class of recruit, by improving the conditions of pay and pension, and shortening the term from one of life to periods of seven, fourteen and twenty-one years. He formed a reserve force of the men retiring on pension, which might be called up for active duty in case of need; allowing the Militia to remain untouched as a stationary force for national defence. And he made provision for the general training of the male population. The new system, while still in preparation, and particularly the part of it dealing with limitations of service, was vehemently opposed by the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief; and the King himself intervened to prevent its introduction to Parliament. Innovation, his Majesty wrote to Windham, was to be avoided in the present admirable state to which the army had been brought by years of progressive improvement. He reproached the Minister for not paying greater deference to the opinions of his son and all the ablest officers, as to the destructive effect a shortening of service must have on military discipline; if, however, he continued, the Ministry in spite of this protest should persevere with the Bill, he would allow it to take its course; there were other features of it, such as improved pay and the general training of the population on the basis of the "Levy in Mass Act," which he fully approved.<sup>1</sup> Windham made some slight concessions in regard to service in time of war which did not at all satisfy the King. But the ease with which the measure passed without emendation through both Houses of Parliament, in spite of all the efforts of Lord Castlereagh, late Minister for War, and other chiefs of the Opposition, who tried in vain, by misrepresentation, Windham declared, to raise a storm against it throughout the country, showed that it had the support of public opinion. And during the short and partial trial allowed to it, it added many thousands of recruits to the army by an increase of enlistments, and a decrease of desertions, with a saving to the country at the annual rate of 900,000*l.*<sup>2</sup> Windham, however, finding himself unable to bring his whole scheme into operation in consequence of persistent obstruction at the Horse Guards, was already contemplating resignation when the Ministry foundered on the rock of their Irish policy.<sup>3</sup> The Bill abolishing the Slave Trade is a national glory. How a measure so disliked at Court, opposed by such powerful interests and rooted

<sup>1</sup> *Windham Papers*—George III to W. Windham, March 29, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, 1807-8-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Windham Papers*—Windham to Grey, September 29, 1809.

prejudices, became law in the last hours of a discredited Administration is a marvel. Lord Brougham seems to attribute this victory mainly to Lord Grenville's enthusiasm for right and justice.<sup>1</sup> Nor were Grenville's energies in the cause of reform confined to objects more immediately affecting the welfare of England. "The Scottish Judicature Bill," introduced by him as Prime Minister into the House of Lords, and afterwards killed by a Tory dissolution in the middle of the Parliamentary Session, aimed at remedying a scandalous mal-administration of justice in Scotland. His efforts to redeem some of the pledges given to the Irish Catholics at the time of the Union have been already adverted to. It is no doubt true that in risking the fate of the Ministry on such a limited measure of relief, applying equally to Protestant Dissenters, he and his colleagues were more concerned with Imperial than with merely Irish interests. But Mr. Sheridan, the staunchest friend Ireland had in the House of Commons, did them injustice in accusing them of beginning redress at the wrong end, at the mansion instead of the cottage. The Irish Government of the Duke of Bedford was employed to the very last, in face of extraordinary difficulties, on schemes for a re-adjustment of tithes and the diffusion of primary education. But Royal prejudice, party violence, and the state of opinion in Great Britain at that time made remedial legislation for Ireland a hopeless task.

In the foreign policy of Lord Grenville's Ministry, after the death of Fox, it would be difficult to find matter for praise. Its most prominent feature seems to have been a selfish disregard of national obligations, which allies of Great Britain may well be excused for resenting as breach of faith. And this was not the policy of Fox, who had been the consistent advocate of peace with the French Republic, but of Grenville and Windham, who had followed Burke in denouncing against it unrelenting war. Fox, on becoming Foreign Minister, had laid it down as a rule of conduct in the circumstances in which Great Britain then found herself, that she should abstain from tempting Continental Powers by lavish subsidies to plunge into hostilities against Napoleon; but that if, impelled to that course by motives and interests of their own, they applied to her for help, she should grant it. He showed himself prompt in maintaining the honour and interests of Great Britain by vigorous reprisals against Prussia when King Frederick William, at Napoleon's dictation, closed the ports of North Germany against British commerce; and in the negotiations with France, induced by overtures from Talleyrand. It was not till after his death that the policy was adopted, with the acquiescence apparently of all the Cabinet except Lord Sidmouth, of inciting Continental Powers to resist Napoleon, while reserving British resources to accomplish objects more

<sup>1</sup> Statesmen of the reign of George III.



peculiarly advantageous to Great Britain. For this line of conduct Lord Grenville himself must be held mainly responsible. The situation of public affairs, and his desponding view of them when he assumed office, suggest explanations of it. The Continent lay crushed, to all appearance for many years to come, under the feet of Napoleon. Recruiting had fallen to the lowest ebb in Great Britain and Ireland. Lord Grenville found the Treasury in a state of embarrassment that seems to have much surprised and disheartened him; and the Budget for 1806 was framed on the most economical lines consistent with a state of war. Then there was his own unsleeping distrust of foreign Governments, to whose treachery, or incapacity, or cowardice he attributed, often most unjustly, the successive defeats of coalitions against France. Nevertheless, when M. D'Oubril concluded at Paris a separate peace between Russia and France, he promptly appealed to the Czar to repudiate it, as infringing the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Russia. He took this step without any hope of good resulting from it. But Alexander not only disavowed M. D'Oubril, but proclaimed the identity of his own sentiments and interests with those of George III as against Napoleon, by authorising the British Ambassador, Lord Lauderdale, to represent Russia in any further negotiation for peace in the French capital. This conduct on the part of Alexander led to a renewal of war on the Continent, and revived in full force all the obligations of an existing alliance. Unfortunately, England was seized about the same time with the craze of Spanish-American conquest, which found a too credulous victim in Lord Grenville. As we may see from the voluminous military plans and memoranda drawn up for him by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and published in this volume, his "Castles in Spain," almost as baseless as any of Don Quixote, held close possession of him to the last hour of his official life; and would seem then to have vanished for ever. In the meantime the effect on public policy was pernicious. Prussia, having collapsed under a single blow from Napoleon, and made peace with Great Britain on terms dictated in London, Lord Howick, now Minister for Foreign Affairs, lost no time in urging the Emperor Alexander and King Frederick William, through the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Hutchinson, to vigorous resistance, promising strenuous support from George III. As Alexander had as yet asked for nothing, the British Government only committed itself at St. Petersburg to general assurances of help; at the same time urging the Emperor to guarantee an engagement on the part of Prussia to restore Hanover to George III, and giving official voice to a somewhat clamorous demand of English merchants for the renewal of a commercial treaty which was about to expire. Frederick William, however, pressed for immediate financial aid. Lord Hutchinson, therefore, was authorised if he found

the alleged need real, and that the money could be applied with advantage to the common cause, to advance a sum of 200,000*l.* He found the unfortunate monarch in dire distress at Königsberg, unable to pay or feed the remnant of his army, to equip recruits, or to maintain garrisons in the fortresses remaining to him in Silesia. On receiving this information, the British Government, through Howick, revoked the meagre grant it had sanctioned, as having been allowed in ignorance of the helpless situation of its ally. Luckily for the latter, the countermand did not reach Lord Hutchinson till he had disbursed half of the money to meet pressing calls.

In the meantime, Napoleon advanced to the Vistula to encounter the Russians, and complete the conquest of the Prussian monarchy. He had now, however, to carry on war under conditions altogether new to him and to his superb army. Disappointment, too, met him at the beginning. He seems to have expected that all Poland, incited by a proclamation issued by Kosciusko at Paris, would start up in insurrection at his approach. The people of Posen, indeed, grievously oppressed under the iron rule of Prussia, welcomed him with unbounded enthusiasm. But the great landowners of Russian Poland favoured as a body Prince Czartoryski's project, to which Alexander himself seems to have inclined, of restoring their ancient kingdom in its integrity, under the separate sovereignty of the Czar. They would only declare for Napoleon on condition that he immediately guaranteed their independence, and gave them a member of his own family as their ruler. This was a step the French Emperor could not venture to take. The Russians were still unbeaten. The Emperor of Austria had declined his alliance, though baited with an offer of Silesia; and had assembled an army of observation in Galicia for the protection of that province. The consequence was that instead of a re-inforcement of 100,000 Poles, on which he had counted, only 15,000 joined him.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, General Sebastiani, his Minister at Constantinople, had persuaded the Sultan to violate a treaty with Russia by dismissing the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia. And when Alexander, notwithstanding reparation made by a restoration of the deposed Governors sent troops to occupy the Principalities, the Porte under French influence, declared war against Russia. The Russian invasion of Turkey was a grave blunder on the part of the Czar. It divided his forces, already insufficient for a single-handed struggle with France; aroused great jealousy at Vienna, and held in check the growing disposition of the Emperor Francis and his Prime Minister, Count Stadion, to cast off, at all risks, a degrading yoke.

The scene of the Polish campaign was a land of forest and swamp, which the rains of autumn had now turned into a vast quagmire. Napoleon, having gained possession of the

<sup>1</sup> Thier's *Consulate and Empire*.

bridges across the Vistula at Posen and Warsaw, encamped on both banks of the river, and blockaded Dantzic at its mouth. In this situation the French, drenched in rain, half-buried in mud, and short of food and warm clothing, suffered almost incredible hardships. In vain their leader exerted all his skill to bring the enemy to a decisive battle. It was a theatre on which military science availed nothing. The marvellous combinations and rapid movements which had so often given him victory could not be executed. Roads, where any existed, were mere pit-falls for guns, waggons and horses. Intelligence could not be procured, or was intercepted by ubiquitous Cossacks. War became a mere game of chance, in which large bodies of armed men found themselves in unexpected collision, without result except slaughter and exhaustion on both sides. The Russians, though badly led, disputed every inch of ground between the Vistula and the Praga with indomitable valour. Napoleon, unable to accomplish his object, withdrew his troops into winter quarters, and laboured with marvellous energy and resource to supply their wants. As winter advanced, frost and snow hardened the ground; and General Beningsen, whom Alexander had made Commander-in-Chief in reward for a drawn battle at Pultusk, suddenly issued from the woods that screened his advance, with the design of breaking, in concert with the Prussians under General Lestocq, through the French lines on the Vistula, and spreading confusion in their rear. Napoleon seized what seemed to be an opportunity of inflicting a decisive blow on his antagonist while engaged in this operation. But an intercepted despatch warned the Russian general of his danger; and summoning the Prussians to join him, he halted his troops in a strong position at Eylau on February 8th, 1807. Here Napoleon attacked him. The armies were nearly equal in number; but the Russians had the advantage of ground and of a more numerous artillery, which, well-served and sheltered, made fearful havoc among Napoleon's veterans. It was perhaps the most bloody of all modern battles. For a whole day the issue hung in suspense. Late in the evening the arrival of Lestocq's Prussians nearly turned the scale against the French. After nightfall, when the combatants were spent with fighting, the belated appearance of a French division on his flank caused Beningsen to abandon the field of battle—a snow-clad waste, reddened with carnage and littered thick with the wounded and the dead. After a few days of inaction in weather of terrible severity, both armies again sought refuge in winter quarters.

Napoleon now found himself in a position of great difficulty and even peril. He had suffered enormous losses, not only in battle, but through privations and fatigues, which had, in a marked degree, broken the spirit and discipline of his troops. They disbanded in hundreds, and wandered over the country seeking food and shelter, until collected and

brought back to their colours by Polish police. Rest and re-organisation were needed to restore the *grande armée* to efficiency. Austria took heart again. Under pressure from his brother the Emperor, Archduke Charles strained every possible effort to place the Austrian army on a war footing; and it was only when Count Stadion failed to obtain from the British Government money necessary for this purpose that Francis accepted the Archduke's advice to let France and Russia wear out their strength in deadly conflict, while Austria slowly recovered hers.<sup>1</sup> Napoleon's own attitude showed his sense of the altered situation. Laying aside the imperious tone of a conqueror, with which he had spoken at Berlin, he professed a desire of peace. He sent Count Bertrand on two missions to Frederick William III, with offers of accommodation, to which the Prussian King would not listen. And finally, in order to gain time to reorganize and strengthen his forces for another campaign, he accepted a proposal from the Emperor Francis of a conference of the belligerent powers under Austrian mediation. But Alexander was now in no disposition to negotiate. Flushed with confidence in the valour of his troops, he signed a new convention with the Kings of Prussia and Sweden for more vigorous prosecution of the war, to which the Governments of Great Britain and Denmark were invited to accede. What aid had Great Britain contributed to her allies in this terrible conflict, in which not only the liberties of Europe, but, particularly since the Berlin Decrees, her own interests were so deeply involved? She paid up 500,000*l.* arrears of a subsidy to Russia, due at the death of Pitt; and, for the rest, empty promises, threadbare excuses, flat denials, efforts for objects of her own, but of no advantage to them. When, in the spring of 1806 a combined British and Russian army was aiding the Calabrians against Joseph Bonaparte, the British General, in spite of the remonstrances of his colleague in command, withdrew his men to Sicily, in order to take sole possession of the island, to the exclusion of the Russians and against the will of its Sovereign, who had not forgotten the fate of Malta. And the British Government, later on, made it a grievance against the Czar, that he did not exercise greater pressure on the Sicilian King to surrender all the strong places of his petty realm to the English garrison, which, to the number of 15,000, remained there during several months inactive. It was also intimated officially at St. Petersburg, giving great offence there, and putting an end to co-operation at sea, that a Russian naval squadron then in the Mediterranean under Admiral Simiaven must, in any case of combined action, obey the orders of the British Admiral, "in virtue of superior skill and professional merit in the British naval service." As the war in Poland proceeded, Alexander, who had to bear the

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<sup>1</sup> Fournier, *Life of Napoleon*.

whole brunt and strain of it against the resources not only of the French Empire, but of Italy, Germany, Turkey, and even Spain, made earnest appeals to his ally to guarantee a loan of 6,000,000*l.* at 5 *per cent* on the Russian customs; to advance 1,000,000*l.* for urgent needs; to despatch an expedition to the coasts of France, Holland, or Germany, as a diversion in his favour. Loan and advance were refused, with an intimation that Russia in defending her own territory should depend on her own resources; and an expedition was indefinitely deferred to some more favourable season. There was less excuse for this evasion than opportunity favoured an enterprise which might have changed the fortunes of the war. The British Government already paid Gustavus III of Sweden a subsidy of 250,000*l.* a year to maintain a garrison of 12,000 troops in Stralsund, a large and flourishing city now of special importance to British trade as the only port which gave it free access to Germany. Since Jena, this garrison had been augmented by the arrival of 5,000 Prussians. Gustavus now proposed, through Mr. Pierrepont, British Minister at his Court, that the British Government, by despatching 10,000 or 20,000 troops, or enlarging his subsidy for the purpose of raising them, should enable him to break through a weak French force under Maréchal Mortier, which watched his movements, and penetrate Germany in Napoleon's rear. Lord Hutchinson warmly supported this scheme; but the British Government refused the money, and sent no men. In the same way it declined all the overtures for peace and alliance made to it through Alexander from the King of Spain. Nothing could have been more disconcerting to Napoleon than a revolt of the Spanish Bourbons from their miserable thralldom at a moment when France was denuded of troops. But visions of rich and easy conquests in Spanish America so dazzled Lord Grenville and most of his colleagues as to make them blind to their responsibilities and opportunities in Europe. The consequence was that Alexander, being destitute of means to recruit or equip his troops, was unable again to take the field for more than three months after the battle of Eylau, when summer had deprived him of his most potent ally. In one instance only, in answer to bitter reproaches, did Great Britain afford Russia even a semblance of co-operation. The Ministers of both Powers at Constantinople presented a joint note to the Sultan, requiring him to send passports to General Sebastiani, and renounce his alliance with France. On his refusal, Admiral Duckworth, commanding a British naval squadron carrying no troops, forced his way through the Dardanelles, destroyed a small Turkish flotilla in the Sea of Marmora, and cast anchor in front of the Grand Seraglio, to enforce the demand. But Sebastiani, an able soldier, taking charge of the defence, collected troops and armed batteries during a short truce allowed by Duckworth, with such energy and effect, that the Admiral, seeing no chance of ultimate success, and fearing to

find the Straits closed against his return, beat a hasty retreat to the Mediterranean; not accomplished without considerable damage to his fleet. The troops that might have made this expedition more effective were sent at the same time, without any intimation to Russia, on another expedition, under General Frazer, from Sicily to Egypt, and captured Alexandria, a conquest of considerable importance to Great Britain. Both enterprises were afterwards represented by Lord Douglas at St. Petersburg as having been undertaken for Russian interests, and as fulfilling the pledge of help given to Russia; and were made a ground for urging concessions in regard to a guarantee of Hanover, and a lapsed commercial treaty, with an insistence which exasperated Alexander, and provoked direct refusals.<sup>1</sup> So offensive was the whole proceeding that Canning, on succeeding Howick as Foreign Secretary, found it expedient to instruct Lord Granville Gower, who succeeded Douglas, to apologise for what the despatch described as "unreasonable and unnecessary demands, urged in no very becoming manner."<sup>2</sup>

A still greater cause of dissatisfaction at St. Petersburg were the depredations on Russian commerce committed by British cruisers in violation of the Convention signed in 1801. This treaty, as we have seen, provided amply for an amicable settlement of alleged infractions of it; including penalties against offenders and compensation for the injured. But, as the Baltic States which were parties to it complained, not only could no redress be now obtained when vessels were released after unjust capture, but ransom was exacted for leave to pursue a voyage after long and perhaps ruinous detention in a British port. We have seen how Thomas Grenville, as First Lord of the Admiralty, inveighed against British Admirals of this period as incompetent or insubordinate.<sup>3</sup> It may have been that the naval authorities at Whitehall were themselves in fault for much of what was blameworthy, through relaxing the reins of discipline at a time when hostile fleets had been swept from the seas. The British navy at this period was a hard service, badly paid, maintained by press-gangs, and looking to prize-money arising from captures as its chief reward. In the dearth of lawful booty, naval courts seem to have winked at irregularities which made life at sea more attractive. At all events, it is clear from official correspondence that complaints of the unjust seizure of trading vessels, and the delay or refusal of redress, flowed into the British Foreign Office not only from Russia, Denmark and Sweden, parties to the treaty of St. Petersburg, but also from Austria in regard to the Adriatic, and from the United States of North America, all allied or neutral nations, long before Berlin Decrees or Orders in Council enlarged the sphere of international discord. It must

<sup>1</sup> *F. O. Correspondence*, 1806-7. Lord Howick to the Marquis of Douglas.

<sup>2</sup> *F. O. Correspondence*, 1807. Mr. Canning to Lord Granville Levison Gower.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to Volume VIII, *Dropmore Papers*.

be added that Lord Howick did not shine as Foreign Secretary. His despatches to St. Petersburg were too often querulous, or exacting, or evasive; a great falling off from the high standard left by Fox. The business, however, was new to him. He seems to have followed implicitly the more experienced judgment of Lord Grenville; to have been the organ of a policy he accepted, but did not originate. At all events the anger his despatches caused at St. Petersburg, as to the depth of which the reports of the Marquis of Douglas leave no doubt, must, even if the conferences at Tilsit and the bombardment of Copenhagen never occurred, have seriously impaired the cordial relations between Great Britain and Russia which had resulted from the treaty of St. Petersburg. A breach in fact was already evident. Early in April, Alexander left the capital to join his army without granting audience to Lord Douglas. The Russian Chancellor, Baron Budberg, then informed the Ambassador that the Emperor, having been abandoned by his allies to fight alone, would act alone in any negotiations for peace; and followed his master to the seat of war, without inviting the Marquis to accompany or join him. Douglas's report of the mortifying state of isolation in which he had been left, "a very humiliating position for a British Ambassador," he wrote, was received by Canning, who curtly recalled him, without a word of acknowledgment on account of past service.

The chief aim of the new Ministry seemed to be to vindicate their conduct in opposition by reversing the policy of their predecessors. Their system was personal rule on High Tory lines of coercion, corruption and intolerance of all reform at home; and a display of aggressive vigour in foreign relations. It was government by independent and often jarring departments, united by a common purpose of deferring in all things to the wishes of the King. For although vigour was their watchword, few English Ministries have been so weak in constitution. The Duke of Portland, nominal Prime Minister, remained to the end a mere figure-head. Lord Malmesbury, who saw with undisguised chagrin the disappointment of his hopes of shaping from the back-ground, as the Prime Minister's prompter, the policy of the State, bemoans in his *Diary* the Duke's insignificance. Portland's colleagues, the record runs, pay him no attention, and act as they please. He gives no sign, possessing conveniently the talent of "dead silence." Two at least of his colleagues, Perceval and Canning, aspired to be first Minister whenever death or increasing feebleness removed him from the stage. Lord Wellesley, another candidate for the post, with a reputation for ability, and claims on account of public service far higher than those of either, remained outside the Cabinet in a patronising attitude, with three brothers installed in office. Perceval, whom the King had made Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, though

quite a novice in finance, discarded Lord Grenville's elaborate scheme for limiting public borrowing and reducing national debt, embodied in Lord Henry Petty's Budget, as too hampering in its effects. Of unblemished personal character, his political methods seem to have been the reverse of pure. In 1806 he had written an acrimonious indictment, "an impudent libel," Lord Grenville called it, of the late Ministry, in the guise of a defence of the Princess of Wales; and had printed it for circulation as a party pamphlet when the Coalition Ministry fell. On succeeding to office, finding its existence inconvenient, he obtained an injunction from Lord Eldon to prevent the sale; and afterwards, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, bought up all the copies at an expense of 10,000*l.* to the Secret Service Fund.<sup>1</sup> The forces he brought into play during the recent general election having left their mark on the composition of the new House of Commons, Lord Cochrane moved for a Parliamentary Committee to inquire and report what members, or near connexions of members, held places, pensions or sinecures by grant from the Crown. Perceval opposed it vehemently, and then to appease public opinion, strongly aroused on the subject, substituted for it an inquiry of wider scope and more dilatory operation, which indirectly defeated Lord Cochrane's object of exposing electoral corruption.<sup>2</sup> In the War Department, Lord Castlereagh, as organ of the views of the Horse Guards, threw over Windham's Army Bill. Having to face the vehement protests not only of Windham himself, but of Mr. Calvert, a recognized authority on military organization, and of social reformers such as Mr. Banks, the War Minister adopted an apologetic tone and excused a return to old methods as a temporary expedient. It was necessary, he said, to transfer a large body of men from the militia to the line, in consequence of dangers to which the country was exposed by the incompetence or the negligence of his predecessor; and he restored service for life, not as excluding short service, but to give the State the benefit of both plans. In the House of Lords, Lord Melville, who had so long been War Minister under Pitt, and had lately been recalled to the Privy Council, disdained subterfuge of this kind, and gave voice to the orthodox Tory view. The army, he said, should be left to the management of the King. He mocked at Windham's notion of improving the character and efficiency of the military service by attracting to its ranks a better class of recruit. The worst criminal, he declared, made the best soldier. "Keep your better class of men at home."<sup>2</sup> In this view, again predominant, the military service was a safety-valve for national crime: or what Dr. Johnson had defined patriotism to be, "the last refuge of a scoundrel." After a short pretence of impartial experiment, Castlereagh, in concert

<sup>1</sup> Earl Grey to Lord Grenville, November 3, 1809.

<sup>2</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, 1807-8-9.



with the Duke of York, framed a Bill, which re-established the old system with all its demoralizing incidents; and, as Windham declared, entailed on the country an additional and quite unnecessary expenditure of 3,000,000<sup>l</sup>.<sup>1</sup> a year. In the same spirit, the War Minister strenuously opposed all proposals to abolish or limit the brutal floggings for military offences, which continued to disgrace Great Britain for many years after they had been discarded in Continental armies.<sup>2</sup> It was, however, in the Government of Ireland that the policy proclaimed by Mr. Perceval was most fully illustrated. Many Irish members, all of course belonging to the established Church, and even the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of that Church, urged the Ministry to promote internal tranquillity by a more equitable adjustment of the burthen of tithes. The answer to these appeals was a revival by the Chief Secretary, Sir Arthur Wellesley, of the "Insurrection Act" and the "Arms Act," passed in 1796, against the United Irishmen; used as authority for the perpetration of shameful outrages, on account of which it was thought necessary to pass an "Indemnity Act," and no longer enforced after the Act of Union had been carried. The justification alleged for the re-enactment of those laws, was smouldering rebellion at the instigation of France, a charge for which the Duke of Bedford could find no evidence,<sup>3</sup> and for which none was now advanced. The Maynooth grant was cut down to 9,500<sup>l</sup>. a year. Mr. Perceval would have abolished it altogether, and only tolerated the reduced sum as a temporary concession. He feared, as he declared, it would be the means of introducing Jesuits into the country. Fortunately for his peace of mind, he was not aware that this formidable Society, to whose secret machinations George III is said to have attributed the French Revolution, had been settled for years past in Lancashire, sowing their principles broad-cast among the rising generation of Catholic gentry, whom they gathered into their fold from the entire kingdom. During the debate on the subject of the Maynooth grant, Dr. Duigenan opposed it with an excess of virulence and ribaldry which is said to have excited disgust in every quarter of the House of Commons. The Irish Government rewarded his Protestant zeal by making him a Privy Councillor. This appointment being loudly challenged in the House, no member of the Cabinet, not even Mr. Perceval rose to defend it. The defence was left to Wellesley; and being only an Irish matter, it was allowed to pass. Letters from Ireland in this volume bear strong testimony to the baleful effect of this system of "enlightened toleration," as the King's Speech described it, in re-kindling religious and racial animosities, which had been slowly dying down during

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<sup>1</sup> W. Windham to Earl Grey, September 29, 1809. *Windham Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, 1807-8-9.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction, vol. viii, *Dropmore Papers*.

the Vice-royalties of Harrington and Bedford.<sup>1</sup> Lords Grenville and Holland, in the House of Lords, denounced the criminal folly of provoking Irish disaffection at a moment when the mortal enemy of England had reached the plenitude of power. It was in fact infatuation of this kind, a resort to coercion instead of timely concession of reasonable demands, which had already cost the monarchy its North American Colonies. And if England did not again incur some great disaster, this escape was certainly not due to the wisdom and ability of its rulers. Making every allowance for the security afforded by geographical position and the indomitable spirit of a free people, the immunity it enjoyed must be chiefly attributed to the stupendous blunders of its great antagonist, who in the pursuit of universal dominion, and in blind reliance on material force, arrayed against himself throughout Europe the most powerful moral influences by which mankind is swayed, and of which in earlier and wiser moods he had made allies, those of religion and patriotism.

In the conduct of foreign affairs, Canning's personality made itself as clearly evident as Percival's in home policy. For a time, indeed, the "vigour" which was afterwards claimed as its distinguishing merit, seemed to exhaust itself in defending "Church and King" against domestic traitors. That object having been accomplished, he informed Gustavus of Sweden, through Mr. Pierrepont, British Minister at Stralsund, that to enable him to pursue his project of an expedition against the French in Germany, the British Government would subsidize 4,000 additional Swedes; and would immediately despatch 10,000 Hanoverians and 16,000 British troops to take part in the enterprise. At the same time, Lord Granville Gower, whom he sent to succeed the Marquis of Douglas in Russia, was charged to inform the Czar that this diversion was practically the extent of the help George III could at present afford his chief ally. A Russian loan could not be guaranteed. The British Government had only 2,000,000*l.* or 2,500,000*l.* at its disposal during the present year to expend in subsidies. Austria and Prussia had applied to it for help in money, and their needs must, so far as possible, be supplied first. If anything remained, Alexander might have it, if he asked for it. Hitherto, communications received from the Russian Government had mentioned Russian wants and efforts, without applying for a subsidy.<sup>2</sup> This was certainly an improvement on the despatches of Lord Howick. But in consequence of delays at the War Office, for which Lord Castlereagh, as usual, cast the blame on his predecessor, no British troops reached Stralsund for a month after the war in Poland had terminated. Canning also

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Moylan to Sir J. Hippesley, January 1, 1808.  
Bishop Power to Sir John Newport, September 18, 1808.  
Martin Devlin to Lord Grenville, July 1, 1808.  
Sir John Newport to Lord Grenville.

<sup>2</sup> *F. O. Despatches*, 1807.

despatched the Earl of Pembroke on a special mission to Vienna, with a proposal that the Emperor should immediately join forces with Russia, Great Britain undertaking to pay him a subsidy of 500,000*l.*, but not until the Austrian army had actually taken the field. As the state of Austrian preparation and finance did not enable Archduke Charles to accept the conditions imposed, Lord Pembroke's negotiation abruptly closed.

The Czar had already sent Count Pozzo di Borgo, a Corsican of great ability, of a family in old and deadly feud with the Bonapartes, to remove the suspicion excited in the Austrian capital by the Russian invasion of the Principalities. After conferences with Count Stadion and Sir Robert Adair,<sup>1</sup> the British Minister, Pozzo proceeded to Constantinople, where he was joined by Sir Arthur Paget, representing Great Britain. The two powers offered peace on condition of a return to the *status quo*, which French intrigue had disturbed. But the Sultan, incensed by Admiral Duckworth's raid, and elated by its repulse, refused to listen to their proposals, and sent fresh troops across the Danube to expel the Russians from Ottoman territory.

In the meantime, Napoleon, during the period of repose allowed to him in winter quarters, not only supplied all the wants and restored the old spirit and efficiency of his army in Poland, but created and brought up another army of 100,000 men to over-awe Austria, guard Northern Germany against the Swedes, and press the sieges of Dantzic and Stralsund. In May Dantzic, with an enormous reserve of provisions and military stores, surrendered to Marshal Lefevre, after a vain attempt of the allies to relieve it. Beningsen again took the field in the beginning of June; but climatic conditions no longer favoured the Russians; and the military genius of Napoleon brought a brief campaign to an end by the decisive victory of Friedland on June 14. The Emperor Alexander was then at Tilsit, attended by Baron Budberg. Lord Granville Gower arrived there from England before news of the battle had been received, and had audience. Alexander spoke with resentment on account of the desertion of Great Britain, but with confidence in the valour of his troops; and declared his resolve not to yield to Napoleon, even if driven back to Siberia.<sup>2</sup> Next day news came of the Russian defeat. Gower, at Budberg's suggestion, withdrew to a safe distance from the scene of hostilities, and was afterwards refused permission to return to Tilsit. He learned, however, from unofficial sources, that Alexander had wished to continue fighting, but was over-ruled by his generals, and by Russian opinion, unwilling to persevere single-handed in a conflict for objects not specially Russian; and that, in the conference between Alexander and Napoleon at Tilsit, the former, under the spell with which

<sup>1</sup> *F. O. Despatches*, 1807. Sir Robert Adair to Mr. Canning.

<sup>2</sup> *F. O. Despatches*. Gower to Canning, 1807.

the conqueror enthralled those whom he wished to gain, had completely changed his policy. Later on, in reply to repeated inquiries, Baron Budberg, before quitting Tilsit, informed the British Ambassador that Alexander, being abandoned by his allies, had to consult the interests of his own subjects in a separate negotiation; but was prepared to act as mediator between Great Britain and France for the restoration of peace on terms which should be honourable to both nations.<sup>1</sup> In fact the treaties concluded at Tilsit bound the Emperors in cordial alliance, and inflicted the full penalty of inglorious defeat on the King of Prussia. Alexander agreed to withdraw his troops from the Danubian Principalities, and to accept Napoleon's mediation with the Sultan; while he, himself, acted as mediator between France and Great Britain. Frederick William gave up his Polish territory to form the Duchy of Warsaw, of which the King of Saxony became ruler, with a right of way to it through Silesia; Dantzic recovering its independence as a "Free City." He ceded all his kingdom west of the Elbe, and the great fortress of Magdeburg on the east bank, to constitute, with Hanover and Hesse, the kingdom of Westphalia, for Jerome Bonaparte. He bound himself also to pay 6,000,000*l.* ransom for Berlin and his remaining provinces, the French remaining in occupation of them till the debt was discharged; and to close his ports against British commerce. By secret articles of the Franco-Russian treaty, Alexander gave up Cattaro and the Ionian islands to France, pledged himself to adopt the Berlin Decrees if Great Britain refused his mediation; and to recognize Joseph Bonaparte as King of Sicily on condition that Spain made over the Balearic Islands as compensation to the Duke of Calabria, heir to Ferdinand the Bourbon King. Napoleon, on his part, consented to a dismemberment of Turkey in the event of the Porte refusing the articles of peace he should propose.

In July Lord Cathcart landed on the island of Rügen with the Hanoverian Legion, just in time to see the French, under Marshal Brune, driving Gustavus's army of Swedes and Prussians before them into Stralsund. The King of Sweden then learned to his deep mortification, that the British Commander had strict instructions to keep his men together as a separate body, and in readiness to re-embark at a moment's notice when ordered elsewhere. This order was not long delayed. After a week or two of complete inaction, Cathcart, in spite of the frantic protests of Gustavus, carried off the Hanoverians to join the rest of the troops placed under his command for the capture of Copenhagen; and Stralsund opened its gates to the French.

A full and clear account of that amazing display of "vigour," the bombardment and capture of Copenhagen, may be obtained from the correspondence between the British Foreign Office and its Ministers at the Northern Courts which the

<sup>1</sup> *F. O. Despatches.* Gower to Canning 1807.

enterprise more immediately concerned. Since the Convention of St. Petersburg in 1801 restored friendly relations between Great Britain and the Baltic States, the reins of absolute power in Denmark had, in consequence of the incapacity of the King Christian VII, been held by his eldest son Frederick as Prince Regent, a man, by universal consent, of high principles and firm purpose, who pursued peace and neutrality as the policy most advantageous to his country. On the other hand, his nearest neighbour, Gustavus IV, the crazy King of Sweden, whose fanatical devotion to the exiled Bourbons of France made him, to the great discontent of his own people, an active adversary of every other form of government in that country, spared no effort to draw the Regent into war with Napoleon, and sow suspicions of his hostile intentions to itself in the mind of the British Government. For a long period these attempts availed nothing. In the beginning of 1806, when Prussia, at Napoleon's dictation, shut her ports against British commerce, Fox instructed Mr. Garlyke, Minister of George III at Copenhagen, to come to a frank but perfectly friendly explanation with Count Joseph Bernsdorff, Danish Secretary for Foreign Affairs. All the British Government required of the Regent, Fox wrote, was neutrality, which, if he needed help, it would aid him to maintain. But if he followed the example of the King of Prussia, under pressure from France, Great Britain, though most reluctantly, must treat Denmark as an enemy. Bernsdorff's explicit assurances of the Regent's determination to observe strict neutrality at all hazards were accepted in London as quite satisfactory. And in regard to complaints from the Danish Minister that the British blockade of North German rivers excluded Danish trade from its own ports on the Elbe and the Trave, Fox recognised them as legitimate, and took measures to redress them. Nothing further seems to have occurred to ruffle amicable relations till the battle of Jena, in the autumn of the same year, made Napoleon master of Prussia, and altered the situation. Then Lord Howick, giving undue attention to the wild suggestions of Gustavus of Sweden, and his own alarms lest the progress of French conquest should shut the ports of Holstein against Great Britain, pressed the Danish Government to join forces with those of Sweden for the defence of North Germany. The Regent refused to have any dealings with his crazy neighbour, or to depart from the line of policy he had deliberately adopted. He held his ground later on as firmly against appeals to the same effect from his powerful friend the Emperor Alexander. At the same time, he declared in the most emphatic terms his intention to resist to the last extremity any attempt at dictation on the part of France. His brother-in-law and confidential adviser, the Duke of Augustenburg, assured Garlyke that if force were used against Danish independence it could only succeed by passing over the Regent's body. Count Bernsdorff, with equal emphasis,

told the British Minister that the Danes would suffer themselves to be exterminated rather than yield to foreign compulsion. Mr. Garlyke, while faithfully obeying his instructions and completely identifying himself with them in conference with Bernsdorff, invariably expressed in his own confidential reports to London, unhesitating belief in the sincerity of these Danish declarations. Howick himself, when better informed of the situation in North Germany, approved of the Regent's conduct, and conveyed to him the assurance of George III's perfect confidence in his spirit and honour. He also directed Mr. Pierrepont, British Minister at Stockholm, to disabuse Gustavus of his groundless suspicions; whereupon the latter, in fantastic emulation, bore testimony to the Danish ruler's unimpeachable rectitude. During the course of this discussion, Mr. Garlyke sent authentic information to the Foreign Office with regard to the naval and military forces of Denmark, well-calculated, it might be thought, to allay English suspicions of danger from that quarter. According to a report drawn up, with every facility for investigation, by Captain Dunbar, R.N., all Danish ships of war, with the exception of a very few in use, were in accordance with ancient custom, laid by in perfect condition, but unarmed and unequipped. The naval force on active service, amounting to 15,000 men, were nearly all away, some at Constantinople, on board not only of Danish and Norwegian, but also of British merchantmen, filling the places of native sailors impressed for the British navy. The Danish army on active service numbered 33,000. Of these, about 28,000 had been carried across to Holstein by the Prince Royal to defend its neutrality against incursions of French or Prussians; leaving Zealand which contained the capital of the kingdom, practically unguarded except by its belts of water.

In January, 1807, the Order in Council issued by the Coalition Government in consequence of the "Berlin Decrees," provided neutral powers, especially Denmark and the United States of North America, with new matter of complaint against Great Britain. In times of peace, the coasting trade of France had been carried on by native vessels exclusively. The Order debarred neutral ships from trading between two ports under French sway, on the ground that neutrals should not enjoy, to the benefit of one belligerent and the detriment of another, a privilege during war denied to them during peace. But in framing the Order the British Board of Trade seems to have overlooked one important circumstance. Danish and American vessels conveying goods to Southern Europe, were accustomed to carry mixed cargoes, which they unloaded at different ports of France and adjacent countries according to local requirements; and all these were now captured and detained by English cruisers while following an established practice. Count Bernsdorff protested vehemently that the new Order

thus interpreted meant the utter annihilation of Danish foreign trade. Lord Grenville afterwards explained in the House of Lords that his Ministry had not contemplated any interference with ordinary usage. But Lord Howick's reply to the angry remonstrance of Mr. Rist, the envoy of Denmark in London, was not conciliatory. He charged the Danish Government with using a hostile tone towards that of Great Britain it did not use towards France. Bernsdorff, however, informed Garlyke that the Prince Regent's representations against the Berlin Decrees had been answered in friendly terms by Napoleon, who had made no demand in any way inconsistent with Danish neutrality. In fact the French Emperor interfered little, if at all, with neutral trade till after the Treaty of Tilsit had terminated war on the Continent, and made Russia his ally. The British Government, on the contrary, had asked Denmark to renounce its neutrality, and, as Bernsdorff more than once complained, showed, after receding from that demand, a suspicious and exacting temper towards the Prince Regent, wanting in friendly consideration for a very difficult position. Canning took up new ground. He told Rist that the British Government was entitled in retaliation for the Berlin Decrees to forbid all neutral commerce with France, but exercised its right with moderation as a favour to Denmark. He sent Rist's angry protests against this repudiation of the treaty of St. Petersburg, and what was commonly received as the law of nations, to Garlyke, to be shown to Count Joseph Bernsdorff, as offensive in tone and language; with a private intimation that the envoy's recall would give satisfaction in London. Bernsdorff, very indignant in turn at a new doctrine so destructive to Danish prosperity, remarked in reference to it that neutral nations also had rights which must be maintained, but expressed a wish to let the subject drop, so as to avoid a quarrel. The question of Rist's recall he seems to have shelved by referring it to his brother, the Prime Minister, then at Kiel in Holstein with the Regent. On July 4, Garlyke sent to Canning an extract from a letter which had just reached Copenhagen by a round-about course from Memel, where the Prussian Court resided, giving an account of the battle of Friedland, the armistice, and the meeting of the contending sovereigns on a raft at Tilsit. This seems to have been the first authentic intelligence from the seat of war received at the Danish capital since the opening of the last campaign in Poland. On July 10, Canning wrote two letters to Garlyke, filled with reproaches for neglecting to send home accounts of the progress of the war in Poland; for not insisting on the recall of Rist; and particularly for omitting to report the naval preparations now making at Copenhagen. Garlyke was ordered to send information on the last subject without further delay. Another letter from Canning followed on July 14, censuring Garlyke's remissness in not pressing Rist's

misconduct on the attention of the Prince Royal. And a fourth, dated July 18, instructed him to proceed at once to Memel as British Minister at the Prussian Court, in place of Mr. Frere, detained in England; and to present Mr. Brooke Taylor, the bearer of this order, to the Prince Royal, as his substitute at the Court of Denmark. The British Government, the letter continued, had arranged with M. Jacobi in London to grant King Frederick William a subsidy of 1,000,000*l.* on condition of his not negotiating with Napoleon except in concert with George III. It would appear, therefore, that nothing was known in London on July 18 of the treaty signed at Tilsit on July 8. Canning, a few days later, wrote confidentially to Lord Granville Leveson Gower at the Russian Court that Brooke Taylor was going to Copenhagen "to coerce the Danes in consequence of rumours that Napoleon is about taking possession of the ports of Holstein, to exclude British goods from the Continent."<sup>1</sup> On July 23, Garlyke repelled, with evident indignation, Canning's charges of neglect of duty. He had not, he wrote, informed his Government of naval preparations at Copenhagen "*because there have been none.*" On July 25, he wrote again in cipher that Captain Beaumont, R.N., had just completed a thorough inspection of the Danish fleet; and that Beaumont's report fully confirmed that of Captain Dunbar, sent to Lord Howick in December, 1806. "There is not," it said, "the smallest preparation for equipping a fleet. If Government had sailors on the spot he thought it might be got ready in six weeks; but the Danish and Norwegian sailors were away in England and other countries in Danish and English merchant ships." The Admiralty at Copenhagen could not send out more than five ships of the line.<sup>1</sup> On July 28 Garlyke sent home a report of a long conference with Count Joseph Bernsdorff, during which the latter repeated the most solemn assurances that no threat or overture of any kind had been made by France to the Regent in regard to Danish neutrality; and that the Prince would consider any demand from Napoleon detrimental to Great Britain as a cause of war. This language, Garlyke averred, was in entire accordance with all the declarations on the same subject made to him by the Danish Minister during the last two years. In two final despatches, dated August 1 and 8, Garlyke informed Canning of his approaching departure for Memel, to await there further instructions before presenting his credentials, the King of Prussia having agreed at Tilsit to close his ports against British trade.

In the meantime, on July 19, a powerful fleet under Admiral Gambier, carrying about 20,000 British troops, had sailed from England to a northern rendezvous, where Lord Cathcart was to join it with the Hanoverian legion from Rügen, and take chief command of the expedition.

On July 28 Canning wrote as follows to Mr. Jackson, a diplomatist of some experience:—In consequence of

<sup>1</sup> *F. O. Despatches, July 1807.*



intelligence from various quarters of Napoleon's intention to occupy the ports of Holstein and use the Danish navy for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland, Jackson had been appointed to obtain the most prompt and decisive satisfaction from the Regent. He was to go at once to Kiel, demand audience of the Prince, and while assuring him of the most friendly feelings and intentions, to insist on the satisfaction and security which the intentions of Napoleon and the situation of Denmark made necessary for Great Britain. The forward state of the equipment of the Danish fleet would alone have justified the British Government in demanding such a pledge, as it could have no eventual object but hostility to Great Britain; the tone assumed in regard to mitigated measures of reprisal to which the British Government had been driven by French Decrees, in contrast to absence of remonstrance against French measures, naturally excited suspicion if not of ill-intention, at least of ill-disposition towards Great Britain, and complete subserviency to France, which would have justified the British Government in demanding that all naval preparations at Copenhagen, of which Great Britain could alone have been the object, should cease. So long, however, as there was any reasonable chance that Denmark, however prepared to comply with the requisitions of France, might not be immediately called on to do so, the British Government refrained from severe measures. But the increased preponderance of France left George III no option if he wished to preserve his country from invasion by means of the Danish fleet. Therefore the immediate delivery of that fleet to Great Britain must be insisted on; but in consequence of the British Sovereign's anxiety to spare Danish feelings, two proposals were sent by which the measure could be effected. (1) The delivery of the fleet to be held as a *sacred deposit* and returned fully equipped and undamaged at the end of the war; with a secret article allowing 100,000*l.* a year for the use of it. (2) A treaty of alliance, placing the Danish fleet under the command of a British Admiral in the Baltic. The whole thing was necessary for the ultimate prosperity of Denmark. By additional instructions on July 29, Jackson was informed that the one *essential point* to be kept in mind was *possession of the Danish fleet*. Nothing else was important in comparison. Even if the Danes consented to treat for an alliance, they must give up the fleet *at once*. He was to lose no time in starting for Tonningen. The vessel conveying him had orders to proceed from that port to the place of rendezvous and report his landing to the British commanders. Eight days were allowed for his journey to Kiel, his negotiations with the Prince Royal, and his communicating the result to Lord Cathcart. He was to use all the arguments at his command to bring the Prince to submission; should these fail, he was to announce to him that active hostilities would begin at the expiration of the eight days. It is plain that this

language, so provocative and insulting to a near kinsman of George III, and in whose honour and good faith Fox and Howick had professed entire trust in their Sovereign's name, was completely at variance with the information supplied by the British Minister at Copenhagen, a man of distinguished ability and unblemished character. As to "the most friendly feelings and intentions" professed towards Denmark, the British Government, before any account of its envoy's reception could possibly reach it, seized all Danish merchantmen in British ports, and made prisoners of all Danish seamen it could lay hands on. Mr. Jackson reached Kiel on August 6. He found Holstein swarming with Danish troops, whose return to Zealand was barred by a British squadron under Admiral Keats—which had silently occupied the Belts. He first saw Count Bernsdorff, who told him he could only be received as a traveller, all official business being transacted at Copenhagen, and asked him the meaning of British proceedings. In reply, Jackson began reading his instructions, but after the words "having learned through various channels," Bernsdorff exclaimed violently, "Great Britain had no such information. You are adducing false reports and surmises unworthy of credit to fill the measure of British injustice in forcing Denmark into a ruinous war. Napoleon could have no interest in throwing the most valuable part of her (the islands and Norway) into alliance with England and Sweden. The Regent had shown that he knew how to defend his neutrality." Then Jackson continued, "It might be possible, though appearances have much against that supposition, that the Danish Government *did not wish* to lend itself to hostile views, still it could not resist France," and so on. "Because you think," broke in Bernsdorff, "Napoleon has the intention of wounding us in the tenderest part, you would struggle with him for guilty priority, and be the first to do the deed." "Yes," answered Jackson, greatly nettled by this home-thrust, "Great Britain would insist on a pledge of amity." "What pledge?" was demanded. "Uniting Danish forces to those of Great Britain," answered Jackson. "Destroy our independence, because France has acted so to others?" "Nothing of the kind, but confer great benefits," Jackson went on at great length, making the best of the case. Next day he was received by the Prince Royal, and demanded the immediate surrender of the Danish fleet. The Prince denied that he had departed in any way from his policy of neutrality, and asked that hostilities might be deferred till the result of the Emperor Alexander's offer to act as mediator in a negotiation for peace between England and France became known. Jackson answered that he had no power to grant any delay, and the audience terminated. Next day, being informed that the Regent had passed over to Copenhagen in the night, he followed him, to find on his arrival that the Prince had quitted the capital, taking the King with him.

Eight days allowed for negotiation being now expired, he asked for passports, and retired to Landscrona to await events. The British army landed in Zealand, and, as the Governor of Copenhagen refused to capitulate, raised batteries to bombard the city.

When the British Government learned that the Prince Regent refused to submit to its demands, it resolved to keep possession of the island of Zealand. Canning instructed Mr. Jackson to ascertain from Lord Carthcart what force would be required for the purpose ; to transmit this information to Mr. Pierrepont, British Minister at the Court of Sweden ; and not to resume negotiations with the Danes. Gustavus had returned to Sweden with his troops after the surrender of Stralsund. According to reports received in London from Pierrepont, his mad antics, and his reckless foreign policy had already driven his army and people to the verge of revolt. Nevertheless, Canning, on September 5, directed Pierrepont to sound the King as to his willingness to supply 20,000 Swedes as a garrison for Zealand, in addition to the Hanoverian legion which would be left with him. The subsidy hitherto paid to the King for the defence of Stralsund had expired with the loss of that city, but the British Government, Pierrepont was to say, would renew and increase it to any amount required ; and would, moreover, transfer to Gustavus Surinam and other colonial conquests for the benefit of Swedish commerce. Though his recent experience of British co-operation was hardly encouraging, and his present position was beset by manifest perils, the prospect of acquiring colonies allured the King. He asked for Buenos Ayres, in addition to Surinam, and to keep Zealand in his own hands ; and promised to consider the British proposal when officially made. On September 7, Copenhagen, almost reduced to ruin by bombardment, surrendered on terms. The Regent had sent an order to the Governor to burn the ships and stores, but the messenger being intercepted, swallowed it. It was agreed that the citadel, arsenal, dockyards and all their movable contents should be handed over to the British commanders on condition that they departed from the island with their booty in six weeks. News of this convention, followed by a declaration of war by the Regent, caused great dissatisfaction to the English Ministry, completely thwarting their designs on Zealand. Lord Castlereagh wrote to Lord Cathcart to find some pretext for breaking it, or at least for postponing evacuation, either in some incautious act of the Danes, or some ambiguity of phrase which required reference to England. The Danes, however, scrupulously observed the conditions ; and the commanders being, no doubt, heartily sick of the whole business, in which they had strictly followed their instructions, refused to lend themselves to any trickery,

Then the affair took another turn. Lord G. Leveson Gower had followed the Czar to St. Petersburg to ask on behalf of

the British Government for a copy of the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit before accepting the offer of mediation made to it by Alexander, through M. Alopœus, his Ambassador in London; and to press for the renewal of a treaty of commerce between Russia and Great Britain. He was secretly advised by Canning of the expedition against Copenhagen, and instructed to keep silence on the subject unless questioned; in which case he was to reply that it had been sent to frustrate a design of Napoleon to use the Danish fleet for the invasion of Scotland and Ireland. Gower failed to obtain audience of the Emperor, and was received with great reserve by Baron Budberg, who refused or evaded his demands. When news reached St. Petersburg of the attack on Copenhagen Budberg wrote officially to Gower for an explanation, which was given in the terms prescribed by Canning. After which, the British Minister reported, so far from encountering any display of resentment, he found Budberg's attitude much more friendly. Sir Robert Wilson, who carried this despatch to London, and was thought by himself at least—"credulous but zealous," Malmesbury describes him—to enjoy Alexander's confidence, also reported that a most influential party at St. Petersburg favoured the political action of Great Britain. Canning and Malmesbury, discussing the situation thus disclosed at Bulstrode with the Duke of Portland, appear to have jumped to the conclusion that the presence of a British armament in the Baltic had thoroughly frightened Alexander; and that the Russian Government was disposed to acquiesce in the capture of the Danish fleet, and a continued occupation of Zealand by British troops. On this hypothesis they framed their next proceeding, which Wilson returned to Russia to support with his influence; and they wrote the despatches—"incomparable instructions," Malmesbury calls them—required to give it effect. One despatch directed Mr. Merry, of the British diplomatic service, to go to Denmark and offer the restoration of all Danish merchantmen and sailors detained in England, and ample security for Danish commerce, on condition that the Regent should consent to the occupation of Zealand by troops in British pay till the conclusion of a general peace. Another despatch instructed Lord G. L. Gower to ask the Czar to persuade the Regent to accept these terms, and to guarantee his observance of them. By a third, Mr. Pierrepont was directed to bring the influence of Sweden to bear at St. Petersburg in favour of the British proposals. The project failed in every part, being based on self-delusion. The Danish Prince would not receive Merry or any communication from him. Alexander refused to see Wilson, who returned crestfallen to England. Gower's application to Count Romanzow, who had succeeded Budberg at the Russian Foreign Office, met with a curt refusal. The King of Sweden, warned by his Minister at St. Petersburg of the real disposition of the Russian Government, declined, in spite of Pierrepont's repeated

appeals to his vanity and his self-interest, to furnish troops for the occupation of Zealand, or to allow the German legion to land in Sweden.<sup>1</sup> And the British commanders, when the six weeks stipulated by the articles of capitulation had expired, departed with their plunder for England, to the intense annoyance of the authors of the expedition. Canning left his opinion on record that through Carthcart's blundering the expedition had done more harm than good; and Malmesbury wrote "they (the Commanders) did what they were ordered, but did not go a step beyond their instructions, like unwilling servants."<sup>2</sup> The Regent, as Pierrepoint reported, immediately returned to his ruined capital, and set vigorously to work to put Zealand in a state of defence; and Danish gun-boats captured a number of English merchantmen in the Baltic. "We lost nearly as much in naval stores captured by the Danes,"<sup>3</sup> Malmesbury writes, "as we had gained by seizing their fleet." The public language, however, of the Ministry and the Ministerial Press was that of unalloyed triumph. They claimed by an act of vigour, in brilliant contrast with the impotence of the Coalition Ministry, to have baffled the designs of Napoleon, and preserved Ireland and perhaps also Scotland to the British Crown. Surely a strange confession of misgovernment in Ireland and Scotland. And the British public, depressed by a series of failures at Constantinople, Buenos Ayres, and Alexandria, which the Turks compelled General Frazer to abandon, seems to have indulged in patriotic rejoicing for a glorious exploit, which foreign opinion condemned as a dastardly and treacherous outrage. That it strengthened the hand of Napoleon, and caused an immediate breach with Russia can hardly be doubted. Alexander, as Lord Hutchinson afterwards declared in the House of Lords, had been compelled after the defeat of Friedland, to negotiate with Napoleon. At Tilsit, under the sway of a master mind, dazzled by the prospect of becoming a partner in the conqueror's scheme of universal empire, he had embraced with ardour a French alliance. But after his return to St. Petersburg, notwithstanding frequent conferences with General Savary, sent by Napoleon to keep him steady, this enthusiasm began to cool. He had in fact gained nothing at Tilsit beyond vague promises, in return for a positive engagement in certain eventualities, to adopt the Berlin Decrees; which meant a line of policy injurious to Russian trade, and certain to be unpopular. But the bombardment of Copenhagen stung him to the quick. The testimony of Lord Hutchinson, to whom he opened his mind freely on the subject, leaves no doubt of it. An appeal from the Prince Regent worked strongly on his feelings. And he resented Canning's demand that he should incur the disgrace of making himself an accomplice in such shameful violence as an intolerable insult. For a time he restrained his anger in order that the Russian naval squadron in the

<sup>1</sup> *F. O. Despatches, 1807.*

<sup>2</sup> *Diary of Lord Malmesbury.*

Mediterranean might return home in safety. But Lord Gower's imperious insistence with Count Romanzow to be shewn the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, and for the renewal of a commercial treaty, provoked an explosion. The British Minister, to his astonishment and indignation, received for answer an official intimation that the Emperor, having recalled the Russian embassy from London, no longer desired his presence in St. Petersburg. Nothing was left for him but to demand his passports, and quit Russia at once.<sup>1</sup> Then, on October 31, Alexander issued a declaration that Great Britain having twice induced him to take up arms, deserted him in his greatest need. Instead of interfering to divert French efforts from concentration in Poland, the British Government sent one part of its forces to conquer Buenos Ayres and another to conquer Egypt in its own interests. Contrary to a treaty concluded in 1801, it vexed the commerce of his subjects all the time when they were fighting France. When Alexander, having made peace with France, offered to mediate peace for England on honourable conditions, the latter refused; but used the troops it had withheld from assisting Russia, to commit an outrage against Denmark, for which history had no previous example; turning on a small, peaceful power, with which it had no quarrel, in order to despoil her, and that too in the Baltic, which the British Government knew to be closed against foreign hostilities under a Russian guarantee. For these and other reasons the Emperor broke off all relations with Great Britain, and put an end to existing treaties with her till reparation was made. Canning's answer, in the shape of a declaration of George III, dealt very shortly and ineffectively with those charges, but, after the manner of a counsel with a weak case, taunted Alexander with deserting his ally, the King of Prussia. It must be admitted that only the clearest evidence of national peril and of guilty intent could justify Great Britain in despatching secretly an overwhelming armament which she had withheld from allies fighting to the last extremity in a common cause, to destroy the capital of one of the smallest states of Europe, for which she professed friendship and trust, in order to obtain possession of some vessels of war, laid by, unequipped and unarmed, which might possibly be used at some future time against her. What was the evidence relied upon? An entry in Lord Malmesbury's *Diary* tells us, as follows:—"Capture of Danish fleet by surprise on account of *most undoubted information* received from the Prince Regent of Portugal of Bonaparte's intention to use the Portuguese and Danish fleets for invasion of England. First hint of the plan given by the Prince of Wales to the Duke of Portland. The Portuguese refused the demand, and told British Government of it; the Danes accepted, kept silence, and afterwards denied it." Canning also refers to the *undoubted information*, without specifying it, in a

<sup>1</sup> *F. O. Despatches*, 1807.

despatch to Lord G. Gower.<sup>1</sup> This statement may have been merely a fiction of the Prince of Wales's fertile imagination. It was quickly discarded, the Portuguese Regent having supplied no information whatever in regard to Denmark. In the "Declaration of George III," and in his defence of the Government in the House of Commons, Canning afterwards indicated secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit as the source of the information on which he acted. But Opposition speakers in both Houses of Parliament showed by a comparison of dates that those articles could not have been known to the Minister when the expedition left England. Then Lord Hawkesbury, in answer to Lord Sidmouth, shifted the defence to the shadowy ground of secrets leaking out during the conferences at Tilsit; and there it has rested ever since.<sup>2</sup> If any authentic information which justified the action of the British Government was received, why was no record left of it? And even if there had been hostile intention, did it become a maritime power which had swept the historic navies of Spain, France, and Holland from the seas, to shrink from open conflict with the small fleet of Denmark, and seek safety in such questionable proceedings? Canning's mode of defending the expedition in the House of Commons laid him open to general reproach. He seems to have thought that in an assembly so composed he could venture to set fair dealing at defiance. In support of his assertions of hostile intentions on the part of Denmark, he brought down unpublished official papers from the Foreign Office, read out passages from them, and immediately put them away, refusing then and afterwards to submit them to inspection, as a course injurious to the public service. Lords Howick and Hutchinson and Mr. Garlyke, writers of the despatches quoted, protested against this proceeding as being contrary to all precedent, and declared the evidence garbled. It was only when the outcry had become too damaging to be longer defied, that Canning consented, for the sake of his own reputation, to publish extracts selected by himself which, read apart from what preceded and followed, the authors of the papers still insisted gave a false representation of what they had written. Garlyke's protests, under the stress of honourable obligation, and in the cautious language of a subordinate, are published in this volume.<sup>3</sup> Admirers of Mr. Canning, and he had qualities and talents well deserving of admiration, have ever since exercised more or less ingenuity in framing theories as to the source of the intelligence which inspired the raid upon Copenhagen. The key of the mystery should perhaps be sought in Canning's own character. His complaints of M. Rist, his unfounded charge of serious neglect of duty on the part of Mr. Garlyke, and Garlyke's sudden removal to Memel, the offensive and unwarranted language of his instructions to Mr. Jackson, seem to indicate a deliberate purpose to fasten a quarrel on the Regent of

<sup>1</sup> *F. O. Despatches*, 1807.

<sup>2</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, 1808.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 182-192.

Denmark. Nor is it altogether impossible that a propensity to theatrical display and secret manœuvre, ambition to become the hero of some achievement which should electrify the world and make its author the theme of all tongues, may have impelled a vivid imagination to invest suspicion and rumour, rife at the time, with all the authority of authentic information.

Russia and Denmark were not the only countries in dealing with which, professedly on a friendly footing, Canning's "vigour" provoked relations little productive of credit or advantage to Great Britain. In the Introduction to the last volume of these papers, some account was given of a conference held in London during the autumn of 1806, to examine into and, if feasible, satisfy complaints from the Government of the United States of America in regard to breaches of international law alleged to have been committed by captains of British cruisers in American waters; and of their practice of overhauling American merchantmen on the high seas, and carrying off some of the crews as British subjects. The latter point of dispute was the more difficult to arrange, because it sometimes involved a conflict of legal right. By English law, a native of the British isles could not divest himself of his nationality. American law allowed foreigners, after a prescribed period of residence, to become citizens of the United States. So it happened that in many cases each power was able to claim the captured seamen as its own subjects. The discussions in London had been carried on in a most friendly spirit; and Messrs. Munroe and Pinkney had taken on themselves the responsibility of signing a treaty *sub spe rati*, which Congress refused to ratify as not affording adequate redress for the grievances complained of. Negotiations, however, were resumed in London in 1807. In June of that year Admiral Berkeley, in command on the American station, hearing that some deserters from the British navy were serving on board the *Chesapeake*, an American frigate, ordered the captain of the *Shannon*, a British frigate of heavier metal, to demand and, if necessary, compel their surrender. The *Chesapeake* resisted; but after some loss in killed and wounded, yielded to superior force, and allowed some of its crew to be carried away as prisoners. One of the men thus captured was tried and executed as a deserter. President Jefferson, on receiving a report of this outrage, issued an order, dated July 4, that all British ships of war should quit the ports and rivers of the United States, and return no more. The British Government disavowed and recalled Berkeley, giving him another command; and professed willingness to release the seamen taken from the *Chesapeake* and compensate the families of the killed and wounded, on certain conditions. And as the American Commissioners in London were precluded by their instructions from dealing with the matter except in connection with acts



of violence of older date, for which they sought satisfaction, Canning sent Mr. Rose, son of his old friend the Treasurer of the Navy, on a special mission to Washington, to discuss this particular question with Mr. Madison, American Secretary of State. Rose's instructions directed him if, on arriving at an American port, he should find any impediment or delay to his landing in consequence of the President's proclamation, to return at once; also, if he reached Washington, to insist on the immediate withdrawal of the proclamation as a preliminary to negotiation. He found himself welcomed on arrival in the United States, and at every stage of his journey to the capital, as the envoy of a friendly power; and made the prescribed demand, for which the disavowal and recall of Admiral Berkeley were alleged as a sufficient reason. The British Government, Rose continued, as instructed, would be justified in refusing the compensation at first promised by the insults since offered in American harbours to British naval officers; but the withdrawal of the proclamation would afford evidence of good intention, and prevent George III from authorising his naval commanders to follow the course Berkeley had taken without authority. This harangue was hardly a message of peace. Madison replied that the disavowal of Admiral Berkeley was an act which the British Government owed to itself; that the proclamation had been the consequence of an outrage for which reparation, although promised, had not as yet been made; and that by a premature withdrawal of it, the American Government would proclaim itself the wrong-doer, a course to which it could not submit. Mr. Rose could go no further in his official capacity. But by the advice of leaders of the Federalists, the party in opposition, which desired alliance with England, as against the neutral policy of the Democrats, then in office, he, although with fear and trembling, took it on himself to inform Madison that in his own opinion the terms of settlement he had to offer would be found acceptable. This concession led to others, equally unauthorised, in the cause of peace. It was arranged that at an unofficial conference, the draft of a new proclamation by the President, to be substituted for that of July, should be read, after which Rose should announce the British proposals. The proceedings were to be confidential, and binding on neither party, unless formally adopted at another official meeting. The draft having been read, and obtaining his approval, Rose declared, as instructed, that the disavowal of Berkeley would be repeated in writing; that the men taken by force from the *Chesapeake* would be released, and compensation would be given as a favour from George III to the families of those killed or wounded, if it could be proved that they were not British subjects; on condition that the American Government should disavow the enticing of British sailors to desert, and refusing to give them up when claimed, as practised by Commodore Barron and other of its officers; and should also disavow the injuries and

insults to which British officers had been lately exposed in the harbours of the United States. The accusation of enticing British seamen to desert appears to have been founded on a statement made by the seaman taken from the *Chesapeake* and executed. Commodore Barron, however, declared this statement to be false; and that in all other respects he had adhered strictly to instructions from his Government. As to the remaining points of the indictment, Madison replied that Berkeley's act had been only the most flagrant of many of the same character, which he specified, committed by British commanders, and for which no reparation or apology could be obtained; and that the British captains on whose behalf complaint was made had set the President's proclamation at defiance, and continued to use American ports for purposes condemned among civilised nations. Rose admitted this charge of refusal to quit to be true, Congress, as he informed Canning, when authorising President Jefferson to issue the order, not having enabled him to enforce it. If disavowals, Madison concluded, were required from one party, they must also be given by the other. This put an end to the negotiation, and Rose returned from a mission foredoomed to failure by Canning's instructions. Before leaving Washington, he reported confidentially to his chief, that if the negotiation had gone on he should have been under the necessity of asking for some modification of the British demand for disavowal of refusals to discharge or deliver up deserters; having ascertained that papers had come into Mr. Madison's hands which showed that the British Admiralty had declined to send back deserters from the American sloop *The Wasp*, when lying in the Downs during the summer of 1806, on the plea that by service or marriage they had become British subjects.<sup>1</sup> In fact, it is not easy to see what purpose Canning meant this mission to serve except to exhibit on a wider stage his own spirited foreign policy. Even before Mr. Rose left England, Orders in Council had been framed to give effect to Canning's dogma of retaliation, which raised a new and fatal obstacle to reconciliation with the United States. Since Tilsit, Napoleon had enforced the Berlin Decrees more strictly, and made a rule that a neutral ship destined for a port under French control should provide itself with a certificate from a French agent at a neutral port that the goods it carried were neutral by origin and ownership. Canning's Orders in Council declared all neutral vessels provided with French certificates, or which did not touch at an English port before proceeding to one under French control, lawful prize for a British ship of war. By these arbitrary edicts, France and England declared war against neutral nations. The Government of the United States of America replied by a Non-intercourse Act, forbidding trade with France or England until the obnoxious regulations were repealed; and enforced this Act at home by laying an embargo on all North American ships trading with either belligerent.

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<sup>1</sup> *F. O. Despatches, 1807-8.*

Canning and his colleagues seem to have believed that their Orders in Council would give British merchants a monopoly of commerce on the high seas. The leaders of the Opposition, especially Lords Grenville and Auckland, who had learned political economy from Adam Smith, denounced them as founded on an immoral principle, and furthering the policy of Napoleon, with disastrous consequences for Great Britain. After a little, the French ruler had the good sense to withdraw from a false position by making concessions which restored friendly relations between France and the United States. The British Government, by obstinate adherence to its "Orders," not only aggravated severe industrial distress and discontent in England, but provoked a war unprofitable and inglorious in itself, and leaving angry feelings and bitter memories, which did much to keep two great nations of the same blood and language in a state of estrangement for more than two generations.<sup>1</sup>

So many matters of policy, internal and external, vitally affecting the honour and interests of the monarchy, could not fail to provoke long and animated discussion in both Houses of Parliament. But the new Ministry, although fiercely and ably assailed, were fortunate in being confronted by an enfeebled and disorganized Opposition. Lord Grenville had welcomed dismissal as a happy release from the trammels and cares of office; and the successful tactics of his political antagonists in arousing, with the open support of the Court, the forces of bigotry and prejudice to expel him from power for fulfilling his plain duty as a constitutional Minister of the Crown, so dismayed and disheartened him, that it was only the pressing entreaties of his brothers and his nephew, Lord Temple, that prevented his retiring altogether from political life. And although he consented to retain his position as a party leader, he set his face firmly against retaliating on his successors in office by persistent and harassing warfare. This was not from any personal leaning towards men "whose system I abhor and whose talents I despise," as he wrote of them in defending the course his judgment led him to pursue.<sup>2</sup> But he argued that nothing useful could be effected by the Opposition in Parliament under existing conditions; whereas debates in the House of Commons might probably bring out fundamental differences in its own ranks. He appears to have particularly feared the reforming zeal of Mr. Whitbread, Lord Howick's brother-in-law, and leader of the Radicals. The proposals with which this distinguished politician had hitherto identified himself, such as the establishment of parochial schools, and the improvement of the Poor Law System, can hardly be considered Jacobinism; but in the dominant opinion of the time, they were dangerous innovation. It was due to the public and to himself, Lord Grenville declared, that he should express

<sup>1</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, 1808-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Court and Cabinets of George III.*—Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

his views fully and clearly on all points of ministerial policy which he believed to be hurtful to the interests of the State. Having accomplished this duty, he thought it wiser and more patriotic to abstain from further criticism which could only tend to weaken a Government they could not replace, at a time of great national peril. To this rule he allowed an exception, namely, the condition of Ireland; being convinced that it was on the adoption of such remedial measures as would effect a real union of interests and good will between that island and Great Britain, the salvation of the whole monarchy depended. "For daily opposition," he wrote somewhat later, "I am too old, too scrupulous, and in the present state of the country, much too timid."<sup>1</sup> In this view, having, as opportunity offered, condemned with his usual force and clearness the acts and omissions of the Irish Government; the Orders in Council of October, 1807, as disastrous to British industries, and British relations with the United States, and founded on a theory of retaliation obviously unjust and immoral; and, more cautiously, when the various pretences alleged for the expedition were shown in succession to be untenable, the raid on Copenhagen, he left London for the remainder of the Parliamentary Session. In debates on Ireland in the House of Lords, his most vigorous supporter was Lord Holland. Lord Auckland gave him valuable aid in exposing the impolicy of the Orders in Council. On the Danish question, he found an unexpected ally in Lord Sidmouth. Although his overture for a coalition was rejected by the Portland Ministry, Sidmouth had carefully abstained from giving any vote against their measures which might bring him into disfavour with the King. He had, however, as Prime Minister been responsible for the Convention of St. Petersburg, by which peace was restored between Great Britain and the Baltic Confederation in 1801. And having good reason to believe that it was only with difficulty George III had been brought to sanction hostilities against his kinsman, the Regent of Denmark, he proposed that the Danish merchantmen and sailors seized in British ports in time of peace and professed friendship, should now be set free. But the Government would only consent to relinquish their booty as the price of a treaty dictated by themselves. Lord Grenville's plan of occasional attendance in Parliament seems to have commended itself also to Lord Howick, for private rather than public reasons. The consequence was, Messrs. Sheridan and Whitbread, as independent Liberals, led opposition in the House of Commons with a power and freedom which threw members of the late Cabinet, with the exception of Windham, completely into the shade. On matters requiring redress in Ireland, Sheridan especially spoke with knowledge and sympathy which compelled the admiration of a reluctant House, but had no effect on its votes. Windham also fully sustained his established renown as an orator in discussing military organization and

<sup>1</sup> *Court and Cabinets of George III.*

questions of general policy. In the higher qualities of eloquence, in wit, fancy, power of argument, lofty sentiment and good taste, he far excelled the brilliant but sophistical rhetoric of Canning. Some of the speeches, indeed, which he delivered in the closing years of his life appeal to the modern reader as more nearly approaching perfect specimens of Parliamentary oratory than those spoken by any contemporary statesman, however powerful in debate, during the same period. But though distinguished members of the Opposition in the House of Commons maintained or enhanced their reputation, party discipline vanished. The rank and file voted or abstained from voting as "inclination lawed," and argument availed nothing against an overwhelming majority. The death of Earl Grey towards the end of 1807, by removing Lord Howick to the House of Lords, did not improve the situation. The appointment of George Ponsonby, leader of the Irish Whigs, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the Coalition Ministry, and uncle of Lady Grey, to the vacant post, seemed to Thomas Grenville to be that which offered most advantages and fewest drawbacks. Ponsonby had won reputation in the Irish Parliament, but was almost unknown in that of Westminster. Lord Grenville, however, demurred, influenced probably by lingering distrust of an old foe of the Marquis of Buckingham. They had not, he objected, sufficient personal knowledge of Ponsonby and his opinions to commit themselves hastily to such a hazardous experiment. Better, he thought, let things drift in the House of Commons until further experience should direct their choice. But his brothers thought any leadership which promised to restore something of order and cohesion in the ranks of their party preferable to Mr. Whitbread and anarchy. The Duke of Bedford provided Ponsonby with a seat. Lord Grey approved of the choice, and Lord Grenville gave way. But English members of the House of Commons did not welcome the control of a stranger from Ireland; and Ponsonby lacked the force of character which might have made the experiment a success.

Lord Grenville's reluctance to weaken the authority of a Cabinet which he despised, but saw no prospect of ejecting from office, sprang no doubt in great measure from his deep sense of the dangers to which the British monarchy was now exposed. Its mortal foe, Napoleon, had reached the summit of power and renown. Nearly all Europe was his vassal. Even the Emperor of Austria, who for twenty-five years had maintained friendly relations with George III, on his renewed offer to mediate between France and Great Britain being rejected by the British Cabinet, found it necessary to recall Prince Staremberg from London, to send passports to Sir Robert Adair at Vienna, and to shut his ports in the Adriatic against British commerce. In the French Empire, Napoleon's authority became more absolute every day. The Conservative Senate intended by Sièyes, the legislator of the French

Revolution, to be the guardian of a constitution so scientifically framed that liberty and order should work in harmonious co-operation, Napoleon perverted into a servile instrument of despotism. One Senatorial decree abolished the Tribunate, and with it the right of testing the Acts of Government by public discussion and criticism. Another, under the guise of raising the character and efficiency, greatly restricted the independence, of the French judicature. All open opposition to his will had died out. At the same time the condition of France as exhibited in the annual report for 1807 of M. Mollien, the Minister of Finance, had, in spite of wars and exclusion from the seas, risen to a state of extraordinary prosperity under his rule. His victories opened vast markets for her industries, of which his policy spared no effort to secure for her the monopoly. Under the new systems of indirect taxation and gathering in of taxes which he introduced, the annual deficits which had so long been a normal feature of French finance, disappeared; ordinary revenue not only covered ordinary expenditure, but afforded a large surplus for carrying on and developing those great creations of Imperial policy which signalled every year of his reign. The 5 per cent. *Rentes* which had fallen in price below 10 at the time of his return from Egypt, stood at 99 after the conclusion of peace at Tilsit. Contributions from vanquished nations not only defrayed the costs of his various wars, but provided ample means for the endowment of his new Imperial nobility, for permanent provision on a generous scale of pensions and rewards for the veteran warriors who had served him and France so well, and for rebuilding the French navy. The clang of labour already echoing along the Scheldt from the magnificent dockyards Napoleon had constructed at Antwerp, was a far more worthy cause of patriotic solicitude for a British Ministry than unarmed hulks laid by under the protection of international honour in the silent arsenal of Copenhagen. Finally, the new University of Paris, which a few months later crowned the system of public instruction he had gradually elaborated, brought French education in all its branches under State control. And while France had grown so formidable in power and prosperity at the end of 1807, the conduct of the Portland Ministry had not only inflamed disaffection in Ireland, but left Great Britain without a single ally on the Continent except Gustavus IV of Sweden. Its mode of dealing with this infatuated monarch did not enhance the national reputation for generosity or good faith.

The disposition shown by Gustavus to lend himself to the British design of a hostile occupation of Zealand after the evacuation of Copenhagen by Lord Cathcart, gave grave offence to the Prince Regent of Denmark and to his own brother-in-law and ally, the Emperor of Russia. Towards the end of 1807, Alexander invited Sweden to join Russia and Denmark in a renewal of their old league to defend the neutrality of the Baltic.

This invitation being declined by Gustavus as hostile to England, a Russian army invaded Finland in the following spring. Gustavus attacked the Danes in Norway, and called on the British Government for the aid which he was entitled to demand. They granted him a subsidy of 100,000*l.*; and early in May, Lord Castlereagh sent 12,000 British troops to Gothenberg, under Sir John Moore. But this expedition brought no real help, being despatched only to save appearances. Moore's instructions directed him to land in Sweden, to keep his men in a separate body sufficiently near the coast to be in touch with their transports; and to reserve to himself full liberty to re-embark without delay if ordered elsewhere. To these instructions Gustavus at once demurred, having already had bitter experience at Stralsund of the value of such succour. He did not want British troops in Sweden, he told Moore, but to act against the Danes in Zealand or Norway, or to defend Finland against the Russians. As auxiliaries, they must fight under his own command, and in co-operation with his other forces; and he required a week's or fortnight's notice of an intention to withdraw them from his standard. The British General could only refer these objections for decision to Lord Castlereagh, while his troops lay pent up at anchor before Gothenberg, being refused permission to land. Moore reported, as Mr. Picrepoint had already done, that the reckless mis-government of their monarch had extinguished all feelings of loyalty among the Swedes, who detested an English alliance as fatal to their national interests. And, being ignorant no doubt of the diplomatic wiles which had been so freely used to enthrall Gustavus, he suggested that the best way out of the present situation was to recall the armament to England. Such open desertion, however, would be in too glaring contradiction with previous solicitations, and flatteries, and pledges, for Lord Castlereagh to venture on it. Gustavus had broken no engagement with a Government which deliberately, for its own purposes, exposed him to peril by practising on his weaknesses, and promising him not only protection but reward. So the War Minister supplied what seemed to him a better way by modifying his original instructions into a strange muddle of contradictory directions which the General could not act upon or even understand. The British troops were not to be sent to Zealand, or Finland; or even to Norway, if in the opinion of their commander it would compromise their safety. The notice of withdrawal required was allowed, and the King's supreme authority was to be acknowledged in Sweden; but the orders he gave were to be referred to England for approval; and in case of sudden emergency the General must exercise his own discretion. Moore's attempt to explain these new instructions seems to have thrown Gustavus into a paroxysm of rage. The General, a straightforward soldier of great merit, chafed by the false position in which he was placed, and anxious no doubt for the health of his troops, also lost

his temper; and threatened to depart at once for England unless his men were allowed to land. As this would be a breach of the new article allowing a week's notice of departure, Gustavus put the British general under arrest for disobedience to the orders of his own Government. After a short detention, Moore escaped in a mean disguise, reached the British transports, and set sail for England without further parley.<sup>1</sup> This proceeding did not please Lord Castlereagh; and still less did the returned Commander's out-spoken criticism of the War Minister's prodigious capacity for blundering. Gustavus, left to his fate, without further pretence of help, was deposed by his subjects in favour of his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, who purchased peace in the following year by ceding Finland to Russia. The discrowned monarch retired to Switzerland, where he lived as Count Glossorp, ignored in his fall by all the world except by that other champion and martyr of "divine right," the Count de Provence, who sent him a letter of condolence. This mark of sympathy had been earned by service recently rendered in characteristic fashion. The course of events in the earlier half of 1807 deprived Provence of his refuge under Russian protection at Mittau; and he went in consequence to take counsel with Gustavus, then in the island of Rügen. Being apparently filled thereby with a spirit of enterprise altogether foreign to his natural disposition, the French prince suddenly took ship for England, sending only at the moment of departure a brief announcement to George III of his approaching visit to London. News of the landing of the Corsican ogre himself could not have so dismayed the British monarch as this unlooked for epistle from his good ally and brother the Most Christian King. Lord Hawkesbury, as Home Secretary, despatched messengers in hot haste to the authorities of the ports on the Eastern coast to board the vessel carrying the illustrious traveller and direct its course to Leith on the Forth, in order that he might enjoy the satisfaction of joining his brother, Count d'Artois, at Holyrood House, with the least possible delay. Provence, however, eluded this mark of attention by landing at once at Yarmouth, and refusing to turn his face northwards. Then Canning took charge of the business in more courteous fashion, sending the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs to receive and confer with the unwelcome guest, whom the British Government had recognised as Louis XVIII, King of France. But before the Under-Secretary reached Yarmouth, the Marquis of Buckingham had placed at the service of the French prince Gosfield Hall, in Essex, where he was allowed to remain; the distance from the capital being sufficiently remote to allay the inhospitable alarms of the British Court. Ministers do not appear to have relished this "mad prank" of Gustavus being played off on themselves.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Fortescue's *History of the British Army*.

<sup>2</sup> Count de Provence had long sought, in vain, permission to reside in England. See correspondence printed in the Appendix of this Volume, p. 443.



But Napoleon, instead of bringing all the advantages he derived from his victories, increased resources, and the faults of the British Government in concentrated effort as "Liberator of the Seas in the interests of Europe," against his sole remaining foe, plunged into new conflicts of a character which not only dwarfed that foe's misdeeds into comparative insignificance, but enabled her to win immortal renown as leading champion of human rights against an all-embracing tyranny. The sobering effect of the check his arms sustained at Eylau, vanished in the triumphs of Friedland and Tilsit; and dreams of military invincibility and world-wide empire resumed their sway over his mind. Because Pope Pius VII refused to descend at his bidding from the position of independent neutrality proper to his sovereignty to that of mere tool of Imperial policy, he annexed his dominions, assailed his spiritual authority, deprived him of personal freedom, and held him for years as a prisoner of State under very harsh conditions. He thus cast away the support of religious sentiment which had hitherto been a main prop of his own power. The effect thus produced being chiefly moral, was gradual in operation, gathering force from time and the increasing rigour of tyrannical violence. As to the result in France itself, we have his own avowal. Discussing after his return from Elba with a friend of his early days, who had come to serve him in adversity, the chilling attitude of the French people towards him, notwithstanding his late triumphal progress to the capital, they agreed in attributing it mainly to his treatment of the Pope, which "had turned against him half of the men and all the women of France."<sup>1</sup> His attempt to conquer Spain was a still more disastrous blunder. The cause of Spain appealed to the sympathies of men of all creeds; the resistance being prompt and vigorous, aroused instant attention; it broke the spell of invincibility which held the Continent in awe, and shattered his Continental system; and combining, as Napoleon's proceeding did, with fraud and violence, base dissimulation and treachery, it incurred such general odium as scared even Talleyrand, the callous sceptic who had advised it, into a show of virtuous disapproval. No doubt Napoleon had strong ground of complaint against the Spanish Government. Godoy's proclamation in the autumn of 1807 calling the Spanish people to arms, was a stab in the back, which might well have proved, what it was certainly intended to be, mortal. When authentic news of it reached him on the morning after his victory at Jena, he, as we are told by an eye-witness, "grew white with anger."<sup>2</sup> And although he found it expedient to dissemble his resentment at the moment, political prudence forbade him to forget the offence. Had he therefore after making peace at Tilsit provided for his own future security by ridding Spain, even by force of arms, of a Government which ruined and

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Count Mio de Melito.*

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Napoleon*—Fournier.

degraded her, that kingdom would have had little reason to complain. An opportunity offered, however, in the revolution of spring, 1808, which hurled Godoy from power, deposed Charles IV, and raised his son Ferdinand to the Spanish throne, of accomplishing peaceably both of the objects which he professed to have equally at heart in relation to Spain. While acceding to Ferdinand's appeals to him to recognize this change, which had the sanction of national opinion, and to give him a princess of the Bonaparte family in marriage, Napoleon could have imposed conditions which might have secured France against future invasion on her southern frontier, and established a better system of government in the Peninsula. This at least would have been a more feasible method of binding the two countries in durable alliance by a new "family compact." But the course which he pursued of a perfidious treaty with Godoy, under cover of which a French army was poured into Spain to seize possession of its unguarded fortresses and its capital, and over-awe the nation while the more shameful scenes of a historical drama were enacting at Bayonne, must have kindled a spirit of resistance in any people not content to be slaves. Tame submission to wrong was not the temper of the Spaniard. Napoleon's triumphs in Germany and Italy, where national sentiment was weak and divided against itself, and where the organised force at the command of Government once beaten decisively, resistance to an enemy collapsed, led him into a fatal error in dealing with Spain, against which a well-known saying on the subject of his ablest predecessor on the French throne, Louis XIV, might have warned him. Though still ranking among the great powers of Europe, and possessing undiminished the richest colonial empire in the world, Spain was now weaker in military or naval force than Sweden or Denmark. The deteriorating influences of incompetent, corrupt, and arbitrary rule which had operated with little intermission since the death of Philip II, turning a race of nobles renowned for chivalrous enterprise and heroic exploits into sauntering courtiers, and busy turbulent cities into magnificent solitudes, reached a climax under the long and disgraceful ascendancy of Godoy. All of the navy that survived Trafalgar was allowed to fall into disrepair. The army, once the terror and admiration of the world, had sunk so low in strength and efficiency, that in the plans shaped for Lord Grenville by his military adviser, Sir Arthur Wellesley, some 20,000 British troops sufficed to conquer and hold all Spanish America. The main cause of this degeneracy was not any dearth of admirable material from which to recruit the ranks, but want of officers capable of training and leading men, and want of money to equip and pay them. Under Godoy, all the military colleges but one had been closed; and the tributes from American mines, on which a discredited Government depended mainly for funds, were cut off or carried off by British cruisers. Nevertheless, though apparently without means of repelling invasion, no

country of Europe, from the conformation of the land and the qualities of the people, was so difficult to conquer as Spain. It had never known systematic or continuous oppression. The Moslem yoke had been light and precarious throughout the greater part of the peninsula, calling the energies of those subject to it into perpetual action to cast it off. A crusade of five centuries, which united all classes of Christians in a long struggle for faith and freedom, saved peasant and citizen from the feudal bondage which prevailed throughout the rest of Western Europe. And no Spanish Government, even in the worst of times, ventured to alienate the support of a brave, hardy, and patriotic population, by any systematic violation of the ancient laws and customs by which habits of personal freedom were cherished and preserved. Even the imbecile Charles IV, the puppet of a profligate Queen and her worthless favourite, was personally liked. His eldest son, Ferdinand, although hardly more worthy, was extremely popular; the Bourbon dynasty itself was cherished as the nation's own choice, representing a victorious struggle against the armed dictation of Austria, England and Holland. And thus a country intersected by steep mountain ranges and unproductive wastes, was occupied by the proudest, most temperate and loyal peasantry in Europe, able by extraordinary aptitude for guerilla warfare to make, in case of invasion, every steep defile a death-trap for the enemy, and every barren fastness a stronghold of national independence. It resented the perfidious wiles by which its young monarch was trapped and held captive as a mortal injury; and the despatch of Joseph Bonaparte to rule over it, in virtue of a sham election at Bayonne, as an intolerable insult; and every province not held by a French garrison in overwhelming force, sprang to arms at the call of local juntas to repel a foreign yoke.

Unfortunately, a monarchy prolific beyond example during the whole of the 16th century in great statesmen and soldiers, did not produce in this supreme emergency a single individual of sufficient eminence in war or civil life to take the lead in a struggle for national existence. Public enthusiasm contributed liberally men, money and necessary supplies. Deeds of heroic valour proclaimed the countrymen of the Cid. But generals were too often ignorant of war, and too jealous of each other to co-operate; and prominent civilians, immersed in local interests and provincial rivalries, seemed incapable of rising into any higher sphere of statesmanship. On the other hand, Napoleon, having left the bulk of his grand army to occupy Prussia until the war indemnity had been paid, and expecting little resistance, sent raw troops to take possession of Spain. These, led by experienced officers, easily defeated untrained peasants in the open field. But they were repelled with great slaughter from walled towns, such as Saragossa, Valencia, and Gerona; and on July 29, 1808, one body of 17,000 under General Dupont, being surrounded at Baylen, surrendered

to the Spanish General Castanos. When news of this disaster reached Madrid, Joseph Bonaparte, who had entered that city on the day when it occurred, and been proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies, fled in panic from the capital, carrying with him the Crown jewels. The French troops scattered throughout the provinces, pressed hard by fiercer assaults, retired behind the Ebro. The French Mediterranean fleet, besieged in the harbour of Cadiz by Lord Collingwood, was forced by the citizens to surrender. And in September a Central Junta, composed of delegates from the provincial juntas, met at Aranjuez to govern Spain in the name of Ferdinand VII.

The national rising in Spain and the astonishing success that crowned its first efforts against the French, created an extraordinary sensation throughout Europe. England responded with enthusiasm to Spanish appeals for help. In the House of Commons, Sheridan, seconded by Whitbread, gave voice nobly to popular sympathy; and Canning replied in a generous spirit, which raised the foreign policy of the monarchy to a worthier level. All that was great within him responded to the call, and rose to the height of a great opportunity. Throughout Germany the shock was electrical. It inspired a movement for national emancipation, which took form in the secret association of the Tugendbund. In Prussia the patriotic Ministers, Stein and Scharnhorst, secretly took counsel with Gneisenau, a soldier of organizing genius, how best to retrieve the late disasters of the monarchy. In Austria, the Emperor and Count Stadion urged forward with renewed hope the re-organization of the military forces of the empire, on which Archduke Charles had been steadily at work since the peace of Presburg. And the Governments of both countries made secret overtures at St. Petersburg for the formation of another coalition against the grinding domination of Napoleon.<sup>1</sup>

The first army despatched by the British Government to the Peninsula was in aid of Portugal, an old ally. After the secret treaty of Fontainebleau for a partition of that kingdom, concluded by Napoleon and Godoy in October, 1807, General Junot, with a small French force, had advanced by forced marches on Lisbon, hoping to capture the Portuguese fleet in the Tagus. The Prince Regent, however, without attempting resistance, embarked on it with his whole Court for Brazil, leaving his capital to the enemy. At the same time, a body of Spaniards took possession of the northern provinces of Portugal for the King of Spain's daughter, lately Queen of Etruria. When Napoleon's designs revealed themselves more fully in the following spring, the Spaniards withdrew to defend their own country; and a Council of Regency formed at Oporto, with the Bishop as President, raised troops, and appealed to the British Government for help. Lord Castlereagh, instigated by General Miranda, had assembled a military force in the south of Ireland under Sir Arthur Wellesley, for another expedition

<sup>1</sup> Fournier—*Life of Napoleon*.

against the Spanish colonies in South America ; and these, reinforced from England, were despatched to help the Portuguese. General Moore's unexpected return about the same time from Sweden with 12,000 men, and events in Spain, led the British Government to enlarge its plans and to send Moore's army also to stiffen the general insurrection against the French. But here a hitch occurred which had important consequences. Moore's undisguised contempt for Lord Castlereagh and his instructions involved him in a violent quarrel with that Minister. As his distinguished career had not only made him the pride of the British army, but gained him the favour of the King, Castlereagh did not venture to remove him from his command ; but he virtually superseded him, by ordering two generals, senior to him in service, Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard, to join the British forces in Portugal.

Meantime Wellesley landed at Mondego Bay, and being joined by 6,000 British troops from Gibraltar, under General Spencer, and about 2,000 Portuguese, advanced to Vimieiro, where Junot attacked him. The French, much inferior in numbers, though stronger in cavalry, were repulsed with considerable loss at all points. The almost simultaneous arrival of Dalrymple and Burrard to assume the chief command, deprived Wellesley of an opportunity to improve his victory ; but the Convention of Cintra, signed by the three generals with Junot, closed the campaign by delivering Portugal from the French. Moore did not reach the scene of hostilities in time to take part in the negotiation. News of the convention excited an explosion of public wrath in England, which can only be explained by the exaggerated expectations raised by accounts published in the official press at this time of every success of the British arms. Victories such as those of Maida and Vimieiro, undoubtedly glorious when modestly described, figured in the narratives of inflated patriotism as not inferior in importance to those of Jena and Friedland ; and inadequate results of what had been pictured on authority as crushing defeat caused keen disappointment. In this case, facts brought to light by the Military Commission of Enquiry, which the Cabinet appointed in order to divert the storm of popular indignation from themselves, do not appear to have justified it. The almost bloodless expulsion of the French from Portugal, leaving that kingdom as a safe base for British operations in the Spanish peninsula, together with the surrender of the Russian warships in the Tagus to Admiral Cotton, was an advantage of the highest value which the convention secured. What seems to have been chiefly blameworthy in the transaction was the contemptuous treatment of the Portuguese Government and army by British generals, in assuming the sole right of concluding a treaty which concerned Portugal ; and their permitting Junot and his officers to carry away from Lisbon an immense

quantity of public plunder as personal baggage. The proceedings in London, which the incriminated generals were summoned home to attend, seem for a time to have paralysed British action in the Peninsula.

Napoleon had returned to Paris from Bayonne in the belief that any serious opposition to his brother in Spain had been effectually quelled by Prince Murat's bloody repression of an insurrection at Madrid. The general uprising of the Spaniards and their successful resistance in the provinces were events as unexpected by him as they were unwelcome. It was too late to abandon an enterprise of which he had already incurred the infamy, and which, even from a Machiavellian point of view, could only be excused by success. He still believed that Spain could be subjugated by his arms as completely as Austria or Prussia had been, in one campaign. But to accomplish this he must withdraw his veteran troops from Germany, and thus incur the risk of having to face a second national insurrection in the North. The Austrian Emperor, he had reason to know, notwithstanding Count Metternich's pacific language in Paris, was arming to throw off an ascendancy which constant slights and menaces made more irksome every day. Prussia, groaning under the hard conditions imposed on her at Tilsit, was only held down by fear. And Napoleon's relations with Alexander had sensibly cooled. The Czar, in his invasion of Finland, stubbornly resisted by the Swedes, had received no support from the French troops in North Germany. Neither had Napoleon, who feared to drive Turkey into an alliance with Great Britain to the detriment of French commerce in the Mediterranean, shown any disposition to further Alexander's cherished designs on the Danubian Principalities. The consequence was that the enthusiastic friendship of Tilsit was rapidly on the wane, when reverses in the Peninsula made it of urgent necessity for Napoleon.

Then again, the prospect of a new war for the object of seating Joseph Bonaparte on another Bourbon throne, had already seriously impaired the French ruler's popularity at home. Up to this time he had succeeded in identifying in public opinion his own power and glory with the safety and the greatness of France. In his proceedings since the peace of Tilsit, and particularly in those affecting Spain, Frenchmen of all classes began to discern an insatiable lust of personal aggrandisement; the sacrifice of national welfare to selfish ambition. The population at large had counted on the termination of the late Continental war for relief from the grievous drain on it by conscriptions, levied two years in advance. The trading community saw one of its best markets closed against it. The army, which, especially in its upper ranks, had looked forward to enjoying the fruits of its toils and victories during a long period of glorious repose, entered with profound discontent upon a conflict to impose a Bonaparte

dynasty on an unwilling people with which France had no quarrel. Even confidential Ministers and Councillors of State, such as Talleyrand and Fouché, wary politicians, steeped in all the demoralising experiences of the Revolution, who from merely selfish motives had attached themselves to the fortunes of Napoleon, and had already gained all they could hope for by the establishment of the Empire, seeing the dangerous courses into which boundless ambition lured him, began to waver in their fidelity, to pose as patriotic statesmen solicitous for the welfare of France, and even to intrigue against him. This Spanish difficulty "was a nettle which pricked on every side," which must be grasped at once and crushed with a mailed hand. His first care, therefore, was to obtain a free hand for the operation. In September he signed a treaty with Prince William of Prussia, who had come to Paris to seek some alleviation of the burdens which oppressed his country, to evacuate that kingdom with the exception of three fortresses on the Oder, and to remit twenty million francs of the indemnity, on condition that the Prussian army should be limited to 42,000 men.<sup>1</sup> Then, taking Prince Talleyrand with him, he went to Erfurt for another meeting with the Emperor of Russia. The personal intercourse of the two sovereigns at Erfurt was by no means so unruffled as it had been at Tilsit. Each had a specific object to gain, which the other was reluctant to concede. Alexander wanted the Danubian Principalities; Napoleon wanted to bind Russia in an alliance offensive and defensive against Austria. As a result of their conferences, Napoleon guaranteed the possession of Finland to Russia; and, influenced to some degree by the recent deposition of the Turkish Sultan Selim for innovating on Moslem custom under the sway of French ideas, he consented to a Russian annexation of Wallachia and Moldavia. Alexander recognized Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain; and, Napoleon having received a letter from the Emperor Francis pledging himself to discontinue military preparations and to maintain peace, agreed to join France against Austria if the latter power began hostilities. In regard to Prussia, the treaty concluded at Paris was confirmed, and Napoleon remitted another twenty millions of francs from the amount due for ransom, thus reducing the sum total of the imposition to 120,000,000 of francs. In return he exacted from King Frederick William the dismissal of his able and patriotic minister, M. Stein. These arrangements enabled Napoleon to pour the bulk of his veteran troops into Spain, while leaving 60,000 men in garrison on the Elbe, and 30,000 in South Germany to keep watch on Austria. Both Emperors wrote in identical terms to George III, offering to treat for peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*, accepted by the British Government in 1806. And Napoleon employed Prince de Talleyrand to sound Alexander in regard to a marriage with the Czar's

<sup>1</sup> Thiers—*Consulate and Empire*. Fournier—*Life of Napoleon*.

sister, in the event already contemplated of his obtaining a divorce from the Empress Josephine. Alexander put off discussing this subject, on the ground that the consent of the Empress-Mother must first be obtained, and it was allowed to drop. But in the course of intimate conversations in the *salon* of the Princess of Thurn and Taxis, which both frequented, Talleyrand came to a personal understanding with the Russian autocrat which boded ill for the interests of his master. For, although the sovereigns parted with every demonstration of cordial friendship, Alexander now thoroughly distrusted Napoleon, and sought only in Continental affairs to turn the needs of his ally to his own profit.<sup>1</sup> Being anxious to keep Napoleon engaged in Spain while he conquered the Principalities, he had advised the German monarchs, who secretly applied to him for help, that the time was not yet ripe for joint action. After the breaking up of the conference at Erfurt, in order to avert Austrian interference with his project of despoiling Turkey, he, notwithstanding his recent engagement to Napoleon, pledged himself secretly to the Emperor Francis to take no active part in hostilities against him, even should he declare war against France. Canning, in a reply addressed to the French and Russian Ministers for Foreign Affairs, accepted the proposal made by the Emperors to George III, on the understanding that the King's allies, Gustavus IV of Sweden and Ferdinand VII of Spain, should be represented in the negotiation. No objection was taken to Gustavus, who had not yet been dethroned; but as the Emperors would only acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain, Canning, on the part of his sovereign, rejected their offer to treat in a second despatch written, as was too much his manner, in a tone of needless acrimony. Having, as he hoped, taken effectual precautions against any immediate danger from Germany, Napoleon left Erfurt on October 11, 1808, and reached Bayonne on November 3.

In Spain, the spirit of patriotic enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which animated the mass of the population remained unabated; but want of administrative ability in the Government, and of capable military leaders prevented the respite of three months allowed for preparation and energetic attack since the surrender of General Dupont, and the general retreat of the French behind the Ebro, from being turned to good account. Much valuable time was wasted in the petty strife of provincial jealousies and personal pretensions, notwithstanding the counsel and encouragement afforded by Lord William Bentinck and Mr. Frere, whom Canning sent to represent Great Britain at Aranjuez and arrange for a co-operation of British troops from Portugal. In October three Spanish armies, commanded by Generals Castanos, Blake, and Palafox, badly trained and equipped and not exceeding altogether 100,000 men, took the field against the

<sup>1</sup> Fournier—*Life of Napoleon*.



French, under the nominal direction of an incapable War Council, but had made little progress when Napoleon appeared on the scene. By a masterly plan of campaign, carried out with all the vigour he was wont to infuse into military operations, the political situation in Spain was changed as if by magic. In less than a fortnight, November 10 to 23, two of the Spanish armies were beaten and dispersed, and the third, under Palafox, only escaped the same fate by a rapid retreat across the Ebro. Then forcing his way by a memorable charge of his Polish lancers over what the Spaniards fondly believed to be the impregnable pass of Somo Sierra, he entered Madrid on December 4 as a conqueror. The Spanish nation, he announced in a proclamation, might still if it chose enjoy constitutional government under his brother Joseph. If it refused, he would place the crown on his own head and rule it by the sword. The Junta, though forced to flee from Aranjuez to Seville, set him at defiance, and proclaimed a system of guerilla warfare throughout the Peninsula. "A whole people," it retorted with patriotic presage, "is more powerful than disciplined armies."

The English War Office seems to have been almost as dilatory in forming its plans for the expulsion of the French from Spain as the War Council at Aranjuez. Sir Harry Burrard, in virtue of seniority, commanded the British troops in Portugal; but Sir John Moore, second in command, was in general estimation the most capable officer then in the British service to lead an army in the field. Moore had, however, powerful enemies in the Cabinet. Lord Castlereagh he had derided and defied. And Canning exclaimed against the absurdity of despatching an officer to act as Commander-in-Chief upon instructions from which he dissented. For Moore's views in regard to the probable success of a campaign against the French in Spain, as arranged in London, were far from hopeful. Objections to him, however, were over-ruled; and Castlereagh, at all events, appears to have accepted the decision with a good grace. Moore's instructions were to lead 21,000 men into Spain, 10,000 remaining with Burrard for the defence of Portugal; and when joined by 12,000 more under Sir David Baird sent by the British Government to Corunna, to co-operate against the French with the Spanish army of General Castanos. He did not, however, assume the command till October 8; and as no preparation had been made for the proper equipment of the expedition, his troops did not all leave Lisbon till the end of that month. Further delay occurred when he crossed the Spanish frontier, in consequence of the difficulty he found in obtaining trustworthy information. Pursuing the direct road to Salamanca, at the head of his infantry, he reached that city on November 13; but misled by exaggerated accounts of the difficulties of the way, he had sent General Hope with his guns and cavalry by a circuitous route to the same destination, and Hope did not rejoin him

till December 4. In the meantime, news reached him at Salamanca on November 28 of the total defeat of Castanos at Tudela. He therefore resolved to return to Portugal on the arrival of Hope; and he wrote to Baird, who had now reached Astorga, to retrace his steps to Corunna, and re-embark his troops for Lisbon. But his army, officers and men, murmured loudly against this decision; an announcement reached him of the determination of the Spaniards to defend Madrid against Napoleon; and messages from Mr. Frere at Aranjuez summoned him to advance against the French. So, having countermanded his orders to Baird, he moved northwards from Salamanca on December 13, was joined by Baird, reached Sahagan on the 21st, and was about to fall upon a French force under Marshal Soult, which seemed to invite attack, when an intercepted French despatch completely altered his purpose. Napoleon, having received intelligence at Madrid of the British General's march northwards, sent orders to Soult to draw him on as far as possible into the interior of the country, and himself led 40,000 troops over the snow-clad chain of the Guadaramas into Old Castile, to take him in the rear. It was a marvellous expedition in frightful weather over rugged passes and boiling torrents; but when the French under his immediate command reached Astorga, it was to find that Moore, retreating with head-long speed to Galicia, had already passed through Astorga, and thus escaped the trap laid for him. Here also, letters found Napoleon which compelled him to return at once to Paris, without accomplishing his purpose of first subjugating Spain and Portugal. He left 16,000 of his men with Soult, who took over the command. Moore was now joined by the Spanish army of the Marquis de la Romana, which had been carried back from North Germany in British ships of war to defend the national cause. But his own troops broke up under the fatigues and hardships of the retreat into a mob of licentious marauders, which committed the most revolting excesses. In the words of their commander, their conduct was "infamous beyond belief." It was only by an urgent summons to face the enemy that he could rally them for brief intervals and reform their ranks. Valour in battle was, in fact, the only military virtue they displayed; and for this Soult showed no eagerness to give them opportunities. They reached Corunna in miserable plight on January 12, and began to embark in transports on the 16th. Then Soult attacked them, and was repulsed at all points. Moore was killed in the action; Baird was severely wounded; Hope took charge of the embarkation on the 17th, and brought off the survivors to England. They buried Moore by torch-light on the ramparts of the town, where Marquis de la Romana afterwards raised a monument to his memory. The losses of this campaign in men, guns, and military stores of all kinds were enormous; and the consequent discouragement was

so great in England that the war in Spain became unpopular. Canning however had signed a treaty of alliance with the Spanish Government in this same month of January, 1809, two days before the battle of Corunna.

It cannot be said that the attitude in opposition of the leading members of the late Coalition Cabinet towards the Peninsular war entitles them to credit for enlightened views or political sagacity. It is difficult to understand how Whig statesmen, bred and nourished on the traditions of English freedom, failed so completely to discern in the spirit which animated the Spaniards and was spreading rapidly in Germany, the force that would prove most effective in shattering to pieces the colossal despotism of Napoleon. Lord Holland, indeed, whose travels in Spain had given him insight into the character of the people, embraced their cause with enthusiasm, and went out again from England to encourage and help them. The sympathetic and hopeful accounts contained in his letters from the Peninsula<sup>1</sup> contrast strangely with the pessimistic views of the old friends and colleagues for whose information they were written. Lord Grey seems at first to have shared Holland's feelings and hopes; but the disasters of Moore's retreat quenched them for him till the battle of Salamanca in 1812 opened new prospects of success. On the other hand Lord Grenville regarded the Spanish policy of the Government from the first with a cold disapproval, which deepened every day. He had, unfortunately, as Prime Minister, fallen back, under discouraging circumstances, into the selfish, short-sighted, and ineffective war policy of Dundas during the earlier years of Pitt's conflict with the French Revolution, a policy which Sheridan now described as "filching sugar islands"; and to it he adhered with strange obstinacy to the end. This brought him into avowed antagonism with Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, old personal friends whose political opinions had hitherto been in general agreement with his own; and provoked discord and almost revolt in his own party. George Ponsonby now led it in the House of Commons, as organ of the views of Lords Grenville and Grey, who acted in complete accord. In a speech delivered during the session of 1809, censuring the treaty concluded with the Spanish Junta, Ponsonby permitted himself to indulge in illiberal and prejudiced strictures on the Spanish character, for which he received severe castigation from Canning, with the undisguised approval of a large and distinguished section of his own nominal following.<sup>2</sup> The gloomy forebodings of the Grenvillites are most clearly revealed in the numerous letters of Lord Auckland, published in this volume. These letters are interesting in other respects, not as expressions of generous sentiment or far-sighted statesmanship, but because Auckland's earlier associations and family

<sup>1</sup> Lord Holland to Earl Grey, April 27, 1809.

<sup>2</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, 1809.

alliances placed him in intimate social contact with some of the Tory leaders ; and he used the confidential information thus obtained from official sources, to throw light for Lord Grenville's benefit on the political situation. So far however as they deal with affairs in Spain, they are a series of jeremiads. Every success reported from the Peninsula is a false gleam luring a British army to disaster and disgrace ; every reverse a deeper plunge into a vortex of inevitable destruction.

In the Session of 1808, during the debates on the Catholic petition presented by Mr. Grattan in the House of Commons and by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, a secret negotiation came to light, after ten years of silence and apparent oblivion, which caused extraordinary commotion in Ireland, and seriously affected for a time Lord Grenville's relations with the Catholics of that country. When Pitt in 1795 obtained the sanction of Parliament to a grant for educating Irish priests in the College of Maynooth, he intended it as the initial step in a larger project of paying the Roman Catholic clergy on conditions which should bring them under the control of the secular power. What he chiefly aimed at seems to have been that Government should have a voice in the selection of Catholic bishops. Mr. Pelham, then Chief Secretary at Dublin Castle, broached the subject to Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, a zealous upholder of English connexion in opposition to the revolutionary policy of the United Ireland Society. Dr. Troy thought that the Pope might be induced to allow Government to exercise not a *positive* but a *negative* authority in filling vacant Sees. By existing practice, the parish-priests of the diocese chose three candidates to fill a vacancy, whose names were forwarded in order of merit to Rome for the guidance of the Pope, in whom the right of appointing lay ; and the Archbishop thought that, in case of payment by the State, Government might be permitted to reject for secular reasons any of these candidates before the list was transmitted to the Holy See. But a Council of Bishops to which he referred the project declined, with his own concurrence, to entertain it, fearing it might be prejudicial in its operation to the character and the spiritual influence of the Catholic episcopate. In 1799, during the reign of terror that preceded the passing of the Act of Union, Lord Castlereagh, Pelham's successor, revived the subject. He told Dr. Troy that the conduct of some Irish priests during the recent rebellion had raised doubts in the mind of Government in regard to the loyalty of the whole body of the Catholic clergy ; and that therefore Government wished to secure their allegiance by paying them and exercising a *veto* on the selection of their bishops. The Archbishop, greatly troubled by this language of the Chief Secretary, laid the matter before the three other Archbishops and six bishops who, with himself, formed the governing council of Maynooth College. These

prelates, more or less in touch *ex officio* with the Castle authorities, and swayed no doubt by the hopes and fears of the time, resolved unanimously that the arrangement desired by Government ought, if sanctioned by the Pope, to be thankfully accepted by the Catholic Church in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> There the matter rested, a secret of State unknown, so far as appears, to the general body of the bishops and clergy concerned, until 1808. Early in that year Napoleon had taken forcible possession of Rome. Grattan, who presented the Catholic petition in the House of Commons, wishing probably to calm Protestant fears lest the French ruler might now use the Pope's authority to inflame disaffection in Ireland, announced that as a safeguard against possible danger of this kind Government would be allowed a *veto* on the appointment of Catholic bishops. At this time the Catholics of Great Britain, numbering about 200,000, were governed in ecclesiastical affairs by Vicars-Apostolic, the most eminent of whom, Bishop Milner, of the Midland District, resided at Wolverhampton. He was a man of unusual ability, learning, and religious fervour; but of an ardent, indeed combative temper, which sometimes led him into indiscretions, particularly in letters thrown off in the heat of controversy. The Irish Catholic Bishops had made him their agent in England for transactions with the British Government. In this capacity he seems to have acquired a knowledge of Archbishop Troy's secret negotiations at Dublin Castle before the Union; and being a frequent visitor at Stowe, he, at Lord Buckingham's request, had used whatever influence he could exert in Ireland in 1807 to stop the petition which so vexed the Coalition Ministry. Grattan's statement in regard to a *veto* having caused considerable sensation in the House of Commons, Mr. Ponsonby and Lord Grenville asked Dr. Milner if he could confirm it. Milner replied that he had not been in communication with the Irish bishops on the subject; but very imprudently, though in good faith, authorised both statesmen in writing to accept the decision of the Maynooth Council in 1799 as expressing the view of the whole Irish episcopate in 1809.<sup>2</sup> Ponsonby, when pressed for information in subsequent debate, quoted Milner's letter; and then, carried away apparently by eagerness to improve the favourable impression thus created, went on to say that this concession would make the King as much head of the Catholic Church in Ireland as he had always been of the established Protestant Church. These ill-judged and unauthorised words which Mr. Ponsonby seems to have forgotten when they had been uttered, excited an extraordinary ferment among the Irish Catholics, already exasperated by the policy of an

<sup>1</sup> *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation* by Monsignor Ward.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Milner to Lord Grenville, May 26, 1808.

Administration which gave them Coercion Acts as a remedy for grievances, and took its views of "just and enlightened toleration" from Dr. Duigenan. They read in them the surrender to an implacable enemy of the religious independence for which they and their forefathers had fought and suffered during two centuries and a half, by the same body of prelates who had allowed themselves to be beguiled by Lord Castlereagh into aiding him to carry the Act of Union. For, had Irish Catholics been willing to accept Henry VIII or any of his successors as head of their Church, they might have avoided confiscations and plantations, exile and penal laws, all the tragic incidents of a miserable history. Popular indignation vented itself against Dr. Milner, who was publicly burned in effigy. In autumn 1808 the whole of the Catholic episcopate, numbering with suffragans about 30, assembled in Council to consider the situation, and unanimously resolved that the grant of a *veto* to the Crown would be inexpedient. Dr. Milner had gone to Ireland to face the storm, which, as well as this resolution of the Council of Bishops, seems to have taken him by surprise. A very short personal experience of the state of religious feeling convinced him that the decision announced in 1799 to Lord Castlereagh was in direct conflict with it, and could not be carried out. And having acceded to a request from the bishops that he should continue to act as their agent in England, he gave public expression to this change of view. Unfortunately also in a hasty letter to an Irish newspaper, he threw the blame of the late commotion on the exaggerated language of "our orators." The censure was, no doubt, aimed at the unguarded language of Mr. Ponsonby, who, oblivious of his own oratorical comment in the House of Commons which had mainly stirred up Irish wrath, quoted Milner's written words as justifying himself, and convicting the Bishop of bad faith. Lord Grenville, another "orator," had adhered strictly to the text. And friends of both statesmen denounced the Vicar-Apostolic as an unprincipled time-server, with whom no honorable man could safely hold parley.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Milner's own explanation of his change of view in a letter to Sir J. Hipplesey, is also printed in this volume.<sup>2</sup> Independently, however, of personal vituperation, the decision of the Irish bishops retarded the progress of the Catholic cause in England. Influential friends of religious toleration who had been parties to Pitt's Irish policy, regarded the concessions approved by the Maynooth Council as most important for the security of the Established Church in Ireland. The English Catholics with whom they were in habit of communication, as the eminent lawyer Charles Butler, seem to have favoured State control. And Sir J. Hipplesey, a staunch friend of Catholic emancipation,

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Newport to Lord Grenville, October 20, 1808; Lord Grenville to George Ponsonby, November 3, 1808; Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville, November 8, 1808.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Milner to Sir J. C. Hipplesey, M.P., October 28, 1809.

who had had opportunities of conferring on the subject with various ecclesiastical authorities at Rome, gave the impression in letters to Lord Grenville that the guarantees desired might be obtained without much difficulty from the Pope. It is not surprising, therefore, that Lord Grenville, who still resented as well as deplored what he considered the irrational violence with which the Irish Catholics had pressed their claims in 1807, should have regarded the ferment of 1808 as an ebullition of the same character, and from his narrowly English stand-point, failed to discern the strength of national sentiment and the historical consistency which it revealed. At the same time, he did recognize that concessions which might be expedient in dealing with a friendly Government might well be refused to a declared enemy. The consequence was that while still firm as ever in opinion for an entire repeal of Catholic disabilities, he declined for a time to take the lead in advocating the measure while absolute freedom from State interference was insisted on. Lord Grey seems at first to have been even more intent on requiring the *veto* as a condition of strenuous support; while the other Whig members of the Coalition Ministry, and especially all those, including Ponsonby himself, who had taken part in the Irish administration of the Duke of Bedford seem to have regarded such a demand as not only impracticable but unnecessary. To this opinion Grenville and Grey gradually became converts,—But in the Session of 1809, when Mr. Grattan and Lord Donoughmore took charge of the Catholic petition, both the Whig leaders absented themselves from the debate on it in the House of Lords; and Mr. Canning took a prominent part in its rejection by the House of Commons.

The intelligence which recalled Napoleon to Paris in the midst of his victorious campaign in Spain was of the gravest character. Prince Eugene Beauharnais, his step-son, wrote to warn him that Talleyrand and Fouché, old flatterers of his ambition, rivals for his favour and declared enemies of each other, were united in factious intrigue against him with members of his own family, the Murats, disappointed in their hopes of the Spanish Crown. This aroused his anger; but a despatch from Count Champagny, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, gave him serious ground for alarm. The political horizon in the North, which seemed so clear when he left Erfurt, was already dark with war-clouds. At any moment all central Europe might be ablaze. No sooner had he gone to Spain, than the Austrian Emperor, incited by the spirit of revolt from French thralldom in Germany, which appealed to him for help; by the secret promise of Russian neutrality from Alexander; by encouraging reports from Count Metternich, his Ambassador in Paris; resumed his preparations for war, sent Count Walmoden to London to solicit aid, refused to acquiesce in recent French usurpations in Italy and Spain, and threw open Austrian ports to British commerce. Meantime Stein, the Prussian Minister, whom Napoleon had

compelled King Frederick William to dismiss, joined Gentz at Vienna ; and both worked in secret concert with his late colleagues at Berlin to unite the two great German powers in a national struggle for independence. Napoleon reached Paris on January 26th. He reproached Talleyrand before the Council of State with treachery and ingratitude in language of coarse insult, which, though not unmerited, was not likely to be forgiven ; but which answered its purpose of quelling domestic cabal, and allowing him to devote his whole attention to the public situation. The enormous cost of the war in Spain had already disordered his finances and impaired national credit. French *rentes* fell again from 99 to 78. He had only 30,000 French troops in Lower Germany to oppose the onset of the new Imperial army on the organization and equipment of which Archduke Charles had been strenuously employed during three years.<sup>1</sup> And although the Archduke's labours were still incomplete, they enabled him at any moment to place in the field 250,000 excellent troops.<sup>2</sup> Napoleon, by recalling every man that could be spared from Spain, and calling out in advance the conscription for 1810, a most unpopular measure, might raise the French army defending the Confederation of the Rhine from 30,000 to 200,000 ; but the 80,000 conscripts, mere boys of 18 years, would require several months' training to fit them for active service. The Turkish Sultan, Mahmoud, having been abandoned to Russia at Erfurt, made peace with Great Britain in a treaty signed at Constantinople by Sir Robert Adair, in January, 1809, a serious blow to French interests in the Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup> And the tone of Canning's reply to Count Champagny, rejecting the overture for peace from Erfurt, announced plainly that the British Government would eagerly embrace every opportunity for the overthrow of their formidable enemy. It was a situation which must tax all the French ruler's genius and good fortune to extricate himself from with advantage ; which an enterprising and capable Government in Great Britain might easily make disastrous for him. Unfortunately for Austria, there was no such Government in England as the crisis demanded ; only a loose bundle of Ministers separated by rivalries and discords, and held together by the frail link of a life that became more precarious every day. During a great part of 1808 the Duke of Portland seems to have been disabled by illness from performing the function allotted to him of presiding in silence over jarring Councils. Canning, very dissatisfied with Lord Castlereagh's management at the War Office, and at his own want of weight in a Cabinet where most of his colleagues followed Eldon and Percival, who, content with the King's special confidence, opposed everything in the shape of change, sought to arouse in the mind of the Premier some sense of responsibility for

<sup>1</sup> *Consulate and Empire*—Thiers. *Life of Napoleon*—Fournier.

<sup>2</sup> William Wickham to Lord Grenville, May 12, 1809.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert Adair to the Duke of Bedford, January 6, 1809.



efficiency in military administration. Outside the Cabinet, Lord Wellesley, having been acquitted of the charges of misgovernment in India brought against him in the House of Commons, was again free to take a leading part in the conduct of public affairs. Since separating from Lord Grenville he had drawn closer his alliance with Mr. Canning. Both were men of great ambition, who had enjoyed the intimate friendship of Pitt; who of the party now in power most nearly represented Pitt's views and principles, and were best qualified by superior abilities to fill his place. Wellesley was the older by ten years, and now in the full lustre of the great reputation he had brought back from India. But he had no political following except his brothers, who owed their places in the Ministry to their connexion with himself. Canning, on the contrary, had attracted to himself not only experienced officials such as Messrs. Rose and Long, who had enjoyed Pitt's friendship and confidence, but younger members of the party, already distinguished or giving promise of high distinction, Lord Granville Leveson Gower, Sturges-Bourne, Huskisson, Monckton Milnes, and Lord Palmerston, who revolted from the narrow bigotry of Eldon and Perceval. In their views of foreign policy, and particularly of the advantage of arousing and arming national resistance on the Continent against the domination of Napoleon, Wellesley and Canning were in complete accord; and each of them was eager to play a prominent part in the deliverance of Europe. When, therefore, Austria applied for aid towards the close of 1808, Canning urged Portland to transfer the conduct of the war with France to the more competent hands of Lord Wellesley. And as the Emperor Francis and George III were still nominally hostile to each other, he, in order to gain time for the change, while profuse in promises of support, postponed any definite engagement on the subject till peace had been signed between the two sovereigns. Portland, according to his habit, listened to Canning's representations with apparent acquiescence, but did nothing. At the beginning of 1809 the fate of Moore's army in Spain engrossed the attention of the Ministry and the country; and no sooner had the welcome news of its embarkation relieved the intense strain of national anxiety, when Colonel Wardle's charges of corrupt administration against the Duke of York monopolized public attention during two months of the Parliamentary Session. Here again Canning found himself in collision with the majority of the Cabinet, who in order to please the King assumed the entire responsibility of defending the Duke, notwithstanding his refusal to place his case in their hands. Perceval indeed allowed zeal so far to outrun discretion as to insist on the charges being brought openly before the House of Commons in full Committee, in order that the acquittal might be more triumphant. Lords Grenville and Grey held themselves altogether aloof from the inquiry, in the belief that it must prove injurious to the prestige of the Crown; but the

attack was followed up with the utmost vigour by Messrs. Whitbread and Tierney, Sir Francis Bardett and other members of the Radical wing, for the purpose of exposing abuses of personal government then rampant in every branch of the public service. What chiefly damaged the Duke seems to have been disclosures extracted from his own witnesses. In the excitement that followed these revelations Perceval completely lost control of the House; and though the Duke was acquitted of personal corruption, by a comparatively narrow majority, public opinion compelled him to resign his office of Commander in Chief. In the meantime, preparations for a more strenuous prosecution of the war made little progress. One important point was gained by its advocates. Sir John Moore had expressed the opinion that if the French conquered Spain, an event which now seemed only too probable, Portugal could not be held against them. In the discouragement caused by the failure of his expedition, this view had great weight. Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the contrary, contended in an elaborate memorial that 30,000 British troops, and the same number of Portuguese trained by Marshal Beresford, who had been recently selected by the Portuguese Government to organize and command a national army, would be able to hold their ground against any French force less than 100,000 strong. This opinion, backed by the powerful influence of Lord Wellesley and accepted by Lord Castlereagh, a personal friend of Sir Arthur, prevailed with the Cabinet, which had also sanctioned Canning's treaty with the Spanish Junta; and Sir Arthur himself, notwithstanding the loud outcries of older generals, was sent to Lisbon with reinforcements to take the chief command. In other respects there was no improvement. The Austrian Government pressed in vain for such immediate financial help as would enable it to take Napoleon at a disadvantage. The German Tugenbund, in secret concert with Scharnhorst and Gneisenau at Berlin, sent Kleist, son of the late Governor of Magdeburg, to London to negotiate for a British expedition to the Elbe in aid of a national insurrection. National aspirations had little meaning for Lord Castlereagh. At length, when April arrived, Canning wrote to Portland declaring his resolution to resign office unless Wellesley was placed at the head of the War Office. The Duke laid this letter before the King, who, we are told, consented to the measure proposed on condition that it was carried out with proper consideration for Lord Castlereagh's feelings, who might be transferred to some other office at the end of the Parliamentary Session. In the meantime secrecy should be observed in regard to it, and the good offices of Castlereagh's relative, Lord Camden, enlisted to prepare him for the change.<sup>1</sup> The King no doubt disliked the proposal. Lord Castlereagh had worked in complete harmony with the Duke of York, and supported

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Spencer Perceval*, by Spencer Walpole.

Mr. Perceval in the Cabinet. Wellesley's autocratic conduct in India, and his bitter complaints of a want of appreciation of his services as Governor-General by the Crown, had given deep offence to his Sovereign, who dreaded the introduction of such a domineering spirit into a submissive Cabinet. Canning acquiesced in the King's views as reported by Portland. This was a concession disastrous not only for himself, but for the policy which Wellesley and he represented. If he really considered the change he desired at the War Office of vital importance to the public interests at that particular crisis in European affairs, he should have pressed it unflinchingly; and a scrupulous regard for fair dealing with a colleague with whom he necessarily worked in confidential intercourse, should not have allowed him to keep that colleague in the dark as to their real relations. But having personal objects of his own in view which depended on the King's good will, he probably shrank from incurring his Sovereign's displeasure by opposition to the Royal wishes. His own explanation of his conduct on this occasion was that he regarded Castlereagh's immediate resignation on other grounds as certain. For the reformers in the House of Commons had been stimulated by the intense popular feeling aroused by the Duke of York's trial, to inquire into alleged malpractices in other departments of the Administration. These investigations brought to light the recent use of corrupt means by Lord Castlereagh to procure the election of an adherent in Ireland; and fraudulent practices on a gigantic scale on the part of officers of Excise in the same country, by which Irish brewers and distillers had been enabled to rob the Government of one million sterling. Mr. Perceval, however, not only excused Lord Castlereagh's lapse into earlier practice as a mere indiscretion, but actually condoned the dishonesty of the tax-collectors on the ground that the salaries paid to them by Government had been inadequate; and the offences being merely Irish matters, which as Sir J. Newport and other reformers complained excited no interest in the House at large, all the culprits escaped censure.

In the beginning of April, 1809, Austria being no longer able to bear the strain of preparation without British help, the Emperor, by advice of Count Stadion, though against the opinion of Archduke Charles, declared war against France. He announced in a Proclamation written by Gentz<sup>1</sup> that he had drawn the sword to deliver Europe "from universal slavery under the personal rule of one who represented the revolutionary system of centralised equality." And for the first time in an eventful reign, all ranks and classes of the various peoples under his rule rallied to his call with enthusiastic support. Archduke Charles, as Commander in Chief, issued a stirring address to his troops in the same exalted vein. "The freedom of Europe," he told them, "has taken refuge under your banners; your victories will

<sup>1</sup> See letters from Gentz printed in the Appendix.

loosen its fetters, and your German brothers in the ranks of the enemy long for deliverance.”<sup>1</sup> Three Austrian armies took the field: one under Archduke Ferdinand advanced to Warsaw; a second under Archduke John invaded Italy; Archduke Charles at the head of the main body crossed the Inn, and for a time over-ran Bavaria; while the Tyrolese rose in arms and expelled their Bavarian masters. Meantime Napoleon, keeping vigilant watch at Paris, had worked with superhuman energy and resourcefulness to raise the strength of his troops to the standard required by the emergency. The condition attached to Russian aid by Alexander at Erfurt, and the raw condition of a great part of his own levies compelled him to await the enemy’s onset. But the Confederation of the Rhine had been warned in time to place its contingents on a war footing; the French army acting with them had been raised to 200,000 men; and he had sent his Chief of the Staff, Prince Berthier, to concentrate the united forces in South Germany in a position tenable against sudden attack. Berthier, however, blundered in this task; and when the French Emperor, travelling day and night without halt, reached Donauworth on April 17th, he found only confusion and dismay. The Austrians, however, had not yet learned the value of time against such an antagonist. The Archduke’s movements, however able, were too slow, and disclosed flaws which Napoleon’s eagle glance discerned at once. “They are lost,” he exclaimed, “we shall be at Vienna in a month.” By a series of moves executed with extraordinary celerity and vigour and culminating in the victory of Eggmuhl, he cut off the Austrians from their line of retreat to the Inn, and drove them across the Danube with the loss of 50,000 men and 100 guns. The Archduke hurried back along the left bank of the Danube to defend the capital, only to find it in possession of the French, after a campaign of three weeks. It was Napoleon’s *chef-d’œuvre*. He seems to have begun the war with a determination to destroy the Austrian monarchy, or at least to reduce it to the dimensions of a mere German power. At Vienna he invited the Hungarians to declare their independence, and offered to guarantee it. But he had raised up for his own destruction an avenging spirit whose power was as yet unknown to him. The Hungarians rejected his alliance. Meantime Archduke Charles had encamped on the Bisenberg, a hill overlooking Vienna from the opposite side of the Danube; and seeing the very existence of Austria now at stake, recalled Archdukes Ferdinand and John from Warsaw and Italy to defend it. Napoleon, therefore, pressed on to force a passage across the river, and bring the war to a close in a decisive battle. Eight or ten miles below Vienna, opposite the village of Kaiser-Ebersdorff on the right bank of the Danube, two islands lying 800 feet apart, break the current of the river; the larger island, named Lobau, being not far from the left

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Napoleon*—Fournier. *Consulate and Empire*—Thiers.

bank. Having on the night of May 20 thrown bridges across the three channels, Napoleon moved over 35,000 men from Kaiser-Ebersdorff, and occupied the villages of Aspern and Essling on the March-feld, a plain adjacent to the Bisenberg. On the 21st the Austrians descending in force, carried Aspern after a fierce struggle, but failed to dislodge the enemy from Essling. During the following night Napoleon led across 40,000 more French troops, recovered Aspern, broke the Austrian centre by a charge of Cuirassiers led by Marshal Lannes, and seemed on the point of victory when intelligence reached him that fire-ships, boat-loads of stones, trunks of trees, as the various accounts have it, sent down the flooded tide of the Danube by order of the Archduke, had swept away the bridge connecting the islands and thus severed his communications with Kaiser-Ebersdorff, where a large part of his army and artillery, and his whole reserve of ammunition still remained. Alarmed by this news, he held his troops in check; and the Austrians, coming on again with tremendous vigour, beat them back across the plain to the villages, and again took Aspern by storm. The conflict was now of the fiercest, the slaughter terrible on both sides. Never within living memory had an Austrian army fought so well. On the other hand the French fought at a disadvantage. Ammunition failing them, their fire slackened just when the battle became hottest; and they lost many of their best officers, including Marshal Lannes, who exposed themselves recklessly to sustain the courage of their men. By heroic efforts, Marshal Massena held Essling against repeated assaults; and, when evening fell, Napoleon with admirable skill withdrew his whole force across the bridge to Lobau, leaving only three guns as trophies to the enemy. Both sides claimed the victory; but the result, being the first serious check Napoleon had experienced in his German campaigns, completely restored the hopes of the Emperor Francis and Count Stadion. The disproportionate loss in French officers also taught Napoleon that he could no longer rely as heretofore on the superior steadiness of his soldiers, a large proportion of them being young recruits. Having carefully fortified Lobau, and restored his communications, he returned to the right bank of the Danube, and laboured during the following seven weeks to compensate for the loss of quality by raising the strength of his army to a decisive superiority over that of Austria, more particularly in artillery. Archduke Charles occupied Aspern and Essling, threw up entrenchments around them, and awaited in a strong position the next movement of his antagonist.

Now was the time for a British expedition to the mouth of the Elbe. The continued operation during two years of the military system he had restored of recruiting the army by drafts from the militia, must have given Lord Castlereagh temporary command of an abundant supply of troops. But

he did nothing to redeem the promises made to Austria. He appears to have had no sympathy for the spirit of national independence at work in Germany; no understanding of its power and contagious influence as a factor in human affairs. Unfortunately also nearly all the smaller German Sovereigns were vassals of Napoleon in the Confederation of the Rhine. The King of Prussia urged by his Ministers to join forces with Austria for the liberation of Germany, could not make up his mind to risk so bold a step against the advice of the Russian Emperor. For Alexander, while refraining from taking an active part in hostilities against Austria, discouraged the national movement against Napoleon in Germany. And although the Duke of Brunswick and Colonel Schill, at the head of small bodies of troops, traversed Saxony and Westphalia, calling on the people to rise and shake off the yoke of France, the great mass of the population, restrained by their native rulers, cowed by the rapid successes of Napoleon, and above all disappointed of the English succours they had been led to expect, did not respond to the call.

Having completed his preparations, and carefully surveyed the Austrian positions from Lobau, Napoleon, on the wet and stormy night of July 4th, threw four new bridges from that island to a point on the left bank of the Danube, which enabled him to turn the intrenched villages of Aspern and Essling, and passed across 170,000 men. The Archduke, finding his communications with Moravia endangered by this unexpected manœuvre, withdrew to another position on the March-feld, with his headquarters in the village of Wagram. On July 7th he attacked the French. He had only 135,000 troops against 170,000, but was in hourly expectation of being joined by his brother John from Hungary, with 20,000 more. The battle was contested with great spirit during many hours; but at three o'clock in the afternoon the immense mass of artillery which Napoleon brought into play had told with decisive effect, giving victory to the French. The Austrians admitted a loss of 31,000 men; the French estimated their own casualties at 5,500. Archduke John did not reach the field of battle till six o'clock in the afternoon. Having by his unexpected appearance thrown a raw French division into disgraceful panic, he vanished again into space. Archduke Charles retired to Bohemia, and four days after the battle sent Prince John of Lichtenstein to the French headquarters to solicit an armistice in order to treat for peace. It was only granted on condition that the Emperor Francis abandoned his faithful Tyrolese to the King of Bavaria, whose yoke they had thrown off. But this humiliating sacrifice did not bring peace. The terms demanded still showed an intention on the part of Napoleon to cripple Austria permanently. Archduke Charles, despairing of foreign aid, and convinced of his inability to prolong the contest alone with any prospect of advantage, resigned his command into the hands of his brother. The Emperor and Count Stadion, still buoyed

up with fallacious hopes, negotiated only to gain time. The King of Prussia, always vacillating, had sent another secret envoy to Vienna to confer about co-operation for the liberation of Germany. Fresh assurances had come from Prince Stahremberg in London of British expeditions against unguarded points of Napoleon's Empire. And the heir of all the Cæsars naturally shrank from returning to what he had proclaimed as "bondage under personal rule representing centralised equality." So negotiations dragged along for three months more, during which Napoleon remained at Vienna, holding Austria in an iron grasp.

After Napoleon's return to Paris in January, 1809, his lieutenants in Spain pursued his plans for the subjugation of the peninsula. Saragossa, after a second heroic defence by Don José Palafox and the Maid, was captured by Marshal Lannes. Marshal Soult, after the departure of Moore's army from Corunna, entered Portugal with ten or twelve thousand French troops and took Oporto by storm. Marshal Victor, at the head of another French force, advanced towards the Portuguese frontier along the valley of the Tagus, and seemed to threaten Lisbon, when Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived from England in April to take supreme command of the British and Portuguese forces. In estimating the achievements of this great commander during the Peninsular war, the advantages and opportunities he derived from the discontent of Napoleon's veterans who, after so many years of toil and triumph, found themselves doomed to perish slowly in wasteful and inglorious warfare, must fairly be taken into account. It was not only that many of the chiefs of the French army, old Jacobins like Bernadotte and Augereau, or officers who had won rank and fame in the campaigns of the Rhine under Hoche and Moreau, had never cordially accepted the empire, or served Napoleon with entire loyalty. Nor was it merely that his most faithful marshals, when holding separate commands, could seldom be brought to discard personal jealousies and unite zealously in executing his plans. It is clear from Lord Malmesbury's correspondence<sup>1</sup> that the conditions under which the French troops now served in Spain aroused in all ranks a spirit of insubordination which did not always stop short of treachery or open revolt. The Spaniards hated them as enemies whose rapacity and licence respected nothing sacred or profane, and spared no means of retaliation to make their hatred felt. And when, in the course of 1809, Napoleon had been excommunicated by the Pope, national fervour was quickened by religious zeal. The French could easily rout Spanish armies in pitched battles, but guerilla warfare, universally organised at the end of 1808, was literally "war to the knife," which slowly destroyed them. Intelligence was intercepted, supplies cut off in a country that afforded little food; and their pay was allowed to fall

<sup>1</sup> Captain Bowles to Lord Fitz-Harris, May 25, 1809. *Malmesbury Correspondence.*

many months in arrear. Small detachments of them were surprised and cut in pieces, larger bodies starved. Sir Arthur Wellesley had hardly landed in Portugal when agents of a military conspiracy, which seems to have comprised some of the chief officers of Soult's army, came to solicit his aid in a revolt against Napoleon.<sup>1</sup> The principal emissary employed in this negotiation was Captain Argenteau, of a French hussar regiment. Passing backward and forward between the two camps in the disguise of a Portuguese peasant, he gave the British General minute information of the strength and positions of the Marshal's forces. The conspirators refused to listen to overtures for a restoration of Louis XVIII; their project seems to have been a march on Paris to restore the French Republic, and the recall of General Moreau from exile. Wellesley laid his plans with Marshal Beresford, commanding the Portuguese, to take full advantage of the information thus supplied. At the last moment they were nearly frustrated. One of the minor French agents disclosed the existence of the plot to Soult, without, however, being able to furnish any particulars of it. But Argenteau's frequent absences had been noticed. He and the colonel of his regiment were arrested on suspicion; and secret correspondence with the enemy being proved by letters found on them, were condemned to death. Before the sentence could be executed, Wellesley crossed the Douro, burst into the French lines and drove Soult out of Oporto. The French Marshal, finding himself over-matched, and his line of retreat into Spain occupied by Beresford, destroyed his artillery and baggage, and by a march of almost incredible hardships over steep mountain tracks into Galicia, saved the bulk of his army from destruction or capture. Wellesley at Oporto released Argenteau, and invited him to join in eating a dinner which had been cooked for Soult. Having thus delivered Portugal from its invaders, Sir Arthur returned South, and in June led his troops into Spain to join the army of Estremadura under General Cuesta. The combined forces advanced to meet the French under Marshal Victor. Captain Bowles describes the Spanish soldiers as splendid men, and well-equipped, but led by "an old woman." In July, Victor, with inferior numbers, attacked the allies in a strong position at Talavera. The battle was fierce and obstinate, the loss great on both sides and about equal, but the French were repulsed in all quarters. Although the cause of great rejoicings in England, it was only a barren victory except of laurels to the British Commander, whom George III created Viscount Wellington. For, Marshal Soult, having effected a junction with Marshals Ney and Mortier, moved down from Salamanca with intent to cut off his late antagonist from Portugal. The English General, hastily separating from the Spaniards, and leaving behind him 1,500 wounded, beat a rapid retreat, hardly less painful than that of Soult from Oporto, over the mountains of Estremadura to the

<sup>1</sup> Captain Bowles to Lord Fitz-Harris, May 25, 1809, *et sequitur*. *Diary and Correspondence of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury*.



neighbourhood of Badajos, where malarial fever made great havoc in his ranks. Thence he withdrew in December to healthier ground on the heights of Guarda, between the Tagus and the Douro, within the frontier of Portugal; and, owing in great measure to a want of reinforcements from England to repair his losses, remained there inactive during many months, while the French Marshals brought all Spain, with the exception of Cadiz and some territory adjacent to it, under the nominal sway of Joseph Bonaparte. Captain Bowles's letters to Lord Fitz Harris, which speak with great admiration of the bravery of the French, and of their extraordinary kindness to the 1,500 British wounded who fell into their hands after Talavera, tell also of intercepted reports from Marshals Victor and Jourdan to King Joseph, of dangerous symptoms of disaffection in the armies they commanded.<sup>1</sup> But although reduced apparently for more than a year to the inglorious situation of being a mere spectator of French conquest, Wellington was silently engaged in constructing the famous lines of Torres Vedras, which saved Portugal from Massena in 1810-11, and formed an impregnable base for the subsequent operations that expelled the French from the entire Peninsula.

Among the plans of the British Government for aiding Austria against Napoleon was that of an invasion of the Kingdom of Naples by Sir John Stuart, commanding its troops in Sicily, in co-operation with Archduke John's descent into Northern Italy. Stuart, however, did not embark for a month after the Archduke had been recalled to Germany to aid his brother after the fall of Vienna. Setting sail in June with a powerful fleet carrying 20,000 men, of whom three-fourths were British, he captured the little islands of Ischia and Procida, spread alarm along the Neapolitan coasts for several weeks, and, without attempting to land, returned to Sicily and disembarked his men, after an inglorious display of force.

On June 28th the session of Parliament at Westminster closed. On the same day Lord Castlereagh obtained the sanction of the Cabinet for an expedition which he had been engaged in preparing during several months. A statesman of larger views and more generous sympathies would no doubt have aimed at taking a leading part in the liberation of Europe by sending a British force to the Elbe to help a German insurrection; or by enabling Wellington to act with vigour in Spain, while Napoleon was in deadly grips with Archduke Charles on the Danube. Castlereagh adhered to the insular policy too much favoured by English Ministers, of using opportunities afforded by Continental warfare to accomplish objects of special advantage to England. In this case, however, the temptation to follow that line was unusually great. The magnificent arsenal and dockyards Napoleon had created at Antwerp, where ten French men-of-war were

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury.*

now on the stocks, constituted a formidable menace against the maritime supremacy and even the safety of the kingdom. With Belgium under the sway of such an able and ambitious ruler, this was an inevitable consequence of the opening of the river Scheldt, which Pitt had made a cause of war with the French Republic. The French Emperor, however, after his check at Aspern, had stripped the Netherlands of troops, in order to re-inforce his army in Germany; and it seemed quite feasible, by a sudden attack in overwhelming force, to capture Flushing and Antwerp, destroy the enemy's docks and shipping, and by holding possession of Walcheren to close the Scheldt more effectually than before. The success of this enterprise, besides dealing a crushing blow to the hostile designs of Napoleon, and being a great triumph for England, would certainly restore the popularity of the Government, particularly among the mercantile classes, which saw with jealousy the reviving prosperity of Antwerp, the old commercial rival of London. It is not surprising, therefore, that it found favour in the Cabinet. On the following day, the Duke of Portland informed Mr. Perceval for the first time of the modification in the Ministry, to which the King had given his consent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer represented to the Duke and to Mr. Canning the unfairness of depriving a Minister who had planned and prepared a great public operation, of all opportunity of carrying it through. Canning replied that the arrangement had been made by the King, and again forbore to press his demand.<sup>1</sup> And Lord Wellesley accepted a temporary mission as Ambassador to the Spanish Junta. It is noteworthy that in all these discussions no one asserted on Castlereagh's behalf any particular fitness for the post of War Minister, or any meritorious service he had rendered the State during his tenure of that office. The armament, alleged to be the most powerful that ever left the coast of England—from thirty to forty men-of-war with an immense crowd of frigates, and gun-boats, and transports carrying forty thousand troops—sailed amidst a burst of national enthusiasm, but not until July 27th, in the height of the summer heats, and three weeks after Napoleon had relieved the strain on his resources by his victory at Wagram. And this delay made more imperative the observance of two conditions obviously essential to success: (1) energy and decision in the Commander; (2) proper precautions for the health of troops about to encamp on a pestilential soil. Surely the total neglect of both conditions, with such fatal results, fully justifies Canning's contention that Castlereagh was an incompetent War Minister. Lord Chatham, whom he placed in chief command, had long before won for himself the reputation of being the laziest and most dilatory of all the public men of his time. As 1st Lord of the Admiralty, from which high post his brother Pitt had been compelled by public clamours to remove him

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Spencer Perceval* by Spencer Walpole.

for neglect of business, he was known throughout the naval service as the *late* Lord Chatham. And Thomas Grenville's letter of July 28th, 1809, published in this volume, shows that neither humiliating experience nor the manifest exigencies of an important command could induce him to shake off for a brief interval the love of ease and personal convenience which seems to have been his dominant characteristic. He compelled Flushing to surrender, but delayed advancing against Antwerp until that city had been placed in a state of defence; and when the troops in Walcheren began to suffer from the exhalations of a swampy soil, it was found that no proper provision had been made to prevent or mitigate the ravages of disease in a situation so notoriously unhealthy that when news reached Napoleon at Vienna of the landing of the expedition, he predicted its speedy destruction by the operation of the climate. After a fortnight of bickering and indecision, Chatham, with the consent of the Cabinet, returned with part of his forces to England, leaving 15,000 troops in Walcheren to perish of malaria. Canning again resigned; and a few days afterwards the Duke of Portland, now in the last stage of decrepitude, handed in his own resignation to the King, but consented at the royal request to withhold it till his remaining colleagues had considered the situation. Lord Castlereagh, on learning for the first time from Lord Camden all that had passed in regard to his own tenure of office, also resigned. Later on he sent a challenge to Canning; a meeting followed, in which Canning was wounded. Castlereagh's proceeding was not due apparently to any sudden impulse of angry feeling, but was a result of mature deliberation. And however much in accord with Parliamentary practice in Ireland before the Act of Union,<sup>1</sup> seems to have been contrary to the received traditions of English public life. As Windham, than whom there was no more competent authority on such a question, remarked, "a gentleman does not fight to avenge his political wrongs, but to vindicate his character." There had been no aspersion on Castlereagh's personal reputation, no private insult.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, when the facts were generally known, public sympathy declared itself strongly on the side of Castlereagh as a victim of treacherous intrigue; and his mode of avenging the injury went far to redeem in popular opinion the most discredited Minister of that day.

Lord Castlereagh, although the least promising subject of them all for panegyric, has had the full benefit of a disposition shown in recent times to exalt the merits or extenuate the short-comings of politicians who, claiming to be disciples of Pitt, repudiated most of Pitt's avowed principles; but had the fortune to be officially concerned with the glorious struggle in the Spanish Peninsula, which broke the power of Napoleon, and for a time gave the British Government a commanding position in the councils of Europe. To him has been ascribed

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Sir Jonah Barrington.*

<sup>2</sup> *Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party.*

the merit not only of appointing Sir Arthur Wellesley to command in Portugal, against powerful opposition, but also of framing the military system which supplied that great general with the means of expelling from Spain and finally vanquishing at Waterloo the veteran legions of France. But it seems to the Editor that this praise can only be awarded to Lord Castlereagh by detracting unfairly from the just claims of two contemporary statesmen, with whose reputations time has dealt rather unkindly—the Marquis of Wellesley and Lord Grenville. Apart from his own merits, which were only slowly recognised in England, Sir Arthur owed his early advancement mainly to the affectionate care of his eldest brother, which indeed never relaxed till he had attained to unrivalled eminence in his profession. Through friendship for the Marquis, Lord Grenville, as Prime Minister, made Sir Arthur his chief military adviser, and designed for him an important command. When the Spanish insurrection broke out, Lord Wellesley's influence was at its highest. The Portland Ministry courted his support, and had shown deference to his wishes by giving office to his brothers, and to Sir Arthur expressly as a pledge of high military command. And of all the British statesmen of that time, Lord Wellesley was the most persistent for a strenuous prosecution of the war against Napoleon in Spain. Lord Castlereagh lived no doubt on friendly terms with Sir Arthur, and aided him to the best of his power. But he had little if any personal weight in the Portland Cabinet. Instead of being a source of strength to that Ministry, his evil reputation made him a weakness and a reproach. For, of all prominent British politicians of his time, he seems to have been the most deficient in any moral sense to guide his political conduct. His suggestion to Lord Cathcart, at Copenhagen, to find some pretext for breaking the articles of capitulation, was the most shameful incident of a discreditable enterprise. He seems also to have furnished the only example in modern record of a British Cabinet Minister convicted of corrupt practice, who brazened the matter out by remaining in office without even the decent formality of tendering his resignation. Thomas Grenville, as his letters show, was an easy-going, tolerant politician, except when some family interest or radical innovation came in question; and even on those points he always inclined to conciliation and timely concession. He fully approved of the Act of Union, of which Pitt and Lord Grenville had been the chief authors. He was only a luke-warm friend of the Catholic cause. The disgust so strongly expressed in his letter to Lord Grenville, dated April 7, 1809,<sup>1</sup> at Castlereagh's political profligacy, may therefore fairly be taken to express, not personal nor partizan bias, but rather the common sentiment of honourable men of all shades of political opinion. Nor had Castlereagh's dealings with Sir John Moore enhanced his authority as a War Minister. Therefore the merit ascribed to him for selecting Sir Arthur

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<sup>1</sup> page 291.

Wellesley to command the British forces in the Peninsula, and for afterwards sustaining him in that position, is, to say the least, a modern exaggeration. But Lord Castlereagh had two qualities which served him well in public life, as became more apparent after his duel with Canning had raised his character in popular estimation. One was cool, steady, calculating courage, which flinched neither from physical danger nor from moral obloquy. The other was loyalty to his colleagues, a supreme virtue in party politics, which Canning, to his own misfortune, and probably also that of the State, conspicuously lacked. These qualities, combined with a habit of conforming to dominant ideas, and abilities of a useful order, never rising above the safe mediocrity which neither excites admiration nor provokes jealousy, won for him the confidence and attachment of the party to which the political conditions of the time gave a long monopoly of office.

As regards the military system by which Lord Castlereagh replaced that of Mr. Windham, the subject has been already dealt with. It may be sufficient to add that the Castlereagh system has had the good fortune of being highly commended by a very distinguished military historian; and no doubt it answered for a time to a considerable extent, its immediate purpose of providing troops for current needs.<sup>1</sup> But it seems to have failed at the end of 1809; the severe losses in northern Spain and in Holland having perhaps exhausted the supply of substitutes on which its smooth working so much depended. Otherwise how can the inactivity to which Lord Wellington was reduced for so many months after the battle of Talavera, although no new English expedition was undertaken after the failure of Walcheren, be accounted for. But in 1809 a reservoir of military strength which, as already related, had been to a great extent closed by religious intolerance at the Horse Guards, reopened with results which amply vindicate the policy for which Lord Grenville was expelled from power in 1807, for the remainder of his public life. The Peninsular War gave the question of recruiting a new aspect in Ireland, and again allowed natural tendencies, which were stimulated by social misery, free play. Spain and Ireland had been connected from time immemorial by national and religious ties. The best Spanish officers in the Peninsular War, as Generals Blake and O'Donnell, represented old Irish families which had been deprived of lands and exiled for adherence to the common faith. And while Napoleon's oppressive treatment of Spain and of the Pope quenched to a great extent the feelings of admiration and hope his marvellous career had hitherto inspired in a large proportion of the Irish population, the circumstance that the seat of war was a country which allowed Irish soldiers every facility for attending their religious worship, not only removed the objections of Irish priests to military service, but enabled them cordially to promote

<sup>1</sup> *History of the British Army*, by the Honourable J. Fortescue.

enlistment. Thus it came to pass that Ireland, instead of contributing much less than her proper proportion to the armed forces of the empire, as in the years following the Union, contributed much more, as was manifest from the composition of British armies during nearly forty years, when a great famine and the annual emigrations to North America, which then set in, reduced her male population of serviceable age by more than one-half. Of this we have clear testimony.

In 1812, during the debate on the Mutiny Bill in the House of Lords, Earl Grosvenor drew attention to a report that orders had been issued from the Horse Guards to the recruiting sergeants of certain English regiments not to enlist Irishmen. Lord Liverpool, representing the Perceval Government, expressed surprise at this statement. "Surely," he continued, "the noble earl must have known that the people of Ireland formed the great strength and stamina of the British army, and to imagine that such an order could ever have issued from Headquarters was simply ridiculous." This was only a few months before the battle of Salamanca, the turning-point of the Peninsular war. It was also stated, in the same debate, that the military regulation compelling Catholic soldiers to attend Protestant religious services, was no longer enforced.<sup>1</sup>

In 1817 the Liverpool Ministry, as Lord Grey stated without contradiction in the House of Lords, composed of "the very same men" who had raised the storm in 1807 which overthrew the Coalition Ministry, passed a Bill repealing completely Catholic disabilities, so far as they affected service in the army and navy; and "this took place quietly without a single observation being made upon it, although, a few years before, a less comprehensive measure caused an alarm to be sounded which could only be allayed by a change of administration."<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Wellington also in the course of the same debate,<sup>3</sup> taunted Lord Eldon with inconsistency for declaring immutable in 1829 disabling oaths which he had joined in repealing in 1817. So "quietly" indeed was the Act passed that no record of it is to be found in Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates* for the year 1817. It seems to have been enacted at the close of the Session, in the midst of the excitement produced in both Houses by Lord Sidmouth's repressive legislation, which quite disorganised the Opposition, and severed the political connexion of its leaders, Lords Grenville and Grey. No one has ever attributed this measure to the growth of a more tolerant spirit in the Irish policy of the Liverpool Government. The feeling at Court, though not in the constituencies, had become under "Manchester House" influence, as anti-Catholic in 1817, as it was in 1806. But the Government absolutely required the support of military force against popular disaffection so prevalent at the time in England; and their Relief Bill affords strong evidence of the altered composition of the British army.

<sup>1</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, March 18, 1812.

<sup>2</sup> Do. Do., April 4, 1829.

<sup>3</sup> Do. Do., April 2, 1829.

Sir Thomas Wyse, afterwards British Minister at Athens, in his "*Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association of Ireland*," of which he had been a leading member, dealing with the circumstances that influenced the Duke of Wellington in conceding Catholic emancipation in 1829, thus describes the British Army; "Recruited chiefly in Ireland, it was more than half Irish, more than half Papist." These are the words of an unexceptionable witness concerning a circumstance of which he was in a position to be well-informed; and which lent overwhelming force to the Duke of Wellington's argument for concession in the House of Lords.<sup>1</sup> Service being then for life, it was substantially the same army—"the best that ever existed," the Duke said<sup>2</sup>—which in the hands of its great leader proved such an efficient instrument in demolishing the colossal dominion of Napoleon. And the service thus rendered to the British Monarchy is the highest tribute to the wisdom of the policy to which Lord Grenville's Administration fell a sacrifice in 1806.

Canning's resignation, accompanied by those of Lord Granville Leveson Gower from the Cabinet, and Messrs. Rose, Long, Huskisson and other able and experienced officials from lower ranks of the public service, broke up the Portland Administration. The great majority of the Cabinet, however, adhered to Mr. Perceval as the chosen Minister of the King. Before his departure for Spain, Lord Wellesley left with Mr. Canning a written resignation of his post of Ambassador in order that his friend might use it when the proper time arrived for the accomplishment of their common objects; and this Canning, in order to strengthen his own situation, now handed in to the King. A short time before this crash came, Perceval and Canning had a frank and not unfriendly exchange of views in regard to Portland's successor.<sup>3</sup> They agreed that the next Prime Minister should be a member of the House of Commons, exercising, as Pitt did, efficient control over his colleagues in charge of other public departments; but neither would consent to serve under the other. Perceval, however, suggested that in order to avert a complete disruption of the present Administration, they should both continue to hold their posts under another Premier in the House of Lords, naming Lord Wellesley or Lord Harrowby. This proposal Canning did not accept. Perceval, on his side, seems to have indignantly rejected a suggestion that he should become Lord Chancellor in place of Eldon, made by the Duke of Portland on behalf of Canning. Then began a conflict of tortuous and somewhat obscure intrigue between the rivals, in which Canning proved no match for his astute antagonist. In order to fill the gaps in the

<sup>1</sup> See also on this subject an essay entitled *Plea for the Peasant* by the late General Sir William Butler, K.C.B., in his *Far Out: Rovings Retold*; which John Ruskin commends so highly in the Preface to *Our fathers have told us*.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary of Charles Greville*, January 25, 1823.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Spencer Perceval*, by Spencer Walpole.

Cabinet. Perceval offered to take into it Mr. Saunders Dundas, Lord Melville's son, then Chief Secretary in Ireland. But Lord Melville claimed the seat for himself; and when Perceval, deterred by Melville's great unpopularity in England, offered him an earldom to forego his pretensions, the veteran statesman, in high dudgeon, refused to allow his son to accept a position denied to himself. He afterwards relented so far as to consent to Mr. Dundas holding subordinate office in England, as leader of the members for Scotland in the House of Commons. The Speaker Abbot, and Mr. Yorke, in deference to Lord Hardwicke who condemned the policy pursued in Ireland, having also declined his overtures, Perceval, by advice of his colleagues, informed the King that they could not hope to form a stable Government from their own connexion; and therefore asked his permission to invite Lords Grenville and Grey to join them in framing an administration on a broader basis. The King cried aloud that he was driven to the wall, and delivered into the hands of Lord Grenville. But being enlightened as to the real motive of this manœuvre, and re-assured in regard to the resolution of his Ministers to stand by him to the last extremity in resisting any further repeal of religious disabilities, he consented to the experiment being tried without his personal intervention. In fact the purpose of the application was too transparent to deceive for a moment those to whom it was addressed. As Thomas Grenville wrote to his brother: "If any offer is made it will be framed for the purpose of inviting a refusal, and with the desire of acquiring new strength to the Court by appealing to the people from what will be called the intolerable pretensions of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville."<sup>1</sup> Both of the noblemen applied to were absent from London, one in Northumberland, the other in Cornwall. Grenville, on receiving Perceval's invitation to a conference, with his usual scrupulous respect for what he took to be an intimation of the King's wishes, travelled up to the capital and wrote a refusal from Camelford House, there being, as he said, no common ground of political principle on which he and the present Ministers could unite with any prospect of public advantage. Grey had already replied to the same effect from Howick. In the meantime, Canning had audience of the King, and having explained his political views, offered to form an administration in accordance with them. His Majesty being, as he told Perceval, utterly amazed at an offer so confidently made, but obviously impracticable, as hardly one of Canning's late colleagues would consent to serve under him, appears to have returned no answer. The invitation to the Whig leaders having failed to produce the effect desired, the Cabinet asked the King to name a Prime Minister, advising that he should be a member of the House of Commons. George III responded by nominating Perceval in flattering terms, with cordial assurances of full confidence and support, and severe reflections

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville, September 22, 1809.



on the conduct of Lord Grenville. This was a clever move on the part of Perceval, which disarmed both Canning and Lord Sidmouth, neither of whom could venture to oppose a leader of the King's choice. But none of their followers would consent to join the new Administration, with the exception of Lord Palmerston, who by Lord Malmesbury's advice, accepted the post of Secretary at War, while declining a seat in the Cabinet, which was not opened to him again for nearly twenty years. In particular the new Prime Minister sought in vain the aid of a capable financier to relieve him of the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, for which he had proved utterly unfit. Finally it was announced amidst general astonishment that Lord Wellesley had accepted the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in succession to his friend Mr. Canning. Canning, as we have seen, had handed in Lord Wellesley's resignation, and subsequently induced the King to appoint Mr. Frere Ambassador to Spain. Perceval, by a counter-move, won over to his side Lord Wellesley's brothers, more particularly the elder, Wellesley Pole, whom he promoted to the office of Irish Chief Secretary in succession to Saunders Dundas. They sent a Mr. Sydenham, a particular friend of the Marquis and formerly his Treasurer in India, to Spain, to give him an account of the political changes at home, and persuade him to fill the vacancy at the Foreign Office.<sup>1</sup> The representations made to him by Pole and Sydenham led Lord Wellesley to believe, not without grounds, that Canning had resigned rather than serve with Perceval under Wellesley as Prime Minister; and that he had used Wellesley's resignation for an object of his own, not for the common object of bringing new strength to the Portland Ministry, for which it had been entrusted to him. Under these impressions, the Marquis closed at once with Perceval's invitation. His brother Henry, then Secretary of the Treasury, succeeded him as Ambassador. His short mission to Spain had not been without beneficial results. After a brief examination of the existing system of national government, he pointed out to the General Junta, which exercised supreme authority, that it was too numerous for an efficient executive, without being sufficiently comprehensive for a representative assembly. He therefore urged it to nominate a small Council of Regency to discharge the functions of their captive Sovereign; and to turn its attention to the measures required for holding at the earliest possible moment an election of the Cortez. This advice, pressed on the ruling body both orally and in writing, the Junta consented to adopt, though after a delay occasioned by natural hesitation and reluctance to put an end to itself. In his resolution to leave the Peninsula without further delay Lord Wellesley was, no doubt, influenced by a knowledge of the political situation in England. During the previous session, Perceval

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Spencer Perceval* by Spencer Walpole.

had quite lost command of the House of Commons; the protection he extended to every corrupt abuse had left a very unfavourable impression on the public mind; and the Ministry he had succeeded with the King's help in getting together, was probably the weakest in point of efficiency hitherto known in England. There was very little prospect of its living through the next session. Wellesley, therefore, seems to have returned home in the confident belief that the chief direction of public affairs in England lay within his grasp. But, like Canning, he was either ignorant of, or did not take sufficiently into account, the disposition of the King.

The disaster of Walcheren, the collapse of a national movement in Germany, the inaction of Wellington after Talavera, the inglorious return of General Stuart to Sicily, quenched all hope remaining to the Austrian Government of casting off the yoke of Napoleon. The Conqueror also had now become desirous of ending the war, without utterly crushing his antagonist. A Continental alliance with one other great power he considered necessary for France; and Alexander's failure to afford him the aid against Austria, promised at Erfurt, convinced him that he could no longer rely on the friendship of Russia. Disquieting reports from Paris of renewed intrigues on the part of Bernadotte and Fouché recalled him to his capital; and an attempt to assassinate him by Frederick Staps, a German enthusiast who had sworn to liberate his country or die in the attempt, brought home to Napoleon's mind a new danger to which his ambition exposed him, and the instability of dominion that hung upon a single life. He therefore reduced the terms he had intended to impose on the Emperor Francis; though still those accepted by this unlucky monarch in a treaty signed at Schönbrunn on October 13, 1809, involving the cession of over two thousand square miles of territory, and a payment of eighty-five millions of francs, were sufficiently hard. Salzburg went to Bavaria, in addition to the Tyrol. To the great disgust of the Emperor Alexander, who feared nothing so much as a restoration of an independent Kingdom of Poland, in regard to which Napoleon refused to give a written pledge, nearly all Galicia, including Cracow, went to enlarge the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; only a small strip of the province, instead of the lion's share, as he had expected, being allotted to Russia. Trieste and all Austrian territory bordering the Adriatic became, under the name of Illyria, a province of the French empire. Francis also agreed to enforce Napoleon's Continental system, to recognise all the changes Napoleon had wrought by force or fraud in Southern Europe, and to reduce his own army to 150,000 men. Count Stadion now retired from the political stage, and was succeeded as the Emperor's chief adviser by Count Metternich, who, yielding to the necessities of the situation, introduced a complete change of system at Vienna. Instead of incessant war during nearly twenty years with

revolutionized France, Europe saw a revised edition of Prince Kaunitz's programme of political alliance with that country cemented by marriage; the part played in a great historical drama by the unfortunate Marie Antoinette being destined under less tragical auspices for another princess of Hapsburg-Lorraine, her grand-niece Marie Louise. After Napoleon's return to Paris, his wife Josephine having consented to a divorce, it was effected by a Senatorial decree; and although the Pope refused to sanction these proceedings, the negotiation already opened at Vienna for a new marriage was hurried forward to a conclusion. "Sa Majesté très Corse" was now at the very summit of human greatness, wielding and abusing an authority which no other man had achieved for himself. The whole Continent of Europe, except Turkey, Portugal and a small corner of Spain, was either subject to his sway or conformed to his public decrees. His presence in France silenced there every murmur of discontent; and his approaching marriage was joyfully welcomed throughout his empire as a pledge of security and peace. Unfortunately the tone of his speech at the opening of the Legislative session in December, 1809, gave little indication of a pacific disposition. It has been aptly described as "a memorable record of human arrogance and pride; a striking monument of the existence of a power beyond comparison, the greatest that ever tyrannised over civilised man."<sup>1</sup>

The death of the Duke of Portland in October, 1809, opened the way for the greatest triumph, and perhaps the most gratifying event of Lord Grenville's public life: his election as Chancellor of Oxford University. The state of political parties which seemed at this moment to point with certainty to his early return to office, no doubt paved the way in a constituency so largely clerical to a success which not even his most ardent partizans had ventured to hope for earlier in the year. But the event was mainly a tribute to high personal character. In spite of his advocacy of the Catholic claims, and of the fact that his chief opponent, Lord Eldon, a leading champion of "Church and King," enjoyed the undivided support of the Court and the Government, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Oxford, Lincoln, and St. Asaph, worked zealously for Grenville's election, and a majority of their episcopal brethren, who took part in the contest, are said to have given him their votes. As might have been expected from the known tactics of the Court party, every expedient for arousing bigotry or otherwise influencing voters was brought into play against him. The principles which guided himself under such unworthy provocation are expressed in a letter to a supporter dated December 10, 1809: "But I should earnestly wish to have it to say at the end of this contest, what I can safely say at this hour, that, however provoked by calumny and falsehood, I have not in any single instance made myself a

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Register*, 1809.

party to that course of personal attack in which Lord Eldon and his friends appear to have placed their best hopes of success. I have rested my pretensions, such as they are, on my own character and conduct, and have wished to succeed because I am thought worthy, not because others are thought unworthy of the honour to which I aspire."<sup>1</sup> There was another feature of the conflict which must have been especially gratifying to Lord Grenville, and which testifies to the deep affection which one so cold and reserved to the outer world was capable of inspiring in those who enjoyed his friendship; this was the ardent zeal and unstinted devotion with which a host of voluntary workers, members of his own family and old official or college friends, laboured in his cause. Eldon's friends threw the blame of the Chancellor's defeat on the third candidate, the Duke of Beaufort, for dividing what they termed the Protestant interest. But this seems to have been an erroneous view. Although thirty of Beaufort's supporters went over at the last moment to Eldon, to the utter dismay of the Grenvillites, the Duke told the Archbishop of York that had he retired from the contest, the great bulk of the 238 voters who remained constant to him would have transferred their suffrage, with his own good wishes, to Lord Grenville. Some ludicrous incidents seem to have enlivened the struggle. The Duke of Cumberland "cursing and swearing" in wild fury along the streets of Windsor, amidst the howlings of a No-Popery rabble, after hearing of his friend Eldon's defeat, must have been an exciting if not altogether edifying sight. And there was a delightful frankness in the answer of an elector, who being canvassed for Lord Eldon, replied, "I shall certainly give my vote to Lord Eldon, as I look upon Lord Grenville to be a bigger rascal even than his lordship." This unflattering verdict notwithstanding, Lord Grenville's election as Chancellor, under circumstances of such extraordinary disadvantage, was a tribute to high principle in public life of which a British statesman might well feel proud.

After Lord Wellesley's return to England rumours, preserved in Thomas Grenville's letters, were afloat of his forming a Ministry to include Perceval as Lord Chancellor; Canning, with whom he had become reconciled, as leader of the House of Commons, Huskisson as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other new elements of strength. The announcement of his approaching investment with the Order of the Garter, which the King, at the Prime Minister's urgent request, most reluctantly and ungraciously conferred on him, was supposed in Opposition circles to lend countenance to these surmises. They were probably suggested by the manifest weakness of a Ministry faced by a Walcheren inquiry in a mutinous House of Commons. On the other hand, the state of the Opposition in that House was not more hopeful. George Ponsonby had

<sup>1</sup> Page 404.

been a failure, but would not resign. Whitbread, leader of the Radicals and foremost in debate, had pursued on the question of Parliamentary reform an independent line, which Lord Grey, as well as Lord Grenville and his brethren, repudiated as dangerously progressive. Lord Henry Petty, the only member of Conservative views in accordance with their own, on whom Grenville and Grey could count as possessing sufficient weight with the whole party to restrain Whitbread and his friends, had just been removed to the House of Lords by the death of Lord Lansdowne. It might answer to retain Ponsonby as leader while the party remained out of office, if he would consent to return to his former post of Irish Lord Chancellor, should it return to power. But on this point he kept his own counsel. Finally, any reviving speculations in the Grenville wing of the party as to Canning's joining it in order to become its leader in the House of Commons, were ended by Lord Grey, who confidentially informed Lord Grenville that he could not bring himself to act with Canning as a colleague. So, all was doubt and confusion as to the future tactics of the Opposition; and in these distracted counsels lay the chief prospect of stability for the Perceval Administration.

From a national point of view the year ended in gloom. Notwithstanding some colonial conquests of no very great importance, and Lord Cochrane's brilliant exploit at Basque Roads, its annals on the whole were a record of disastrous failure and waste of resources abroad; of weakness, dissension and scandalous corruption in the conduct of affairs at home; of a tendency to decline in commerce and industry, which boded ill for the immediate future; and of increasing discontent in large sections of the population throughout the three Kingdoms. Never, perhaps, before had the monarchy been in greater need of a strong, wise, and comprehensive Government, which should unite all its subjects in its defence.

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The letters from Gentz to Lord Grenville printed on pp. 457 *et seq.*, which immediately precede or follow in point of date the *Journal of M. de Gentz*, printed in the Appendix to Volume VIII of these Papers, should be read in connexion with it, as they complete the history of the overthrow of the Prussian Monarchy in the autumn of 1806 given in the *Journal*. They were found quite recently, put away in a portfolio of miscellanies relating to tithes, coinage, and other subjects of domestic interest.

WALTER FITZPATRICK.



THE MANUSCRIPTS OF  
J. B. FORTESCUE. ESQ..  
PRESERVED AT DROPMORE.

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VOL. IX.

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LORD GRENVILLE to W. WINDHAM.

1807, January 1. Downing Street.—“On an examination of the army estimates previous to their being presented, it appears that Craufurd is put down there with the allowances of a *Commander in Chief* (3,400*l. per annum*) the same which the Duke of York enjoys! and four aides-de-camp as given to that rank. I am fully persuaded this can never have been your intention, when you consider, on the one hand, Craufurd's rank, and, on the other, the very lucrative nature of the service on which he is employed.

“The utmost that he could have any pretence to claim according to my conception would be the local rank of Major-General (instead of that of Brigadier-General which he holds) and the allowances usually given to that rank on service. As there can be no doubt that this would be made matter of observation (indeed Lord H. Petty has already mentioned it to me as such) and as I do not think any of us could in conscience contend that it is right, I trust you will approve of my desiring this may be rectified in the estimate.

“I cannot write to you on any subject connected with army estimates without again adverting to what I consider as a most enormous job, the Inspector-General's Office. Among many other objects which I have directed to be distinctly stated in the estimate this year, instead of being covered in the former slovenly way by the vote of extraordinaries, is the expense of that Office, which you will there find is above 30,000*l. per annum*, every farthing of which, in my opinion, might be saved with great advantage to the service. I am confident there is but one opinion on this subject at the Horse Guards, at the War Office, and at the Comptroller's Office. I do not wish to do anything hasty or violent, but I am sure you are as unwilling as I am to let the public incur such an expense without adequate and manifest advantage, and, in the course of this year, we certainly

must make up our minds either to abolish this Office, or to be able to show more clearly than I fear it can be shown that its continuance is of any use to the public. The Duke of York has formally signified to me his opinion that two or three clerks in the Quarter-Master-General's Department would transact the whole business, not only as well but much better for the service than by this enormous establishment of a separate Office. Such an intimation I cannot neglect, but must either act upon it, or be prepared to show how and why it is wrong. At present I believe it to be perfectly right." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1807, January 1. Downing Street.—“The Duke of Richmond's death opens a second Blue Ribbon. In consequence of what passed with Fox at the time the Garter was given to Lord Stafford, I am under a positive obligation to recommend the Duke of Norfolk for the first. If you would allow me to submit your name to the King for the other, you will enable me to do a thing peculiarly proper in itself, and highly gratifying to me as affording the means of marking by some public testimony the very sincere feelings of respect and regard which I bear towards you.” *Copy.*

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 2. Stratton Street.—“I have just seen Brown of the War Office. He came to speak to me about the army estimates, apprehending that some doubt you entertain about the 2nd battalions might prevent their being presented to-day. He says that no saving would accrue from their reduction during the present year, as it was not done before Christmas; the colonels, according to the established practice, being entitled to the clothing. Besides that, the Duke of York by his circular letter has given a kind of assurance that they shall be continued till the 25th June. Probably all this is not new to you, but I thought it as well to state it, that if it should have any effect as to your determination about presenting the army estimates to-day, you may consider it in time.

“Brown says that there are several precedents in the last war of officers lower in rank than my brother having the appointment which he now has; particularly that of Frank Dundas. I have desired him to get an account of them for me.

“I take it for granted Sir F. Vincent has sent you the account of the recapture of Buenos Ayres; it bears too strong marks of authenticity.

“I find Lord Yarmouth had some written instructions from Fox, of which there is no trace whatever either in his private correspondence, or in the Office. The letter enclosing the memorandum respecting Sicily and Dalmatia, contains



nothing of any consequence in addition to what is in the memorandum ; except a recommendation to gain time, which was in consequence of d'Oubril's request, and in no way applicable to the case which arose after he had signed the treaty.

"Lord Yarmouth promised to send me a copy of the instructions this morning, but I have not yet received it."

LORD HOLLAND to THE SAME.

1807, January 3.—"I shall have the pleasure of meeting you at the Cabinet on Monday, but, to prevent delay, and bring the treaty with America to a conclusion, should wish to have ten minutes conversation with you on the subject before the Cabinet meets, as I should be sorry they should part without having finally approved the colonial article and the note."

*Postscript.*—"After seven hours discussion we have brought the Americans to a final acquiescence in the treaty as you saw it."

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1807, January 3. Stratton Street.—"Lord Yarmouth has just been with me to complain of an assertion made in your speech, as published in the newspapers. The passage is marked in the enclosed paper. He says that he had no instruction to insist upon a *written* acknowledgment of the proposed basis ; and, in looking at the different despatches which were sent to him, this certainly appears true, the directions given to him being not to produce his powers till the French returned to the ground of their own proposal, without specifying that it should be in *writing*. I was in the same mistake, and probably should have stated it generally in the same way. It is not in itself of much consequence, except as far as this is the point most in dispute, and one on which our opponents will be glad of any opportunity to raise a cavil ; for Lord Yarmouth being instructed not to produce his powers without an acknowledgment, his having done so without any acknowledgment at all, would be liable to the more objection.

"He expresses a strong desire that this point should be cleared up, and wishes that you should take an opportunity of explaining it in the House of Lords. He of course will state what he has to say himself in the House of Commons."

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1807, January 3. Downing Street.—"You know how difficult it is to answer for words used in a debate, and much more for newspaper reports of them. It is, however, unquestionably true that I was under the impression, and did probably so state it in substance, (if not in the exact words reported), that a *written* acknowledgment of the basis would have been

necessary before Lord Yarmouth produced his full powers. I take it for granted from what you say that you have referred to the instructions, and that they do not contain any such *express* direction. And so far undoubtedly, if Lord Yarmouth has the smallest desire for it, I am bound to concur in correcting any erroneous impression which my speech can have produced.

“But surely the whole sense and spirit of the transaction is such as I have always conceived it. A verbal proposal was made to us; we returned a verbal acceptance of it; for what purpose but that a negotiation should be founded upon it? We sent full powers to enter upon that negotiation. Had the basis so proposed and accepted been adhered to, the papers of the negotiation must materially have contained a constant and explicit reference to it. But the offer being retracted, Lord Yarmouth’s orders were not to produce his full powers until it was acknowledged. It is barely possible, but surely not probable that such an acknowledgment might *in the first instance* have been also *verbal*; but, in that case as in the former, the reference to the basis so established must have been found in the very first papers exchanged in the course of the negotiation.

“The argument which I used I take therefore to be strictly correct; and that the purpose for which Lord Yarmouth was sent back to Paris was one which must have produced a *written* acknowledgment of the basis, had France acknowledged it at all. But if I have stated, or conveyed an impression, that this purpose was more distinctly expressed in the terms of Lord Yarmouth’s instructions than the fact will warrant, I ought undoubtedly not to hesitate to rectify the error upon any question put to me on the subject in the House of Lords; or to authorise you to say for me in the House of Commons what I have here stated; which latter course, I should imagine, would be fully sufficient for the purpose of setting the matter completely right.” *Holograph draft.*

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 4. Dublin Castle.—“I enclose for your consideration the sketch of an establishment for a Catholic regiment. It is made on the idea you suggested by Colonel Handfield, with whom I have had much discussion on the subject, and whose counsel on such topics is of great value. He is, however, anxious that his name should not transpire, *especially* at the *Horse Guards*. Though I feel very solicitous that this mode of levy should be tried, I cannot help stating to you three embarrassments, which I expect we may have to encounter.

1st. “I am apprehensive that, in consequence of the present ferment in the Catholic community, the people of that persuasion may take umbrage at the allotment of *Catholic corps* for *foreign service only*.

2ndly. "It is probable that they will press you to open service in Great Britain to them, and that they will also urge *strongly* their admission to the station of *general on the staff*, from which the Act of the Irish Parliament of 1793 excluded them.

3rdly. "I think it likely that they will ask for a regular *avowed establishment* of chaplains of their own religion, which is, I believe, an indulgence granted to the Highland regiments.

"I submit these points to you that you may turn them in your thoughts. If the King could be prevailed on to throw open the military profession without reserve to the Catholics, it would be a most productive source of strength to the empire. Is this so absolutely desperate?"

*Enclosing :—*

*Sketch of an establishment for a Catholic regiment.*

"When the mind is doubtful as to the success of a proposed measure, it is almost impossible to enter with energy on the details of the plan; this has been my case, and must plead my apology for not having sooner complied with your desire.

"The idea you suggested of filling up one, or more, of the skeleton 2nd battalions with Catholic recruits, officered in part by gentlemen of that persuasion, appears to possess some advantages over the plan for raising corps in the usual manner; as, unquestionably, where a regular system of regimental economy is already established, and thoroughly understood by the officers and non-commissioned officers, recruits will be much sooner brought into a state of discipline and subordination fit for active service. I am not sure, however, but the other mode of levy possesses more extended influence for raising the men.

"In the plan I have now the honour to submit to your consideration I have endeavoured to call forth as great an exertion of Catholic influence in raising the men as was compatible with the object of their being speedily trained. To effect the first it appears advisable that some of the leading Catholic gentlemen should espouse the plan; that the recommendation to a certain number of commissions in each battalion should be conceded to some person of this description, confining these appointments to gentlemen of the Catholic religion, and relaxing in those instances the strictness of the regulation for granting permanent rank; and with the view of adding to the popularity of the levy among the lower orders, the second battalion intended for receiving the men might be selected from regiments which have been principally formed in Ireland. The 88th, or Connaught Rangers, now under orders for this country, was originally raised under the Clanricarde influence, and seems completely to meet this idea. The 87th, raised by Sir John Doyle, and the 83rd, by the late Colonel Fitch, are equally proper.

“The extent of levy money may be regulated by the person who undertakes the levy, but it certainly ought not to exceed the bounty now given to recruits of the line, more than one guinea per man, for the purpose of covering all incidental and extra expenses. In this manner I have stated it in the annexed plan, confining the completion of the levy to four months.

“When the battalion is formed and considerably advanced in discipline, it may be found expedient to regiment it, to prevent the Catholic officers being removed by promotion into the first battalion. This will afford the opportunity, if such be desirable, of placing the person raising the levy at the head of the regiment, with the temporary rank of Colonel.”

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 6. Dublin Castle.—“The situation of the judge of the court of Admiralty in Ireland has been under consideration for some time. His salary upon the civil list is but five hundred pounds a year, subject to deductions. The Lord Chancellor, to whom Mr. Barrington’s application for an additional salary was referred, made particular investigation into the duties of the judge of that court, and after full consideration has stated to me his opinion that one thousand pounds *per annum* is but a fair and reasonable remuneration for the services which are to be performed; and that the judge of the court of Admiralty in Scotland receives now by Act of Parliament as large a stipend, and has not probably as much duty to perform. His lordship has also represented that, from the length of time this matter has been depending, he thinks it just that the additional salary should commence from as early a period as it may be granted.

“I have therefore transmitted by this mail to the Lords of the Treasury an official application for his Majesty’s letter for placing on the civil list of Ireland an additional salary of five hundred pounds a year, to commence from the 24th day of June, 1805; having recommended by my letter to the Lords of the Treasury dated the 22nd of November last, the discontinuance from the 25th of March, 1805, of the allowance on that establishment for the speaker of the House of Lords, and of other allowances thereon, which from the circumstances stated in my said letter are no longer payable; the discontinuance whereof will leave ample provision from that period for the addition I have now recommended.

“The discontinuance of the allowance to the Speaker of the House and of the other allowances mentioned in my said letter of the 22nd November last, could not be made to take place from an earlier date than the 25th of March, 1805, because the accounts of the Civil List Revenue have been closed up to that date, and the savings thereon accounted for. I have

also to observe that the salary of one thousand pounds to the judge of the Admiralty of Scotland commenced from the 25th of June in the said year 1805.

"I trust this arrangement will meet with your lordship's approbation."

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1807, January 9. Downing Street.—"I imagine your letter inclosing the plan of a Catholic levy was written before mine to the Lord Lieutenant on the same subject had been received. I therefore defer answering yours in detail till I hear again from your side of the water. I will certainly keep secret the name of your adviser, whom I believe to be a man of very good counsel on such subjects. But I see great difficulties in the way of any suggestion for giving permanent rank to captains not having previously served in the army; much more to Colonels and Lieut-Colonels Commandant. Indeed I am myself so adverse to such a suggestion that I know not how to press it on others.

"With respect to your three difficulties, they are all certainly such as merit attentive consideration. But,

1st. "The service in Catholic countries only, was meant as a boon not a restriction, and if not taken in that light may easily be abandoned. And then supposing the battalion raised (as it must in all cases be) for general service, the King may employ it where he sees best.

2nd. "If *anything* is to be proposed in Parliament this session respecting the Catholics, there is no point that would be pressed with so much advantage as that of removing *all* restrictions on the employment of the King's Catholic subjects in the army indiscriminately; 1st, because the present distinction is too absurd to be defended even by Lord Redesdale; 2ndly, because that distinction is a positive breach of the faith pledged by Lord Hobart and Lord Clare; and 3rdly, because the present times are felt to call for as much military exertion as the empire is capable of making.

"The third point is more difficult. I have no means of ascertaining the fact as to the Highland regiments. The thing may be done and defended, but if it were *proposed*, it would bring all the horrors of popery in view at once, and nothing could follow but the immediate arrival of the Pope and all his Cardinals to be enthroned in St. Paul's.

"Into the other details I will not enter now, for the reason stated in the beginning of this letter; but as soon as possible I hope to hear from you again on the subject of *my plan*."  
*Copy.*

W. WINDHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 10. Arlington Street.—"I shall not know with certainty till to-morrow what the exact state of Craufurd's

appointments is, but it is satisfactory to me in the meanwhile to be able to state to you that, whatever they are, they are completely owned as having been settled at headquarters without any interference on my part; the only communication from me having been that I should be ready to concur in whatever they should think right. It was this circumstance probably, joined to my absence from town soon after, that prevented any formal notification to me (and occasioned my consequent ignorance) of what the terms meant. If my information, as hitherto received, is correct, they will not at all contradict the confidence which I had ventured to express that there must be some mistake in the information which you had received."

LORD ELLENBOROUGH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 10. Bloomsbury Square.—"I take the liberty of again calling your lordship's attention to the very anxious request with which I some months ago troubled your lordship on the behalf of my brother the Rev. Dr. George Law. I am not apprized whether the Residentiaryship of St. Paul's lately held by Dr. Moss be yet disposed of; if it be, I allow myself to hope that your lordship will have the goodness to confer upon my brother some other adequate ecclesiastical dignity in the gift of the Crown at the earliest opportunity. Your lordship is sensible, I am sure, of the importance which I attach to this request, in favour of a brother of considerable station in the church, a man of worth and learning with a very numerous family. Your lordship is also aware that I neither possess, have received, or seek to derive any kind of personal advantage whatever from the share I am at all times ready to bear in any of the labours, cares, responsibilities of the Government, to the councils of which I have the honour to be associated, and in the concerns of which, your lordship will do me the justice to say, I have never borne a cold, languid, or inactive part.

"I did myself the honour of stating to your lordship sometime ago the preferment he holds, and which would in a certain event be at the disposal of the Crown. He has a living in Cambridgeshire of upwards of 800*l.* *per annum*, another in Lincolnshire of 200*l.*, a prebend of Carlisle of upwards of 400*l.* and a prebend of York of small value. I have been unwilling to importune your lordship in person on this topic upon any of the numerous occasions of our meeting, because I felt satisfied from the kindness of your lordship's former communications to me on this subject, that I might reasonably look to a speedy accomplishment of my wishes; and I flatter myself that I shall find that I have not formed a rash judgment. At the same time as I cannot but know that other claims on the ecclesiastical patronage of His Majesty, not as I conceive equally well founded and deserving of attention, are zealously urged, may have the good fortune to succeed,

and to have the effect of superseding that which I have the honour to make, unless the subject were again pressed upon your lordship's particular notice, I beg leave to do so in the most respectful, but at the same time the most earnest and anxious manner that such a request can be addressed from me to your lordship, on a point in respect of which I feel the deepest and most immediate interest which I am capable of feeling on any subject whatsoever."

LORD GRENVILLE to LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

1807, January 10. Downing Street.—“The arrangements consequent upon Bishop Horsley's death have long ago been settled, although by the long delay occasioned by the translations, they have not yet been carried into effect. I have been obliged to turn Moss's prebend of St. Paul's into *change*, to satisfy two most pressing and indeed indispensable engagements. I beg you to do me the justice to believe that whenever it is in my power to forward your wishes on the subject of Dr. Law it will be a sincere pleasure to me to do so.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, January 13. Downing Street.—“I have had the honour to receive your Grace's letter of the 6th instant respecting the increase of the salary of the judge of the Admiralty in Ireland, and it appears to me that the arrangements which your Grace proposes on that subject are perfectly just and proper.” *Copy.*

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 14. Phoenix Park.—“Your two very interesting letters of the 12th and 29th ultimo (marked private) have not ceased from the time they reached me to the present time, to engage my most deliberate and anxious attention; and my unwillingness to send a hasty or ill-considered answer, has been proportioned to the magnitude and importance of the objects they embrace. I have sought the best opinions and advice within my reach, and am prepared to submit to your lordship (with much diffidence as to the propriety of it) the humble judgment I have formed on the several points you have thought fit to submit to my consideration.

“The subject of tithes is the first in order in your enumeration of the causes which operate on the tranquillity and happiness of Ireland, and in my mind certainly the first in importance. Within the last fifty years, tithes have from time to time produced torment and irritation among the people of this country, and particularly among the town classes; but the discontent has not been wholly confined to them. Amongst the middle classes a dislike to the present system of tithes is very prevalent, which was visibly manifest during the

late disturbances in the western and north-western counties ; and among the most enlightened and unprejudiced of the higher ranks, an opinion evidently prevails that a reform of the abuses which have crept into the system, and a temperate remedy to the evils it perpetually occasions, would be a just, a wise, and a prudent measure. Here then are sufficient grounds to lead us to a discussion of the grievance, and its fittest cure, and to a consideration of the safest means of applying it, without endangering the peace or the welfare of the country. We must not conceal from ourselves that we shall have much prejudice, difficulty, and opposition to encounter ; but this alone should not deter us from attempting a great practical good, or, as you justly observe, we should be utterly unworthy of our trust. The means of success must be well considered, and amply provided for, for we should not be justified in embarking in the undertaking, with a chance of failure, which might bring with it the most alarming consequences. Disappointed hopes of a melioration in the tithe system in Ireland, might produce a ferment which it would not be easy to allay.

“ I fear we should have to encounter the hostility of the whole body of the church. There might be an exception of some few liberal-minded and unprejudiced individuals, but the great weight and power of the hierarchy would be against us. If we are enabled by the justice and policy of the measures we propose to Parliament to meet with confidence this formidable hostility, and to conciliate the support of wise and moderate men among the laity, I think, we may fairly hope to silence the clamours of prejudice and violence, and to effect an object which, I am sure, would do more towards securing the permanent tranquillity of Ireland, than any other that could be suggested. For this, however, our plans must be concerted with due caution and deliberation. It would be necessary that Mr. Elliot should go to England to consult with some of the civilians there upon the measures to be submitted to the Legislature, in order to obviate the danger of an unfounded alarm arising on your side of the water ; and I should wish, at all events, to have the opinion of some of the leading members of the church in Ireland. For these reasons it would be almost impracticable to attempt anything in the present sessions, beyond the mere trying our ground, or perhaps throwing out something for the consideration of members between this and the ensuing sessions of Parliament.

“ It now remains for me to take a view of the several plans suggested by your lordship, which I will do very briefly, anxious not to occupy more of your time than is absolutely necessary.

“ Your first proposal is likely to be productive of some good, but its effects would not be very extensive, and would, I fear, be found inadequate to meet the evil which excites



such perpetual complaint. The Bishop and the lay impropriator have already the power to lease their tithes for a term of years, and it would scarcely be worth while to raise that clamour which the very idea of reforming the tithe system would not fail to give rise to, for the mere object of extending that power to the parochial incumbent.

“The second plan you suggest, exonerating cottagers occupying only a sufficient quantity of land for the subsistence of their own families, would be but partially operative. The tithe on potatoes is taken from cottagers in Munster only and I believe a small part of Leinster. In the provinces of Ulster and Connaught they are uniformly exempt from tithe on this essential and general article of subsistence. On the abolition of the agistment tithe, the tithe-holders in the great grazing districts in the south sought a compensation in the tithe on potatoes. The Chancellor suggests the idea of granting an exemption to the cottager of a certain number of acres attached to his cabin, say two, three, or four, as may be thought most expedient. This certainly would have the advantage over the other, from its general, instead of partial operation.

“Your lordship’s third proposition of making tithes convertible into annuities, and thence convertible into land is, I think, under proper modifications in the detail, capable of producing very extensive benefits. Perhaps it might be advisable to follow as nearly as circumstances will permit, the almost uniform practice in Parliamentary enclosures in England. The chief objection to this plan is one that has frequently been urged, and with some degree of reason, against the substitution of land for tithe, namely, that it has a tendency to convert the parson into a farmer, and by employing his time and his thoughts on the best mode of managing his land, draw his attention from the more essential duties of his sacred function.

“Perhaps a more simple and efficacious plan than any of these might be to establish a *modus*, upon a fair valuation of tithes by commissioners appointed by Parliament; or jointly by the tithe payer and receiver, subject to the approbation of two magistrates, in the court of quarter sessions; not fixed, but varying with the varying circumstances of the times, by a renewed valuation of the land every seven, ten, or fourteen years, as might be thought expedient. It does not strike me that this plan is liable to any serious objection. The act may confirm and secure the distinct and inalienable property of the church. The income of the clergyman and lay impropriator will equally keep pace with the rise and fall in the value of land and its produce, and is not liable to be affected by the depreciation of money. That intolerable evil, the tithe proctor, is removed out of sight. A proper remedy being provided against losses by powers of distress, the clergy are secured against the diminution of income they

now frequently suffer by insolvency of agents or farmers. An improved system of husbandry is encouraged by being relieved of an increasing demand in consequence of increased industry and cultivation. Upon the whole I see many advantages attendant upon this proposal, and no rational objection ; and I feel anxious to recommend it to your serious consideration.

“ If the payment of the tithe was charged solely on the proprietor, and not on the occupier of the land I think it would be still better. The landlord would then of course indemnify himself by an advanced rent on the tenant, which would be cheerfully paid for the valuable consideration of a tithe-free farm.

“ The next subject to which you have been pleased to call my attention is that of facilitating the enlistment of Catholics into our army. Mr. Elliot has already transmitted to you a plan for this purpose, suggested by an able officer of the most correct and impartial judgment, and perhaps none better can be pointed out to attain the object you have in view. Certain it is that a vent is much wanted for the great and redundant population of this country ; and it is as certain, that the ordinary recruiting service has been for some time extremely small, and an unwillingness to enlist into the army is very manifest. Various causes operate to produce this want of activity—the most alarming, and perhaps the most prominent of which is a spirit of discontent prevailing among the town classes of the people, worked upon by the ill-disposed who are hostile to the Government and British connection, and increased by the vast and imposing successes of the enemy on the Continent. To remove this cause must be a work of time, patience, and perseverance. A system of kindness and conciliation towards the whole body of the people, particularly the Catholics, is the most likely to effect it ; but, in the mean time, we must endeavour to seek remedies more immediately at hand to cure the present evil. Plenty and cheapness of provisions, with a great demand for labour from an increasing spirit of agriculture, are in some degree also the cause of the present inertness in the recruiting service ; but there is, at the same time, an evident disinclination among the Catholics to enlist. This I am informed proceeds from a general idea that they are not allowed to attend the worship of their own religion from the moment the regiment in which they enlist sets its foot upon English ground ; and that the indulgence, even in Ireland, depends upon the will or caprice of their commanding officer. This impression, I fear, will not be removed until you can prevail upon his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief to issue a general public order to this effect ; and this I have more than once pressed upon the consideration of Lord Spencer. In regard to the proposal for raising corps for Catholic service (if I may so express myself) I must not conceal from your lordship

that I fear the idea of making them a separate distinct body would be very unpopular, and excite much jealousy and dissatisfaction among the Catholics. Their great aim, and the hope they cherish, is to be admitted in all things reasonable within the pale of their Protestant brethren, to be mixed with them as much as possible as natives of the same soil, subjects of the same King, having common feelings and common interests, and in consequence entitled to common rights. Any measure therefore which tends to separate them from the Protestants, and give them a distinct station and interests, would be received with considerable distrust.

“The last point upon which you desire my opinion is a provision for the Catholic clergy; and upon this subject I have not the good fortune to agree with some to whose judgment I look with the utmost deference; and when I name the Chancellor and Mr. Elliot among them, your lordship will not be surprised that I offer my opinion with great doubt as to its propriety. But I confess it does appear to me to be an object of great national policy, and a wise and statesmanlike measure, to make the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy stipendiary on the Government. I moreover think that this is a peculiarly fit time for carrying it into effect. From all the information I have been able to collect during my residence in Ireland, I am persuaded that the bishops and clergy are ready to accept the boon with gratitude; and the late attempts by the insurgents in the west, to regulate the dues of the priests, will naturally tend to confirm this disposition. The priest's dues have certainly risen with the rise of tithes; and whilst the peasant would be relieved from a heavy burden, the priest would gladly find the cause of dissension between him and his flock removed. I do not think that the laity in general would view this measure with feeling of suspicion, of jealousy. The most respectable members of the body have a strong confidence in the good will of the present Administration towards them, and will not readily believe that they are disposed to purchase the favour and support of one part of the Catholic community at the expense of the interests and happiness of the other. It would be in vain for any Government to attempt to obtain the confidence of the mischievous and wrong-headed, or of the determined separatist.

“With this view of the subject, and thinking that a reasonable provision for the Catholic clergy, combined with the proposed plan of extending the college of Maynooth, and enabling it to supply the full proportion of the annual Catholic mission in Ireland, is likely to be productive of incalculable future benefits, by improving the morals, the habits, and the social comforts of the mass of the Catholic population of this valuable quarter of the empire, I have little hesitation in recommending the measure you suggest, as one at least worthy of the fullest consideration.

“ I have now fully expressed my sentiments upon the several topics touched upon in your lordship’s two letters, and shall be happy if my judgment, imperfect as it is, should in the least contribute to assist your deliberations. The anxiety of my mind is fully equal to the importance of the matter which daily and hourly presses upon it with more force. I feel the necessity of something being done for the permanent tranquillity, safety, and happiness of Ireland.

“ A temporizing policy is but ill suited to the urgency of the occasion ; and if I am able whilst I remain here to lay the foundations of national union, strength, and integrity, I shall be most happy.

“ Whilst the present fermentation among the Catholics of Dublin continues, these measures must of course be suspended ; but you will have leisure to turn them further in your mind ; and if circumstances should be favourable to the discussion of them, or any part of them, I flatter myself I shall have the advantage of your further opinions.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOT.

1807, January 14. Downing Street.—“ As I perceive by a letter from you to Lord Spencer that you are considering of alterations to be introduced into the Insurrection Act, I send you in confidence an extract of a letter from Lord Buck[ingha]m to myself containing some suggestions respecting courts martial, grounded on his observation of the melancholy scenes that took place in the last rebellion. You will have the goodness to keep this communication entirely to yourself, and merely to avail yourself of any of the suggestions that you may think useful. I should rather think that instead of Serjeants or K[ing]’s Counsel *eo nomine*, Assistant-Judge-Advocates *well*-selected from the Bar, would best answer the purpose.

“ I am waiting impatiently for answers about tithes and Catholic levies.” *Copy.*

EDMOND P. LYON to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 16. Devonshire Place.—“ I think it my duty to address a few words to your lordship on the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade, before Parliament should have proceeded to pass a final determination respecting that most important measure. As to the origin of the Slave Trade, it is superfluous on the present occasion to do anything more than briefly to state that it was established by royal charters and proclamations, and has been for a great number of years, from time to time, sanctioned, protected, and encouraged by divers acts of the British Legislature, which have confirmed the West India colonists in the belief and most perfect assurance and confidence that they should continue to obtain supplies of labourers from Africa ; and they have been induced

to invest their fortunes in the British West India colonies by the unshaken and full conviction that assurances solemnly pledged to them would not be violated. If the West India proprietors should be able to show that they cannot cultivate their properties without having recourse to Africa for labourers, if they have the strongest reasons for dreading that the abolition of the Slave Trade will strike a deadly blow at the very existence of their fortunes, and, nay, even involve the British colonies in the West Indies and their inhabitants in one common scene of ruin, desolation, and destruction, surely it may then be confidently affirmed that to persevere in the accomplishment of such a scheme is a plain dereliction of all the principles of justice, and an attempt to promote the purposes of humanity to the sons of Africa at the expense of an immense sacrifice of the lives of British subjects and of British property. The parliamentary documents, and recent publications, which have appeared upon the subject of the West India trade, have most clearly and satisfactorily established that this country derives great commercial advantages in various ways from her trade with those colonies, and that they are the most valuable appendages of the empire. If any stroke should sever from Britain that branch of commerce, can the ingenuity of any one suggest to the nation any mode of upholding its prosperity, after it shall have sustained so severe a loss.

“ It is peculiarly my business in this address to call your lordship’s attention to the consequences that must result from an abolition of the Slave Trade, which are particularly alarming to the colonists of the extensive island of Jamaica. Authentic reports and returns must have satisfied your lordship that the cultivation of coffee has most rapidly increased in that colony in the last seven or eight years. A considerable number of coffee estates, which are still only infant settlements, cannot be cultivated with any prospect of advantage, without obtaining considerable supplies of labourers. An abolition will compel those coffee planters to sell their negroes immediately, and their lands will be of no value to them. Let me point out another attendant evil. The colony will also lose the benefit of their services in the various capacities of jurors, magistrates, and militia men, ready to defend it against both an internal and external enemy ; for, after they shall have been compelled to abandon their plantations, it cannot be expected that they will remain in a country, which will afford them no opportunities of improving their fortunes. Their negroes hitherto accustomed to reside in those parts of the island adapted to the cultivation of coffee, where a mild and temperate climate prevails, and to be employed in light and easy work, will in many instances be removed to a warmer climate, and will be engaged in the more laborious employment of cultivating the soil for the production of canes. They will, in short, be taken away from

their habitations, and their gardens, and from other comforts endeared to them by habits.

“Allow me to present to your lordship’s view, with the utmost earnestness and anxiety, the disastrous and fatal consequences that must follow, if the measure of the abolition be adopted, from a diminution of the white population; consequences of which no one doubts, who is at all acquainted with the local circumstances of Jamaica. The business of West India estates is conducted by white persons, who reside upon them, and who are at present induced to seek their fortunes in that part of the world. The ground-work of their fortunes is laid, whenever they have acquired as much money as will enable them to purchase a few negroes. They continue to add to the number by their future savings, and their credit, and ultimately become settlers by purchasing lands. The white population of the colony is constantly kept up by such means, and a power exists which is indispensably necessary for preserving due subordination, and for affording the only effectual mode of counter-balancing the negro population. After an abolition shall have been accomplished, no method of acquiring a fortune will present itself to persons in that line of life, and no adequate inducement can be held out to tempt the description of white persons who have hitherto emigrated to our colonies, to adventure thither in future. It will be impracticable to find white persons of good education and decent manners disposed to reside in the West Indies: for, the offer even of augmented salaries, if the proprietors could afford to give them, will not induce them to hazard their lives in that unfavourable climate. It is painful in the extreme to contemplate the situation of Jamaica, which would then be left a prey to the schemes of the negroes, unrestrained by the presence of those to whom they have been hitherto accustomed to pay respect and deference. Without appealing to the powers of the imagination, we may learn from the sad experience of the disasters in Saint Domingo the fate of a colony in which the black power reigns predominant and uncontrolled.

“Much has been said by the supporters of abolition with the view of proving the ability of Jamaica to keep up its present stock of negroes without fresh importations. It may be proper to observe that, independently of any loss which may be supposed to happen among the negroes newly-imported, there is a great decrease of the negro population, which is in a great measure attributable to the disproportion of the sexes, to promiscuous connexions, and to other causes, over which no human care can exercise any control. There are maladies peculiar to the climate of the West Indies which are prevalent at all times, and reduce, in despite of all medical aid, and the utmost attention of the proprietors, an efficient labourer into a state of helplessness and decrepitude, and death often closes the scene. A disease also exists, which cuts off a great

proportion of very young children within a few days after their births. Other disorders producing considerable mortality frequently happen among the negroes, and multitudes of them have perished by famine arising from hurricanes, and have fallen victims to sickness brought on by a scanty and unwholesome diet, which is one of the consequences attendant upon that calamity. I am aware that other circumstances which attach no blame to the proprietors, may be brought forward as contributing to account for the decrease of the negro population, and which have been dwelt on by intelligent writers upon this subject. Experience upon the whole has proved, in opposition to fallacious theory, that the stock of negroes cannot be kept up without supplies of labourers from Africa. I have to ask if it shall be impracticable from any of these causes to maintain a stock of negroes adequate to the purposes of cultivation, what is to become of the unfortunate planter after an abolition shall be passed? He can no where obtain the number of negroes required to supply the losses which have happened among his labourers, and ruin soon stares him in the face. His crops are rapidly diminished from year to year, and he beholds the miserable prospect of debt fast accumulating without possessing the power by his exertions to avert a total overthrow of all his fortune. It is only proposed to give an outline here of this miserable case, but nothing could be more easy than to fill it up with a detail of particulars. Many properties are known to be encumbered by mortgages, and it is equally notorious that the mortgagees of such properties have remained in possession of them for a great length of time past. If the Slave Trade should be abolished, those estates, when restored to their owners, would be delivered to them in a state incapable of yielding any advantage to them. The number of negroes attached to those properties will be exhausted through a long lapse of years from natural causes, during which time no additions to the stock have been made by purchase, for the creditors, intent only on accomplishing payment of their demands by the crops, and possessing neither the power nor the inclination to increase their demands by purchasing negroes, will surrender the estates in want of the indispensable means of future cultivation. Infants during a long minority will be exposed in numerous instances to the same consequences. In this rapid sketch I shall only glance at another circumstance, which may be apprehended from an abolition, and which it is most distressing to contemplate. A want of labourers will be urgently felt by the planters and a supply will be sought for with avidity, as the only means of averting impending ruin. It will be impossible to prevent effectually a clandestine introduction of them. Such a mode of procuring negroes may occasionally be resorted to under some difficulties. At present, whilst a planter knows that he can at any time procure the number of negroes required

for the use of his plantation, he takes care providently to make a suitable preparation for receiving at home the new labourers, whom he is desirous of obtaining. Before he proceeds to purchase them, he provides food, clothing and lodging for them. He carries them to his property, and they are properly taken care of. Hereafter if he shall be forced, when stimulated by the irresistible desire of struggling against imminent destruction, to have recourse to clandestine purchases, he will be anxious not to forego any opportunity of procuring labourers which may present itself, and, apprehensive that if he should postpone the buying of them, his object might altogether be defeated, he will purchase them when he is not prepared to afford them proper necessaries and comforts. I need not dwell on the miserable scenes which must then ensue.

“It now remains for me to call your attention to another circumstance, which it is most painful to dwell on, and which is a source of great and well-grounded dread to the colonists. It is certain that an abolition will be considered by the negroes as connected with the prospect of an emancipation. Even the most unlettered and untutored mind is capable of discerning that the Legislature, which has proceeded to declare that no person shall hereafter be brought to the British colonies in a state of slavery, has been influenced in a great degree to adopt the measure from an abhorrence of slavery, and that much of what has been advanced upon the subject has gone the length of reprobating the existence of slavery in any shape, or under any modification whatever. It will appear to the negroes employed in the service of the planters that the supporters of abolition have done them no service by stopping there, and that on the contrary, the scheme is fraught with injustice to them. The doctrine, which condemns the trade, by which negroes are imported into the West Indies in a state of slavery, cannot be true to its own principle, except it advances one step further, and seeks to annihilate all slavery; for if the importation of a slave be condemnable, is not, according to the same train of reasoning, the keeping of a negro, who is already imported, and his offspring in a state of slavery, liable at least to equal severity of reprehension? I conceive that no one is bold enough to contend that emancipation ought to be made a part of the general plan; and indeed I have the authority of the name of Mr. Pitt for saying that such a measure would be absolute insanity. It is apprehended on very substantial grounds that the abolishing of this trade may dispose the minds of the colonial negroes to assert at their own time, and according to their own will and pleasure, their pretensions to emancipation; they may urge that the power which has put a final period to the slave trade would have proceeded at once to emancipate them, had it not been for the opposition of their masters. They may declare that the leading



abolitionists have expressed their unwillingness to tolerate for a moment any description of slavery; and that they have refrained from urging that consideration upon the attention of Parliament, either from a sense that the fit time for proposing it had not arrived, or from a conviction, that to interfere to that extent would be assuming an improper exercise of power over concerns of private property. Is it to be expected that the labourers in the British West India colonies will patiently, and with due submission, wait until they shall become qualified in the opinion of some of the abolitionists to receive the gift of freedom through their means; or until, according to the wild and fanciful notions of others, the amelioration of their condition will gradually produce their emancipation from the free will of their masters. It is to be dreaded that the negroes, sensible that they possess a great superiority of numbers, and that their constitutions and habits of life render them able to contend with manifest advantage in countries abounding in fastnesses, and peculiarly favourable to their mode of warfare. will bring forward at no distant day, after the abolition shall be passed, their claims to freedom; and successfully defy all that can be done against them by the combined efforts of a diminished white population, and of any proportion of regular military force which can be employed in endeavouring to quell their revolt. Their minds will be discontented by the hardships produced by the abolition, for they will soon observe with pain and vexation that their owners, debarred of the usual opportunities of obtaining fellow-labourers to assist them in their occupations, will be compelled to augment their work with the view of postponing as long as they can, impending ruin. This awful crisis will come when, in consequence of the abolition, the white population of the colonies has been considerably lessened, and when the negroes, looking around them in a country almost destitute of white inhabitants, will see no force capable of affording any effectual opposition to their schemes. Desolation may then rear it's head unmolested, and the British colonies, but, more especially, the extensive island of Jamaica, at such a tremendous time could expect no relief from any number of military troops, whose efforts would be unavailing in attempting to contend against a baneful climate, and the thousands upon thousands of their opponents enured to the situation, in which they had chosen to act, and deriving a most powerful auxiliary in the nature of the country. From these considerations I am led to conclude that the abolition of the Slave Trade would occasion diminished commerce, diminished revenue, and diminished navigation; and in the end sap and totally remove the great corner stone of British prosperity by the accomplishment of the total overthrow, and destruction of her colonies.

“Many most urgent reasons impel me to write to your lordship upon this subject, and I beg leave to add that it

may perhaps be advisable hereafter to give a general circulation to the substance of this letter; but, in such an event, care shall be taken to avoid any reference to the mode of which I now avail myself, in communicating my sentiments to your lordship."

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 18. Phoenix Park.—“Elliot has recently received the enclosed letter from Mr. Bisset. In a conversation I had with the Primate upon the professional character of some of the clergy of his diocese last summer, he spoke of Mr. Bisset in the terms of high approbation. This undoubtedly was an additional motive with me for wishing for an early opportunity of promoting your wishes in favour of Mr. Bisset, and I am persuaded that your lordship is fully satisfied with the assurances I gave you upon this subject in my former letter.”

*Enclosed.*

REVEREND WILLIAM BISSET to WILLIAM ELLIOT.

1807, January 14. Armagh.—“I took the liberty of troubling you with a letter in the course of last autumn, which you did me the honour to reply to in the most obliging manner. My object was to request, for reasons which I then assigned, that you would have the goodness to communicate to Lord Grenville the opinion respecting me expressed by the Primate in answer to the Duke of Bedford’s enquiry. You were pleased to say that you thought my wish on that point very natural, and that you would acquaint Lord Grenville with what had passed when you went to England.

“I am well aware that you must have had many things of great moment in your mind at that time, but if this little circumstance did not altogether escape your recollection, you will confer a valuable obligation by letting me know what notice his lordship took of it, and what sort of expectations I may indulge.

“I hope you will consider me as the more justified in making this request, because Lord Grenville referred me wholly to you; and, may I add, because it is of the utmost importance to me to be apprized of the extent of his lordship’s intentions in my favour.

“I have the pleasure to assure you that I cannot discover a symptom of discontent in this neighbourhood; none of that suspension of industry, or secret caballing, that preceded all the former disturbances, have appeared in this populous country.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 18. Dublin Castle.—“Your letter of the 14th instant (by express) with its enclosure reached me yesterday.

You will, I flatter myself, have no objection to my keeping Lord Buckingham's valuable observations on military tribunals, though they do not apply to the Insurrection Act. That law does not contain any provision for the erection of courts martial. These courts were established under the Martial Law Bill, which has long since expired, and which I sincerely hope we shall never have occasion to revive.

"The plan for recruiting from the Catholic population of Ireland, suggested in your letter to the Lord Lieutenant, seems far the most eligible of any of the schemes which have been hitherto proposed. It makes no encroachment on the regulations of your present military system, and I feel convinced it will prove as efficacious as the formation of new levies. If the experiment is tried, I conceive any of the three battalions mentioned in the paper I transmitted to you would, in point of local connection, be well adapted for the purpose, provided there is a sufficient number of vacant commissions in them. It would certainly be desirable also to select two or three Catholic field-officers, and these the Duke of York will probably be able to point out to you. If any names should occur to me, I will suggest them to you.

"The two principal objects are, as you observe, to interest the Catholic *gentry* and the *clergy* in the success of the measure.

"The first of these objects will be *in some degree* provided for by commissions; but to provide for it *completely*, you must remove the restrictions on Catholic service. With what face can Government invite a Catholic of rank and fortune into the military profession while neither merit nor experience can advance him to any command beyond that of a regiment?

"With regard to the clergy, I think their aid may be secured, 1st, by a *public* order directing that all Catholic soldiers shall enjoy the free exercise of their religious rites; 2ndly, by letting it be understood that Roman Catholic priests will be permitted to be attached to such regiments as shall be chiefly composed of persons of that persuasion, and that a proper subsistence will be afforded them.

"Whether service in South America will be considered as a boon, I doubt. On all these points I can sound some of the leading Catholics, if you have no objection to my doing so. It will, however, be better to avoid touching on such topics till we see our way further about the question of petition.

"There was another Catholic meeting yesterday, which, however, only received the report of their deputation to the Castle, and adjourned for a week. From the conferences that have passed between the Chancellor and Keogh, I should hope that, if *any* concessions can be made this session, a petition might be prevented. Hitherto all we have been able to do is to keep ourselves in such a position as may enable us to adopt such language and conduct as you may prescribe

to us from your side of the water. The deputies are to come to me again on Wednesday, when, on a consultation with the Chancellor, it is thought best that I should say the Lord Lieutenant will communicate with the English Government.

"I enclose a report, which Mr. Trail has received from a *private* informant, of the proceedings of the meeting of yesterday, and which I intended to transmit to Lord Speneer; but, as it is an early tide, and I am apprehensive of my letters being too late, I shall be obliged to you if you will have the goodness to send it him. There is nothing in it of importance. The rumour of my having been seen coming out of Keogh's house, is, you may imagine, quite without foundation. I confess I grieve to see the Catholic interests in such hands. The thinness of the attendance at the meeting is a favourable symptom, but I still think we shall find it very difficult to stop a petition; and a petition would, in every view of the subject, be most embarrassing."

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 25.—"I am so unwell this evening as to be quite unable to attend Cabinet; but, in the hope that the outline of the proposition chalked out by Lord Howick last night will be adopted, that h[is] M[ajesty] will be advised to accompany his permission to the Princess to appear again before him, with a clear and strong animadversion on the many parts of her conduct which are so justly liable to censure, I beg to be understood as giving my cordial assent to such advice, and earnestly beg to have my name recorded as doing so."\*

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO THE SAME.

1807, January 25. 11 Harley Street.—"I had a conversation yesterday with Mr. Windham upon the subject of the transmission of the orders to India, relative to the preparations to be made there, for the expedition on which I gave you memoranda in November last.

"Mr. Windham desired me to send him a memorandum upon the subject, of which I enclose a copy."

*Enclosing:—*

(1) MEMORANDUM ON THE SUBJECT OF A BRITISH EXPEDITION TO NEW SPAIN, DATED JANUARY 25, 1807.

"In reference to the memoranda which I gave to His Majesty's ministers on the 20th of November last relative to the orders to be transmitted to India on the 1st of February,† I have to observe, unless those orders should be now prepared, the troops will not be in readiness to sail from the Hoogly in October next, admitting that the orders will be five months on their passage to Calcutta.

\* This letter refers to the inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, particulars relating to which are printed in the Appendix to this volume.

† Printed in the Appendix.

“ If on the 1st of May Government should be of opinion that the expedition, with a view to which these orders were to be issued, ought not to take place, they may then send orders to India to countermand the sailing of the troops, which will arrive there, calculating a passage of the same length, on the 1st of October ; the period fixed for the departure of the expedition from the Hoogly. The inconvenience in this case will be the expense of collecting the volunteers at Calcutta, and of the preparations for their voyage.

“ If on the 1st of June Government should be of opinion that the expedition ought not to be undertaken, a vessel despatched at that period from England may be expected to arrive in less than five months, or before the end of October, at Prince of Wales’ Island ; where it would meet the Bengal detachment at that period. The inconvenience in this case would be the additional expense incurred for transport.

“ By the 1st of June it is probable that Government would have been under the necessity of deciding upon the expedition with a view to the execution of the parts of the service to be performed in this country. But if for any reason which cannot at present be foreseen, it should be necessary to give up the plan at as late a period as the 1st of August, a vessel despatched from England at that period will arrive at Botany Bay by the end of December, at which time it will find the Bengal detachment at that place.

“ The only inconvenience therefore resulting from the despatch of the orders to India at the present moment will be the expense which will have been incurred, if it should be necessary to countermand them ; and, on the other hand, if they should not now be sent, the expedition will not sail till after October ; and possibly may not arrive in New Spain till the season when the rains will have commenced.

(2) RESULT OF A CONVERSATION WITH MR. FRAZER ON THE 6TH AND 7TH OF NOVEMBER.

1st. “ The best season for going to Mexico is from November to May. The rains cease in November and commence in May.

2nd. “ There are many landing places on the coast of Mexico to the northward of La Vera Cruz, in countries, which at the distance of a few miles from the coast are healthy and plentiful. Mr. Frazer has had vessels in many of these places, from which he has sent his goods by a road communicating with the high road from La Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico.

3rd. “ During the months of November, December, and January the northerly and north-west gales are frequent in the gulf of Mexico, and would be very dangerous to a fleet at anchor upon the coast. There is no harbour in the gulf of Mexico excepting Pensacola. The Island of St. Juan D’Alloa off La Vera Cruz would not afford shelter to more

than 35 or 40 vessels. These gales of wind, however, from the north and north-west do not last more than two or three days. Those accustomed to the navigation of these seas know from the appearance of the weather, when they are coming on; and the common mode adopted of placing the ships in safety is to go to sea, and remain at a distance from the coast till the gale is over. The interval of fine weather between these gales is commonly about 15 days; and in that time a fleet of vessels can remain in safety on any part of the coast of Mexico.

4th. "On the north and east coast of the Peninsula of Yucatan is a bank with soundings extending above 40 leagues from the land. On this bank a fleet might ride at anchor in safety, throughout one of these gales; and part of the fleet might be sheltered from its violence by some of the islands and shoals on the bank.

5th. "The coast of Yucatan, excepting Campeachy, is open and defenceless; the country very dry and healthy; and one of the most plentiful in the world in rice and fresh provisions of every kind.

6th. "A fleet would be sheltered from the northerly gales in the bays of Honduras and Amatique; and could anchor in security. Small vessels of 150 tons burden, might go up the Golfo Dolce at the mouth of Rio Grande, as far as Bodegas Altas, the principal port of the province of Guatemala on the east coast. According to Mr. Frazer's information, acquired from the captains of vessels sent to trade there (for he has never been there himself) there would be no impediment to this voyage; and troops would land in a healthy and plentiful country at the distance of about 75 miles from the city of Guatemala.

7th. "Mr. Frazer does not know the ports of the west coast of New Spain on the Pacific, excepting Panama. He says, however, that the weather is uniformly so fine, and the sea so moderate on that coast, and so many islands and banks afford shelter all along the coast, that a fleet would find no difficulty in remaining at anchor on any part of it. Mr. Frazer knows that there is a port of Guatemala in the south seas at no great distance from the city of Guatemala, but he has no description of it.

### (3) OBSERVATIONS UPON THE CONVERSATION WITH MR. FRAZER.

1st. "Although the rains may cease in November the countries in the tropics are never healthy for one month at least after the rains have ceased. Indeed from my experience I should say that month was the most unhealthy in the year.

3rd. "I am informed that this expedient would not answer for a fleet of transports; any more than that proposed in the 4th paragraph. They might answer for a single ship, well found and manned; but not for a fleet of transports.

6th. "Information upon this point should be sought for from General Nugent; or from some person connected with the trade in the Bay of Honduras.

7th. "I doubt whether we shall be able to obtain any information upon the ports in the South seas. Dampier differs with Mr. Frazer in his account of the state of the weather on this coast. But he was there in October during the rainy season in Mexico. He found no harbour, and failed in many attempts to land owing to the surf. The harbour of the province of Guatemala on the Pacific, is called by the French authors La Trinité; and it is probably the same that is called Guatemala by Mr. Frazer."

*Private.* LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 26. Pall Mall.—"The paper is in a state to be submitted to the Cabinet whenever you think proper. I shall beg you and Lord Howick to look it over to see if it is what you intended; but till you wish to see it, I shall continue to write copies of it, as it is my only way of correcting inaccuracies."

*Private and Confidential.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1807, January 27. Dublin Castle.—"As I fear many difficulties would be experienced in attempting too sudden or extensive a change in our staff, I am at present only induced to suggest that, if the efficient Major-Generals could be spared for service in Ireland, an opening might be made for them by the removal of Generals Waller and Peter. I am told that Major-Generals Payne and Cotton gave great satisfaction while they were on this establishment. They are now both on the English staff, and I therefore presume they would not like to be transferred to Ireland; especially General Cotton who, I understand, is soliciting a station in the West of England in consequence of the infirm state of Mrs. Cotton's health. If, however, General Payne could be prevailed on to come hither, he would, from the report I have heard of him, prove an useful acquisition to this staff.

"The Duke of York may perhaps feel an embarrassment in moving a *Lieutenant-General*, but it would be a very beneficial arrangement if an active and able officer of that rank could be sent in the room of General Trench, who, though a man personally much esteemed in his district, is certainly not competent to the very important charge which is entrusted to him.

"We have had no letters to-day from Serjeant Moore, but I yesterday saw a letter from General Campbell to the Adjutant-General giving a favourable description of the state in which he found the County of Sligo.

"We are most anxious for your instructions on the subject of the Catholics. I fear much that you have great obstacles

to encounter at Windsor, and, if they should prove insuperable, it will be a sad calamity."

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1807, January 28. Downing Street.—“In consequence of the termination of the enquiry relative to the conduct of the Princess of Wales, and of the answer this day sent to her Royal Highness from his Majesty through the Lord Chancellor,\* I have suggested to his Majesty the propriety of his taking an opportunity to converse personally with your Royal Highness on the subject; and his Majesty has commanded me to express to your Royal Highness His desire that your Royal Highness should go to Windsor for that purpose to-morrow.” *Copy.*

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 28. Carlton House.—“I have this moment received your lordship’s letter, and shall make a point of obeying his Majesty’s commands, by paying my duty at Windsor as early as possible to-morrow morning. Lord Moira has been so good to inform me how kindly active you have been, for which I return you many thanks.”

LORD GRENVILLE to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, January 30. Downing Street.—“As I well know the interest you take in the success of our measures here, I take the liberty of enclosing to you a statement which I have drawn up of the plan proposed last night by Lord Henry Petty to the House of Commons.

“It is still imperfect by the absence of some of the tables which are not yet delivered from the printers, but I preferred sending it to you in this shape to delaying it longer, because I was anxious to put you in possession as early as possible of the outlines of the measure, and to learn your sentiments and suggestions upon it.” *Copy.*

LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, January 30. Pall Mall.—“I wish very much to have ten minutes conversation with you on a subject that will not admit of delay; and as I am not enough recovered from a severe pain in the face to expose myself to the air, venture to hope that you can make it convenient to call here in the course of to-morrow.

“I wish you joy of the brilliant manner in which the financial plan was both opened and received in the House of Commons.”

AN OLD PLANTER to THE SAME.

[1807, January.]—“The abolition of the Slave Trade is a subject which has long agitated the public mind, and as there

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\* Printed in the Appendix.



is now a prospect of its being speedily effected, I beg leave to convey to the public the sentiments of an old planter thereon. I am proprietor of two estates in the West Indies, and feeling as I do, the expediency as well as humanity of the measure, I most cordially wish it success. I am happy in this opportunity of bearing testimony to the philanthropy of Mr. Wilberforce, whose unwearied exertions in its support, from motives of the purest benevolence, merit a higher eulogium than my feeble pen can bestow.

“I have passed upwards of 50 years of my life in the islands, during which time I have been actively engaged in the manufacturing of sugar and rum, and have had the care and management of upwards of 3,000 slaves; I am therefore willing to persuade myself that my observations may carry some weight with them on the score of experience, and I shall be happy if they tend to remove any unfavourable impressions from the minds of gentlemen having property in the islands and resident in this country, who may possibly conceive the intended abolition will lessen its value. Very different, I confess are my views of the subject. The general average of a gang of negroes on an estate was formerly looked upon to be about 60*l.* sterling per head; at present, I consider them to be worth 100*l.* Proprietors of land in an infant state may perhaps think themselves aggrieved, as they cannot be any longer supplied with new negroes; but I am decidedly of opinion that, if due attention be paid them, the number of slaves at present in the islands will not only be kept up, but will increase in proportion to the care taken of them. It may not be amiss to state the method I pursue in the management of my own slaves. It is a rule with me never to push them for the sake of making a few hogsheads more of sugar. I never suffer them to be punished with undue severity, always wink at trifles, attend to their complaints and redress their grievances in the best manner I am able. However pressing the work on the plantation, I never debar them of one day in the week, out of crop, exclusive of Sunday; which day is chiefly employed in working their own grounds, and planting provisions. I allow them as much land as they can cultivate for their provisions, and a good piece of cane-land, as contiguous to their houses as circumstances will admit, that they may be able the better to attend to it. In the month of May I allot a piece of cane-land to my negroes to plant yams and potatoes; they dig them in December following, and the same land is in January holed and planted in canes, and will produce more sugar than if it had not been given them, because it is well turned up by drawing the yams. Were this method duly attended to, I will venture to say it would be productive of great advantage not only to the slaves, but to the proprietors of every sugar estate throughout the islands. The negroes should be encouraged to keep their little stock of pigs and poultry, and when they ask for half a

day or a day and assign good reason for their request, I never refuse it, particularly to women who have children. I regularly give them clothing once a year, and to the poorer negroes as often as they need it. With regard to the sick, I have generally found the cook to be the best doctor. Should there be symptoms of fever, which chiefly arises from colds, a few grains of James's powders and calomel, given in time, will generally effect a cure. A proper woman should be selected as a nurse for the sick. If a negro complain of being unwell he or she should be sent to the sick house, and they will generally return the next morning to their work, with more vigour and spirit. Pregnant women should not be put to hard labour, as digging cane-holes or carrying heavy burdens, but some light work should be assigned them, such as weeding. A careful and trusty woman should have the care of the children, and great attention should be paid to keeping them clean, and a proper quantity of flour and sugar should be allowed the mother per week. Mothers of young children should be allowed at least an hour more than the other negroes, morning and afternoon, before they go into the field; and they should not be required to carry grass, noon and night as other negroes do. Particular attention should also be paid to the building of their huts; they should be erected in a healthy situation, and kept dry and warm. Some situations are so unhealthy that even the negroes, inured as they are to hardships, cannot enjoy health for any time; and in such, an increase cannot be expected; but were they removed to some more healthy spot, and properly treated, according to the plan I have here laid down, they would soon become healthy and their numbers increase. Some gentlemen, resident in England, are in the habit of giving their managers or attorneys a guinea for every hogshead of sugar shipped; but, in my opinion, if they would allow them a handsome premium for every negro child reared on their estate, and also the means of taking care of them, independent of their salaries, they would find it turn to much better account; and I am thoroughly persuaded (and I speak from long experience) that by pursuing the mode of treatment here pointed out, the population of negroes would so far increase as to render any further importation unnecessary.

“There is another material point to which I would particularly wish to call the attention of the Legislature, that is the repeal of some of the colonial laws where the life of a slave may be taken away by a summary process. This, it is well known, is the case in most of the islands; and I earnestly wish to see such laws totally abolished, and that no slave should be condemned to suffer death but by the verdict of a jury of twelve men, in the same manner as is done by the worst of his Majesty's subjects. I have seen enough to authorise me to say, the life of many a valuable slave would be saved.

“Many gentlemen have supposed the abolition of the slave trade would affect the minds of the negroes when they come to understand no more are to be imported. But I am of a very different opinion, and from the knowledge I have of their general disposition, am firmly persuaded they will rejoice at it. They will say, if there are no more slaves to be brought to us, master will for his own interest take the better care of us. Had the trade continued without any restriction, there would be such a quantity of sugar made, that, in my opinion, the old estates that did not make a superior quality, must in a few years be absolutely ruined. Sugars of an inferior description would not sell for as much as would pay the expenses; indeed I will venture to say they do not much exceed this at present. For the reasons above mentioned, I give it as my decided opinion that both interest and humanity combine in putting an effectual stop to the further importation of slaves.

“This is not an opinion lightly taken up, but is founded on observation and confirmed by experience; and I am fully persuaded that, were the hints I have thrown out duly attended to by those who are more immediately interested therein, they would soon perceive the beneficial effects of them.”

*Private and Confidential.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 6. Dublin Castle.—“I enclose a letter which Elliot has received from Mr. Claudius Beresford. I wish to take no step in this business without the sanction of your approbation; whilst I feel that you will agree with me in the necessity of keeping with inviolable faith the agreement made with Lord Waterford’s family, in which the objects named by Mr. Beresford appear to form a leading part, Coleraine being exclusively his borough property. It would be desirable that I should have an ostensible letter from you on the subject; and as Lord Ponsonby was rather sore upon the arrangement, it might be well that your lordship should take an opportunity of coming to an explanation with him on that part of it which relates to Coleraine; or of conveying your sentiments to him through the medium of Lord Howick.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO W. ELLIOT.

1807, February 6. Downing Street.—“I have only an instant to write to you. It happens most unfortunately that just at this moment Lord Spencer should have fallen ill; so much so that we can neither see nor concert with him.

“I cannot well anticipate the decision of Cabinet on the despatch which we have this morning received from the Lord Lieutenant, but you perceive, of course, that there is no possibility of your having that decision by the 9th, when you

reflect that, after we have determined on one of the most difficult questions that we could have to consider, we shall then have to submit that decision to the King, and to remove, (if that be possible) the objections he may feel to it.

“I have great difficulties in recommending the giving any concessions as the price of forbearance, by which means they come not as given but as extorted.

“The agitating the whole question in Parliament for the sake of the point of sheriffs, seems to me (I speak individually) a question not to be thought of. Better than that would be, if we must discuss the whole matter in Parliament, to do so in the great point. But this we cannot do without breaking up the Government; and who shall say that we shall be justified in doing this *now*, after having last year consented to come in without making any such stipulation.

“You never have told us, nor do I guess, how we can facilitate the admission of Catholics into corporations.

“The unlimited extension of the army is, I think, right in itself and might probably be carried here; but, as a means of quieting, it could not operate beyond this year.” *Copy.*

*Private.* SIR JOHN MACPHERSON TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 9. Brompton.—“Your polite attention to my communications at a late audience, I felt and will always remember with real satisfaction.

“To-morrow I am to appear before the Carnatic Commissioners; and though the debts due to me are exclusively founded upon accepted bills of exchange, and confirmed by the two Nabobs, in accounts adjusted with my attorneys; though they were due before the act of 1784, and that the creditor might have repeatedly paid himself, had he not devoted the recovery of the debt to the most urgent exigencies of the public service, still I believe the law, which has wisely fixed the Commissioners to certain investigations, will oblige them to investigate the mission I had from the Nabob in 1777; when his Majesty, by the advice of his first Minister, accepted the trust of the Nabob’s will. That acceptance and the Nabob’s confidential communication of the secret offers of France, led to the reduction of Pondicherry in 1778, and the subsequent security of India.

“I felt it a duty to the present administration, as well as a respectful devotion to the best of sovereigns, to suggest certain confidential ideas to the present Minister for India, so as to obviate any unfavourable remarks that party spirit might bring forward relative to the royal acceptance of the Nabob’s will, and recent changes in the Carnatic.

“Lord Sidmouth can inform your lordship of interesting particulars relative to the *Senatus Consultum*, which followed the formation and deposit of the *secret will* and *testament* of the *actual ruler* of France, with the power of altering it,

as was connected with the deposit of the Nabob's will. Were that ruler to fall in battle or by the stiletto to-morrow, his last will, when opened, will fix the constituted authorities, and form a new hostility to this country.

"The good Nabob's will, if opened, would mark the superiority of his devoted attachment to the British sovereign, and to the British nation; and a few easy regulations in favour of his family, and his grandson, the actual Nabob, would fully acquit his Majesty and his late minister, Lord North, in all that was promised, or could, under actual circumstances, be done for the Nabob's successors.

"I take the liberty of enclosing for your lordship's perusal attested copies of the Nabob's letters to his Majesty and Lord North, and their answers relative to the will. Your lordship's attentive politeness in returning the last paper I communicated, encourages me to this communication."

*Private.* W. ELLIOT to THE SAME.

1807, February 9. Dublin Castle.—"You must permit me to return you my best thanks for the copy, which you have been so good as to send me, of the statement of your plan of finance; and I trust it will not be unacceptable to you to know that the measure has been received with as general satisfaction and approbation on this side of the channel as it seems to have been on yours. I have really heard but one sentiment about it.

"Having regularly detailed to Lord Spencer every circumstance that has occurred relative to the proceedings of the Catholics, I have not felt it necessary to trouble you with my correspondence on the subject. It is now six o'clock, and I probably shall not have any report of the result of the meeting of to-day until after the sailing of the packet. From what dropped from Lord Fingall and Sir Edward Bellevue, when they were with me yesterday, it appeared to be their wish that an adjournment should take place in order to allow more time for an answer from England; but it was rumoured this morning that there would be a resolution to petition without further delay. Much will depend on Keogh, whose influence with the Catholic Body (especially with the Dublin Catholics) is very considerable. His speech to the meeting held on the 24th of January, soon after the interview of the Deputies with the Chancellor and me, was published this morning; and I enclose a copy of it, as it affords a true specimen of the vehemence and *craft* of his character."

*Private.* THE SAME to THE SAME.

1807, February 10. Dublin Castle.—"Your note of the 6th instant reached me last night. No one can, I assure you, be more thoroughly alive to the embarrassment of the subject now under your consideration than I am. I do admit that

any concessions made now would have the appearance of being the price of forbearance, and would therefore come with diminished merit in the eyes of the Catholics. It is indisputable too that nothing material could be granted without touching the Act of 1793, which would of course bring the whole question into discussion. But I do not see how the agitation of it in one way or other is to be avoided ; for though it is doubtful whether the relaxations suggested might induce the Catholics to desist from their intention of petitioning, it seems *quite certain* that *without* an assurance of such concessions they will persevere ; and if a petition should be presented and not be supported by Government, I much dread the consequence would be the alienation of the Catholic Body from the Administration. I have repeatedly stated in my correspondence with Lord Spencer that it is by no means a *clear* point that the concessions alluded to would prevent a petition. I confess myself to be *very diffident* on this head ; and Keogh's growing influence at the meetings does not diminish my distrust. No specific propositions of this nature were made to me by any of the Deputies, but the Chancellor collected them in the course of his private conversations with Lord French and Keogh ; and the former, in a confidential discourse he had a few days since with the Chancellor, added to the list the admission to the rank of King's Counsel. I must observe too that no man can say whether these concessions would prevent a fresh agitation of the question next year. The Chancellor, however, thinks that some positive assurance might be obtained that no subsequent application should be made during the King's reign ; but I acknowledge I do not well see how any *secure* pledge of this sort could be obtained from a body which consists of so many different factions and leaders. The unlimited extension of the army *alone* would, I am afraid, *just now* be more injurious than beneficial ; for, as I mentioned in one of my letters to Lord Spencer, the Catholics would say that you opened the army to them merely because the public difficulties call for greater military exertions, and that more indulgences might have been procured for them if you had been in earnest. I hear that Keogh, in the meeting of yesterday, talked of an expectation of every thing being conceded short of seats in Parliament.

"I have been thus full on the topic of concessions that you may be distinctly apprised of how the facts stand. At the same time I cannot conceal from you that my opinion leans to concession, if any substantial indulgences can be granted ; and I cannot help thinking that the office of sheriff to which the Catholics certainly attach great value, the army, the bar, and the admission into bank direction and into offices of other corporations might do a good deal. Newport can give you useful information on the subject of corporations. The Bill which he introduced last session and which was rejected, would, if I mistake not, have in some degree facilitated

the admission of Catholics into corporations ; and this circumstance raised the clamour against it. I have no copy of it, and really forget the provisions of it. His Bill, however, would not have opened corporate offices to them, from which they are at present in point of fact excluded ; for, though the Act of '93 enables them to hold any office in, or to be members of any corporation, it provides that no person shall be enabled to hold any such office contrary to rules and orders established under the 17th and 18th, Charles 2nd ; which Rules and Orders prescribe oaths not compatible with the Catholic tenets. The Lord Lieutenant may, to be sure, dispense with one of these oaths (that of supremacy) but it is a power which he has never of late years exercised. Newport, I believe, means to bring in his bill again this year. It was in a great measure owing to the late period of the session at which he introduced it, that it was before rejected."

*Postscript.*—"The Lord Lieutenant sends you the resolutions of the meeting of yesterday, and I enclose the copy of a short minute of them which I have just received."

*Enclosure.*

PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND  
HELD IN DUBLIN.

1807, February 10. Dublin Castle.—"The meeting of the Roman Catholics of Ireland was held yesterday at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in Earl Street.

"Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, French, and Southwell, were present. Mr. Keogh, in a speech of great length, explained the business on which they were called, urged the favourable circumstances which warranted the success of a petition at this time. The friends of the Catholics were in power, but could not of themselves bring their claims before Parliament ; but, coming before them, no doubt could be entertained that all their talents and influence would be exerted in their behalf. He observed, if in 1805 they had so ably defended their cause and urged their claims, they must on every principle of consistency, at the present crisis, feel the measure of their emancipation more and more necessary and advisable. Four millions of loyal and suffering subjects implored relief from various vexations and oppressions from his Majesty's Government, and it would be madness to presume, after what has been so recently witnessed on the Continent, that their claim would be disregarded. Ministers would conceive such a conduct to be futhering the views and encouraging the hopes of Bonaparte. They would regard it as nothing less than recruiting for his armies. One thing of all others he most particularly recommended ; *unanimity amongst themselves*. On the necessity of this he dwelt a considerable time, and most zealously advised that the packet of this night should convey to the Minister that, in their determination of petitioning, they were unanimous.

“The motion ‘*that this is a proper time to petition*’ was not relished by some of the meeting. It was urged as more eligible that it should stand—‘*that we do now petition.*’ After some conversation the amendment was withdrawn, and the resolution, as originally proposed, was unanimously agreed to. No difference of opinion appeared in the meeting but on that one point, except that some persons wished that a petition should be produced *instantly*, and agreed to without further procrastination. But this proposition was overruled by Mr. Keogh, who was on his legs several times.

“A committee of five were appointed, who are ordered to prepare a petition, and the meeting was adjourned to this day sevenight.

“No less than five petitions had been prepared. Mr. Keogh said ‘he never before saw the Catholics of Ireland *together*’; meaning that they never before were *unanimous*.

“Lord Fingal declared at dinner yesterday ‘he never would again act in opposition to the Catholic majority.’” *Copy.*

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 11. Stowe.—“Your letter of this morning has indeed most deeply afflicted, as well as surprised, me. I was aware of what was going on in Ireland, and have not been idle on a matter so interesting, having taken every precaution to endeavour to keep down the expectations, which never can be put down, so long as there exists such a premium as the times have shown to result almost invariably from the most eager and violent clamour. There always will be a party to be bought off, and one noisy man is always sure to be succeeded by one equally clamorous. The bulk of the Catholic body is—I am persuaded—satisfied that in the actual state of the King’s mind it is not possible to obtain more from him; and would be more than satisfied to wait events under the Government of those who, practically, would not oppress them. I should not therefore despair of seeing this sentiment very strongly expressed, if they were satisfied that all had been urged in favour of the palliative offered to the King; but I am not quite sure it has been wise to bring forward for the experiment upon his mind, a measure which, in truth, is of so little real use to them, as that which you proposed to insert by two clauses in the Mutiny Act. In the first place, Irish Catholics, in point of practice here in England, and in point of law in Ireland, find no difficulty in getting commissions in the army; and I could name some very lately put very high by the Duke of York for meritorious service abroad.

“The toleration *by law* of their religion here would, in point of fact, only put them on the same footing *legally* as in Ireland; and practically I am persuaded that the thing might be insured to them, without striking that string on which the King has clearly no use of judgment.



“ I have always held to the Catholics the same language tending to reprobate the folly of pledging people against them in Parliament by renewing a petition which would certainly be negatived so long as the King lived, and was able to raise the cry of Church and King against them ; and with these impressions I cannot approve the idea of surrendering my judgment on the time and mode, to the heat or the knavery of whoever is most noisy amongst the Catholics. And I entertain the very strongest doubts whether Government ought to consider the proposition made to the King as one to which they are engaged to the extent that appears to you to leave you no alternative. I think that the points themselves never could be stated as a *sine quâ non*, for they are not of sufficient importance to the Catholics ; and certainly will not be considered, either by our friends or by the public, as of magnitude enough to justify you in resigning and breaking up a Government which, sooner or later, will carry its point, if you watch the moment ; and which will infallibly by their resignation destroy any possibility of carrying a measure on which I think so seriously, as to hold you very deeply bound to all the consequences.

“ I agree with you in the view of the good that might have arisen from the measure proposed, if the King’s acquiescence could have been insured ; but I cannot conscientiously say that the state of Ireland required you to state it as a *sine quâ non*, or to infer from the King’s refusal the necessity of breaking up the Government for such a *lana caprina*, as that which is to be exhibited as the point in question. But if I in my conscience think that you are not so justified, let me ask you how you can expect either friend or foe to view it more favourably ; or how you can hope to reconcile to the approbation of your conduct the great body of England who, after the very late decision by Parliament on the subject, had a right to expect that the question should be kept dormant, at least so far as Government could so keep it ? You will say that you cannot keep the petition quiet. I agree with you, but being perfectly satisfied that the *whole measure* cannot pass during the life of the King, I should (if I had been consulted) have advised a course of acting which could not be mistaken, and which would equally secure your claim to consistency.

“ When you tell me that you are fully resolved—and you trust your friends are—not to struggle for the [retention of place] by your Government, I conclude that you are open to the advice of those who certainly think as highly of the fair fame of consistency, and would be little disposed to a paltry struggle for *place*, if *place* were the only object. But there are too many collateral considerations mixed up with this question, and I should be much more inclined to doubt the wisdom of the step taken, if I imagined you or your friends—public or private—tied and bound to break up the Government upon the King’s imbecile and mulish rejection

of the *nothing* that you proposed to him. On every other point you appear to be as much masters of your game as you could wish ; and upon any real point, the public mind would go with you ; but in this matter I verily believe that no one creature would bear you out in the step to which you advert ; and the real mischief that you will have done will be absolutely and entirely irreparable. I know that you will not like this language, but I think I see clearly that the whole may be parried without serious struggle, and with such explanations as may satisfy the Catholics. I had even yesterday begun a letter with this view to Dr. Milner, who leads their upper clergy, and had written to me to desire me to direct the tone they should take. His letter is full of the most entire confidence in *you*, and only presses for whatever may support, and enable *you*—to serve them at your own time, and in your own way. I have therefore every certainty that a considerable stand may be made, and that Government might at least divide the petitioners, by procuring an address from a great proportion of them, leaving the time to your discretion. But in the present state of things, as explained by your letter, I dare not write that, or anything else till I hear further from you. Milner is now at Wolverhampton, where he lives ; but I am sure he would go to Ireland or any where to serve you, and if you wish it, I would endeavour to work by him. At all events, I shall consider the dissolution of this Government as an evil so transcendent that every other consideration sinks before it ; and would almost in any case induce me to urge you to pause ; but in this matter I must say that my judgment does not go with you in the steps which you have taken, and still less do they appear to me to bear you out in those which you conceive as necessarily arising from them.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 12. Stowe.—“ I cannot describe to you the satisfaction I felt in reading your note of this morning. My letter of yesterday will have shown you that I did not rate very highly the object in question ; but it is clear that you estimate it very high from the anxiety you have felt and the extent to which you pressed it. I am therefore delighted at the satisfactory arrangement to which you advert, and if you can make any use of me or my influence with Dr. Milner, to reconcile the mess, whatever it may be, to my wrong-headed countrymen, pray do not spare me ; and at all events pray let me know what the final arrangement is on the points at issue.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, February 12. Downing Street.—“ I have just seen Sir John Newport to speak to him on the subject of your Grace’s letter. We had here a little misunderstood the wish you had

expressed for delay on the tithe question, and had taken it as applying more generally than you meant it. Since we found how anxious you were for a speedy answer on the Catholic question, we have done all in our power to make that answer as speedy as possible. Our difficulties have been great, and Lord Spencer's dispatch of this date will acquaint you with the result.

"The line being thus taken, what remains is to make it as effectual as possible by using every possible exertion to discourage the idea of petitioning, and to obtain, if it can be done, a declaration of acquiescence and confidence from the moderate and well-disposed part of the body.

"I am quite sure you will do all that can be done towards this, but know too much of the natural lead which the most violent are apt to take in such discussions and meetings to look with very great confidence to our succeeding in it. If it fails, and our conduct in the discussion of the question should give offence to the Catholic body in general, we shall at least not have to reproach ourselves with their perverseness; and though they may abuse us, they will not readily find others who will befriend them more.

"When the measure has passed in Parliament, it will be of great importance that we should be prepared with some military arrangements in consequence of it, and I should particularly wish that you would in the interval consider of a list of persons to be recommended from amongst the Catholics for subalterns' commissions, in order that there may be a manifestation of immediately acting upon the new provisions of the law." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOTT.

1807, February 13. Downing Street.—"I have not had time to write to you these last three days as fully as I had wished on the interesting subject which has occupied almost all my thoughts. Your private letter of the 10th reached me last night, after the despatch had been sent off to the Lord Lieutenant. But had this been otherwise, it could have made no variation in our decision. What we are enabled to do has been carried, as I may [tell] you confidentially, with the utmost difficulty, though certainly with proofs of temper and good will on the part of the King such as would render it still more difficult for us to press upon him further.

"Beyond this, I am perfectly satisfied he will not go. What then are we to do. Is it possible that we can stake the existence of the Government on points which we did not stipulate for when we came in, though we perfectly knew his decided objection to them; which we are fully convinced no Government could in the present temper of men's minds here carry in Parliament; and which are at this time rendered in no small degree objectionable, even in the eyes of those who have been most favourable to them, by the extreme intemperance with

which they have been pressed forward, without affording to the Government any time to deliberate upon them ; and by the more than intemperate (one might almost say treasonable) language of the speech which the prime and only ostensible mover of the business has published to the world as the ground of the step he has recommended.

“ I know very well that a debate on the Catholic question may be productive of some personal embarrassment to myself, and may expose me to the reproach of inconsistency. But I have long accustomed myself to look at my duties in a higher point of view than that of consistency alone, which as often means perseverance in what is wrong as adherence to what is right. And I am fully satisfied that I should be deeply criminal, and even that I should be considered so, if I were to urge this question to the effect of breaking up the Government.

“ If, therefore, the question comes forward, I am confident that I shall bring myself without difficulty to express indeed an adherence to the grounds of my former opinions, but to condemn without reserve the conduct and motives of those who have now pressed it forward, after it had so lately received a full and solemn discussion, and to declare that I will never be made a party to such views as are disclosed in Keogh’s speech.

“ But I cannot help still thinking it practicable to keep the question back ; from the moment it shall be known that such is the decided wish of Government. For, in truth, what can any Catholic who is capable of reasoning on such a subject answer to this statement ? If your petition is presented with the full knowledge that neither the King nor the two Houses of Parliament will concede the prayer of it, what do you mean should follow ? Either that the Government must support or must oppose it. If the former, the administration is once more broken up, and that too on the ground of the Catholic claims. Will that make their case the better in this country, or their condition easier in their own ? The prejudices and animosities here will break out against them with redoubled violence.—A new Ministry will be formed on the avowed ground of hostility to them, and that hostility will be shown by a mode of executing the existing laws exactly the reverse of that which now prevails. And although the persons composing the present Government may have been led to sacrifice to their ideas of consistency their situations and all their other duties, it may be presumed that they will not feel much kindness left towards those by whose intemperance this necessity will have been produced:

“ If, on the other hand, the administration should, on the grounds I have already stated, or on any other, oppose the petition, what will then happen ? The Catholic cause will appear to the world to have lost, by the misconduct of its partisans in Ireland, the only friends it had in this country,

and, on a division, almost every person in Parliament of what ever description would be pledged against it.

“A tacit understanding had prevailed that the present Government would do for the Catholics whatever could really be found practicable, and as soon as it could be done ; and that, in the mean time, the Catholics enjoying the fullest benefit of a favourable disposition towards them in the execution of the existing laws, would not unnecessarily agitate questions which they must know no Government can carry for them against the united sense of the King, the Parliament, and I may say, the public of this country. The Catholics have now violated this. The consequence must doubtless be of considerable prejudice to the present Ministers, but in thus injuring the only friends they had here, it is not easy to see what they hope to gain.

“All these topics are as familiar to your mind as they are to mine, but I have thus detailed them in order to show you what are the points which ought, I think, to be pressed upon them in conversation, and even, if necessary, in print ; doing the latter always with that prudence and reserve which your own mind will naturally suggest.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, February 13. Downing Street.—“There can, I think, be no doubt that it would be right to comply with Lord Waterford’s wishes respecting Coleraine. I have mentioned the subject to Lord Howick, who is perfectly satisfied respecting it.” *Copy.*

CHARLES FRASER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 16. Lincoln’s Inn.—“There is one material consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, which does not seem to have occurred to its opposers, and from the want of local information, may not have presented itself to the enlightened mind of your lordship.

“That measure will render more difficult, if not utterly impracticable, any conquests which may be meditated by this country, at any period, of the colonies of France or Spain, in the West Indies, as well as of Carracas, Peru, or the Isles of France and Bourbon, and render perhaps insuperable the reluctance which has already manifested itself in the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres to the government of his Majesty ; all which occurs to me from local knowledge, and personal observation in these countries.

“In the principal Spanish colonies, an unfortunate and mistaken idea of the original settlers that the employing of *male slaves only*, would be more advantageous, has prevented in a great measure, the importation of females, so that the sugar plantations are entirely destitute of any mixture of these, and must consequently be abandoned, without a yearly supply

from Africa. In the best cultivated of these colonies, not more than a hundredth part of the land has been cleared of wood, and in others, not one part in five thousand.

“When your lordship considers these circumstances, and that to the force of that inflexible antipathy and hatred against ‘*heretics*’ arising from religious prejudice, and carefully inflamed and kept alive in minds ignorant and superstitious in the extreme, by the clergy, who are perfectly devoted to the interest of Government, will thus be super-added the powerful passion of *self interest* founded on the support and preservation of their families. It will be evident that these people would suffer death, rather than submit to any Government, hostile to these sovereign passions of their souls, destructive of the sole objects of their existence.

“The vice-royalty of Mexico, including Yuccatan and Gautimala, is the only part of Spanish America where the importation of Africans has been unnecessary, and every species of cultivation and labour is carried on by the Indians and mixed breeds. But I think it my duty to apprise your lordship, that owing to the alarm created by the abortive attempts on Carracas and Buenos Ayres, and perhaps to apprehensions from the Americans on the Mipissippi, the regiments of New Spain and Puebla, of two battalions each, which had remained at the Havana since 1796, were lately sent back to Mexico, where I find the organisation and discipline of the militia engage universal attention; and as every possible effort will continue to be made by Spain to throw further succours into that important possession, which is considered of more value to that crown, than all its other colonies, the conquest of it would now require a larger force than was contemplated previous to these alarms and preparations; and the success of such an enterprise would also depend on employing *fast-sailing and well-equipped ships only*, as transports, as no other would answer for a service, where every thing would depend on the fleets being able to *keep off shore* during the strong *northerly winds*, and to *approach it with celerity*, the moment these gales should subside, in order to land the troops.”

#### SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 17. 11, Harley Street.—“In a conversation which I had some days ago with Sir James Cockburne, he informed me that Mr. Windham had it in contemplation to employ the troops destined eventually to serve in New Spain, to conquer the kingdom of Terra Firma, and afterwards to proceed to their ulterior destination; and he wished that I should consider that subject, and give him a memorandum upon it.

“I enclose a copy of one which I have sent to Sir James Cockburne to be submitted to Mr. Windham.”

*Enclosure.*

MEMORANDUM, FEBRUARY 15, 1807.

“ It has been suggested that it might be practicable to make an attack upon the kingdom of Terra Firma with the troops destined eventually to attack New Spain ; and that the service in the first might be performed before the season would come round, which is most favourable for the service in the last.

“ It will be recollected that, according to the plan, the attack upon New Spain was to be made in the beginning of December. That is the season in which the attack ought to be made on the kingdom of Terra Firma. The rains in Terra Firma commence in May and end in November, and although the rains might not be an insuperable obstacle to the mere possession of the city of Carraccas, they would undoubtedly to the conquest of the kingdom.

“ The operations of the troops, supposing that they could keep the field, would necessarily be confined to the highlands, as the low countries on the banks of the rivers are overflowed in the season of the rains ; and most particularly would it be necessary to delay till the month of December, at soonest, any operations on the Oronooko.

“ This river begins to rise in the month of April ; it overflows its banks and vast tracks of country, and is highest in the month of September. It then commences to fall and is lowest in the month of February. It appears therefore that the month of December is the earliest period at which it would be practicable to carry on operations on the Oronooko.

“ According to this view of the subject, I should consider it impracticable to connect the attacks upon Terra Firma and New Spain, which must be considered as entirely distinct.

“ Government, however, may think it desirable to obtain possession of the kingdom of Terra Firma, and as I have considered this subject, I beg leave to offer the following observations for their consideration. The whole population of the territories which make the government of the Captain-General of Carraccas, including Spanish Guiana, and the island St. Marguerite, is less than 800,000 souls ; of which number 150,000 are whites ; 200,000 slaves ; about 300,000 enfranchised negroes or their descendants, and the remainder Indians.

“ The government of this territory is divided into five departments ; that of the province of Venezuela in the centre, that of Maracaibo to the westward, that of Cumana to the eastward, that of Guiana to the southward, and that of the island St. Marguerite to the north-east. There is in Venezuela an army consisting of 6,558 men, of which 918 are regular infantry ; 900 artillery, principally militia ; 150 militia cavalry ; 2,400 white militia infantry, and the remainder people of colour. In Maracaibo there is a body of 1,218 men ; of which 308 are regular infantry ; 100 black artillery ; 450 white militia ; and

the remainder people of colour. In Cumana there are 2,916 men ; of which 221 are regular infantry ; 450 artillery, principally militia ; 175 militia cavalry ; 1,080 white militia, and the remainder people of colour. In Guiana there are 1,120 men ; of which 150 are regular infantry ; 100 militia artillery ; 150 militia cavalry ; 360 white militia infantry, and the remainder people of colour. In the island of St. Marguerite there are 1,347 men ; of which number 77 are regular infantry ; 400 militia artillery ; 50 militia cavalry ; 360 white militia infantry, and the remainder people of colour.

|                            |                   |                   |       |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------|
| The total of troops is, in | Venezuela . . . . | 6,558             |       |
| „                          | „                 | Maracaibo . . . . | 1,218 |
| „                          | „                 | Cumana . . . . .  | 2,916 |
| „                          | „                 | Guiana . . . . .  | 1,120 |
| „                          | „                 | St. Marguerite    | 1,347 |

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13,059

“ It is probable that these numbers are not complete ; but the late occurrences at Buenos Ayres show that we ought not to rely entirely upon the accounts which we have received of the inefficiency of the Spanish military establishments in America ; and in this part of their dominions in particular, it is probable that measures for their defence will have been adopted, in consequence of the attempts made upon them in the last year by Miranda.

“ Adverting therefore to the state of population of these territories, particularly to the proportion which that of the great cities bears to the general population of the country, to the strength of the military establishments as above detailed, and to their probable state of preparation, I conceive that the attack upon these possessions ought not to be made with a smaller force than 10,000 men, besides artillery. Of this number 6,000 ought to be British infantry ; 1,400 British cavalry ; 2,600 black infantry.

“ The place of assembly for this force ought to be the island of Barbadoes ; Jamaica would be too far to leeward. Their operations ought to be directed in the first instance to get possession of the whole of the eastern part of this territory ; from whence they would soon have the means of reducing the western parts. The plan according to which I would propose to carry these operations into execution, would be to divide the army into three corps, to make their attacks nearly at the same time. One, consisting of 5,000 men with a regiment of cavalry, to attack La Guira and the city of Caracas. The other, consisting of 2,500 men, with half a regiment of cavalry, to attack Cumana ; and the third, consisting of 2,500 men with half a regiment of cavalry, to ascend the Oronooko, to occupy such ports upon that river as might be necessary in order to secure its navigation, and to take possession of St. Thome, the capital of Spanish Guiana, situated at Augustina.



After their first success the movements of these three detachments should be diverted to communicate with each other, by the possession of Cumana Coa, La Concepcion, and such other points as might be necessary, and then to the conquest of the whole territory.

“The principal difficulty of these operations would probably be the landing at La Guira ; but I have little doubt, that it would be effected without sustaining any very material loss. There would be no difficulty in effecting the landing at Cumana, but a small fort is to be attacked, which I don't believe is of great strength.

“The trade wind blows up the Orinooko, with sufficient strength to enable a vessel to stem it's current ; and there would be no difficulty in accomplishing the objects proposed for this detachment.

“I will furnish a detailed arrangement for the operations of these different detachments, if government should think it proper to attack these territories.

“I should imagine from the situation of these territories, and from the fact that a great part of them is annually inundated, that they cannot be healthy. Parts of them are certainly unhealthy ; but I am not enabled to point out which are least so.

“Although it is probably out of my province, I hope I shall be excused if I discuss the policy of attacking these territories, and consider the system upon which the settlement of them is to be made.

“There is no doubt that the territories under the Captain-General of the Carraecas, are the most fertile in the world, and might turn out to be the most valuable colony that Great Britain or any other nation ever possessed. But Great Britain would not derive any additional benefit from them at present as a market for her manufactures and produce. As the number of inhabitants is not very large, there is no very easy communication between these territories and other parts of South America ; and there is reason to believe that large quantities of British produce are already conveyed into the kingdom of Terra Firma, by the means of neutrals, and the contraband trade. The benefit to be derived from the possession of these countries would be gained by the extension and improvement of their cultivation ; of which, as the slave trade will be abolished, there are no hopes. On this ground therefore the possession of the Colony would be of little positive advantage to Great Britain.

“It will require at all times a large force to keep possession of it ; possibly as large as that which will be employed to conquer it. There can be no doubt but that the habits and prejudices of the native Creoles, and Spanish inhabitants of Terra Firma, will be adverse to the British government ; and in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, their feelings will not be counteracted by the benefit and profit which they

would derive from the employment of British capital, and increased numbers of hands in the cultivation and improvement of their estates. I am therefore convinced that the gain which Great Britain will derive from the possession of this colony, under present circumstances, will not compensate for the loss which may be sustained, and the expense which will be incurred in the conquest, and the inconvenience of maintaining it.

“But if we should not take possession of these territories during the war, I have but little doubt that the French Government will take possession of them after the peace. In this view the conquest of Terra Firma becomes very important, as it involves the question of throwing into the power of France the means of establishing herself in the most fertile, and the country most advantageously situated for commerce, of any in South America.

“The only mode which I can suggest of effecting this important object, without incurring the inconvenience of maintaining in Terra Firma a large military force, would be to establish there an independent government. Although much depends upon the details of such an arrangement, this is not the time for discussing them; and I shall only observe at present upon this part of the subject, that, considering the local situation of these territories, the probability of their being attacked, and the strength of the power by which they might be attacked, there does not appear the same objection to the establishment of an independent government within them, as in the other parts of the Spanish territories with reference to which this question has been considered.”

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 18. Dublin Castle.—“George Walpole has made an application to Elliot for the patronage of Government in the borough of Dungarvan; and as his borough is wholly the property of the Duke of Devonshire, upon whose interest Walpole is returned for it, I conceive that the same principle which guided our determination in regard to Coleraine ought in this instance to operate in favour of his request, unless any engagement you may have made with Lord Waterford may stand in the way of it.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, February 20. Downing Street.—“I think the principle you state respecting Dungarvan seems quite fair.

“I sent Elliot two days ago a letter from General Needham asking some share of Newry. It is a difficult case, because of Lady Downshire and Corry; yet, as Needham is actually the sitting member, and supports, it seems difficult to exclude him entirely. I should be glad to know what your opinion is about it.” *Copy.*

## SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 20. 11, Harley Street.—“Mr. Frazer sent me the draft of a letter which he proposed to address to your lordship, on the day that I wrote to you last; which contained among other things some intelligence which he had received from Havannah relative to the state of affairs in Mexico. Part of the letter related to opinions which he had formed on the effect which the abolition of the slave trade would have upon the plan of conquest in Spanish America, which I told Mr. Frazer he might as well omit; and as I have not heard from him since, I fear that he has omitted to send you the intelligence to which I have above referred.

“It is in substance that the governor of the Havannah, being apprehensive that an attack would be made upon Mexico from what had passed at Buenos Ayres, and the Caraccas, had sent to that country from the Havannah, two regiments each of two battalions; and that the reports at the Havannah was that the Viceroy at Mexico was taking means to secure the country under his government by arming and disciplining the militia. I have not seen Mr. Frazer so as to ascertain the foundation of this intelligence, but I have thought it proper to communicate it to your lordship, lest he should have omitted to do so.”

*Enclosing letters and memoranda written in November, 1806, on the same subject, which are printed in the Appendix to this Volume.*

*Private.* SIR JOHN MACPHERSON to THE SAME.

1807, February 20. Brompton.—“Though you have the best sources of real information from India, the enclosed letter from Governor Duncan of Bombay, which I have just received, will be found worthy of your perusal and attentive consideration. That governor possesses, in the highest degree, the confidence and good will of the natives, nor could your lordship do an act more pleasing to them, in favour of an individual, than your recommending Governor Duncan to a mark of the royal favour. I took the liberty to suggest that idea to Lord Minto. It is to Lord Grenville I would wish Governor Duncan to owe the obligation of being created a baronet. He and Mr. Petrie, at Madras, will aid Lord Minto effectually to suppress the general spirit of disaffection, which our enemy is eternally instigating, but which, with the vast means in our power, and the confirmation of the obvious proper system, may be easily suppressed.

“The Russian armed manifesto, and the noble system of finance, which does honour to the present administration, and which in its basis rests, though not ostensibly, on the security of our India finance, will, before a year is closed, force the enemy to a general congress—to reason—and to peace.

“ Having opened the ideas, which a forty years practical knowledge of India affairs, as well as my travels on the continent for nearly four years, have suggested to me, and having, in opening those ideas to our actual Ministers, appealed to recorded plans, and communicated original papers, your lordship will not have much more trouble from me upon these subjects. I shall only take the liberty to add that, if your lordship’s truly respectable relation could be spared for three months from the naval department, and pay a circular visit to the sovereigns of the Continent, by whom he is superiorly esteemed ; great and good would be the consequences. Austria would become united, and Spain detached. France would be then in check.”

*Enclosure (1).*

JOHN DUNCAN, GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, to SIR JOHN MACPHERSON.

1806, August 23. Bombay.—“ I have been favoured with your letter of the 1st of March by your relation Major Campbell, to whom I will be attentive, as opportunity may offer. I delivered your message to Sir James Mackintosh, who says he will answer it by a letter, and he has kept your response to his declaration. It is strange that two Highlanders should thus be the *orateurs par écrit* of the citizens of London, as if they were obliged to seek so far for the means of making themselves advantageously understood.

“ Your system of revenue will, I fear, never be tried as a general measure in India ; although I wish it had at the proper season. But now it is *érasé* by a voluminous lot of regulations, all framed in opposition to its principle ; for, in speaking of your system, I suppose you mean that first promulgated, or rather revived by Sarishtadár Grant. No doubt, that is the true Mogul system, and more so practically in all the other parts of India I have been in than in Bengal. To collect according to the produce. We still do so, on this side of India, where the practice is general, and I feel myself at a loss between that local expediency, and the urgency of conforming to the spirit of the revenue laws now in force throughout the rest of British India.

“ Perhaps the safe way would have been for the English in India to *make no innovations*, not even where tempted by the most enticing views of speculative amelioration. We have two objects in this country—to make it by a discreet and just system of administration, based on their old Indian habits, profitable to the mother country ; and for that purpose to maintain our dominion in it. The late events at Vellore, which garrison the Mysore princes were able to induce our own sepoy to endeavour to wrest from us, and in which they had well nigh succeeded (killing and wounding our officers as per enclosed list) betrays the secret of what a little hold

we have on the affections of those on whom we must nevertheless rely for our Indian dominion. On this painful subject I enclose the extract of a letter I this day wrote to a friend in Bengal, which will tell you in substance all I know of the progress and rumours incident to this truly unfortunate event, which has no doubt been reported on fully by the present despatch by the Madras government. That government seems to have always been more involved in trouble than any other in India.

“The extract alluded to, contains likewise an account of an extraordinary passenger returned to us on the *St. Vincent* from England. I will use the man well, both because he has attracted (as would seem) the attention of the government at home, and because also, his perseverance demands a certain degree of respect; nor would it be good policy to discourage such appeals to the seat of power. Although this be one of the slightest cases of injury that can be well conceived if (as far as we yet know) it only relates to a Soubahdary of the Surat chief's; by which, according to the man's petition at the time, he could not have had an income exceeding forty rupees per month, yet to him, these forty rupees were as valuable (as the man shows) as much more to others. You know that a service of this kind is neither permanent nor hereditary in the nature of it, and I could hardly compel Mr. Seton to entertain a man about his person whom he charged with a mutinous and perverse disposition. Perhaps, however, there may be more in this matter than has yet come to light. We suspected at first that the party in question had been home on the part of the Nabob of Surat, but this he denies.

“I see the question as to that Nabob's rights was bringing on by Mr. Paull before Parliament. If they examine the case well, I have no objection, having merely been the executive officer on that occasion, in carrying into effect a solemn resolution of the supreme government. My own opinion as to the merits of the case, was not conformable to the supreme government's determination, as, on the contrary, I concurred with my colleagues here, that the succession to the nabobship should not be interrupted or its powers lessened, because that question had been before determined by the supreme government when Marquis Cornwallis was formerly in the chair. Lord Wellesley thought and decided differently, and ordered the powers of government to be assumed in Surat by the Company, under a treaty which he sent round for the present (nominal) Nabob to sign; but without making his signing it or not any condition of our assuming the entire authority; and as his lordship wrote me separately at the same time a private letter intimating his wish that I would go up to carry their said resolves into effect, and predicting that if I did not do so, the object must fail, I could not do less than yield to such an invitation; and I had afterwards his lordship's warmest approbation for the manner in which I executed

(merely in a ministerial capacity) the determination they came to. This is the brief history of my connection with the Surat question; and if it should have appeared otherwise before Parliament, the merits of the case have not been duly investigated; and I will add, in justice to Lord Wellesley, that the prospect of future tranquillity to the town of Surat (containing nearly half a million of souls) has been fully realised since this change of its government; and, as that was one of his lordship's leading views in ordering it, he is entitled to the praise of this political foresight.

"I am glad to hear from you that the cotton question will not injure me, for although it be but negative satisfaction to escape censure for what I know merits praise, yet in certain cases, one is glad to compound with superior power, and to feel thankful for forbearance. I regret that the papers at length on this subject which I sent you were thrown over board on the *Hercules* packet, when she was taken by the French on her passage home. I will, however, have another copy made, and forwarded by the Madras fleet that sails in October; which may, I hope, have better luck, for I wish you to peruse, and let me have your candid opinion on the whole subject.

"I see advertised an account of Nepaul by Mr. Campbell, editor of the *Asiatic Annual Register*. If he truly traces that history, he will see that I first unlocked the door unto it, and concluded the first treaty with the Raja of that day. By the bye, I don't observe that Mr. Campbell any longer puts me down as one of his subscribers, although I desire to be considered so, thinking generally very well of his book as you may tell him. If I be in his debt for any of the annual volumes, will you desire John Forbes to pay the amount for me and let me know how this fund stands."

*Postscript.*—"You will make such use of my letters as you think discreet and useful. I used to correspond regularly with the late President of the Board of Control, and would with the present, did I know it would be agreeable to his lordship. He may probably have known that his brother and I were many years ago contemporaries in Bengal, and the most intimate of any two young men on that establishment."

*Enclosure (2).*

EXTRACT OF A PRIVATE LETTER TO BENGAL.

1806, August 23.—"In the last ships from England there came out a passenger called Sidi Ali Mahomed Cheja, who turns out to have been a Jemadar of Pions to Mr. Seton, the late chief of Surat, and was dismissed by him for alleged ill behaviour. I recollect the man's making some stir about his removal, and that I made some enquiry into it; but Mr. Seton represented the man's conduct in so unfavourable a light that I abstained from insisting on his reinstatement,

considering, no doubt, that he was a sort of personal servant about the then chief. For this cause and the consideration of a salary of between 30 and 40 rupees a month, does this man appear to have set out overland for England, where he hoped, it seems, to find Mr. Corkran, who had formerly known him at Broach, where his father was many years ago killed in the Company's employ; in view to which a small pension had been settled on the family at Surat, and made payable by the Nabob. He was three years and two months on his journey, according to his own account; and visiting Morocco in the course of it, obtained an introduction from the King of that country to ours, with which, proceeding to England, he was, he avers, well received by Lord Camden then Secretary of State, who ordered a house to be hired for him, and a chariot and other conveniences to be provided for his use. He lived thus in clover for ten months at an expense, he says, to the State of seventeen hundred guineas. At length he was sent for by Lord Minto, and a passage ordered for him on the *St. Vincent* for which 300*l.* was paid, with an assurance that orders would be sent to India, respecting the subject of his memorial. On the ship's arrival, he came to me, and asked where he was to live; but having no recollection of him, and there being no mention of him in the general letter, or otherwise than by his name being inserted in the list of passengers, I at first declined to incur any expense on his account. Next day, however, at his request through the captain of the ship, I sent my moonshee to him, who took down what he choose to deliver, which did not then extend to a disclosure of his purpose or person, wishing (he said) to defer these particulars till he was fairly settled on shore. Meanwhile he had addressed a letter to Mr. Corkran with a general intimation of his story, and of his reliance from old acquaintance on that gentleman, which led to our discovery of the case; for, although I have taken him on shore and given him a house, and a decent subsistence, he still refrains from any explanation of the object of his journey home, excepting a declaration that he was not sent by any body, and that a regard for the national welfare alone prompted him to this adventure. He is disappointed in the instructions about him not being yet received. He says that Lord Minto observed his case was so clear that the Governor of Bombay would himself do him justice; but how he has represented it we cannot certainly know till the promised instructions arrive, which they will, I suppose, do by the next ship or packet.

"Meanwhile I wish you would enquire of Mr. Seton in Bengal, the son of the late Chief or Lieutenant-Governor of Surat, whether there be among his father's papers any memoranda concerning this person; and in that case, that he will, through you, furnish me with copies thereof, for eventual use; with which view you may let him know what I have above written.

“They write from Madras that the Vellore conspiracy has very deep roots and extensive ramifications, and is essentially founded on the disaffection of the country to us, derived from our too severe exaction of the revenue, and the introduction of our courts of justice; which, levelling all distinctions, is (as might be supposed at the first outset) obnoxious to the greater class of inhabitants. This is given as the remote cause; the proximate ones are, no doubt, the innovations in the dress of the sepoys, and the disgust thence generated being allowed, through the incredible carelessness of our local guardians in that quarter, to be fermented and worked upon, by the Mysore princes who could, as men, be scarcely expected to resist so favourable an opportunity. Well it will be, if we here find the end of the threatening evil; but you will have heard of the supposed machinations in the Nizam’s country to a similar effect, namely, the overthrowing of the British power, which Providence will I trust avert; and that it is doing so, we may hope from the consideration that had not the Vellore plot exploded a few days sooner than was intended, its consequences would have, in all probability, proved much more disastrous than have yet occurred. We hear the princes are on their way to Bengal; but, if we lose the love of the country, or rather if there arise an active hatred against us, our tenure will prove sadly insecure.”

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1807, February 20. Downing Street.—“I have just received from Lord Spencer another despatch from the Duke of Bedford, enclosing a newspaper in which the answer given by Elliot to the Catholics is detailed. As this will be in all the papers to-morrow evening, it seems very important that you should anticipate it by giving notice to-night in the House of Commons of the proposed alterations in the Mutiny Bill.

“As there will be some other, though less important, changes in the Mutiny Bill, it may be right to mention this also.

“Windham had undertaken to see Bond as to the two clauses. If he has not done so, it is very important that no time should be lost, as the clauses ought to be well considered before they are proposed.

“I am going to-morrow morning to Dropmore for a day or two; but, if the business presses, the clauses can be sent down to me there.” *Copy.*

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 21. Stratton Street.—“I am this moment returned from the House of Commons. I received your note there and immediately gave notice of the intended clauses in the Mutiny Bill. As I thought Windham’s would not be ready, I put off the committee to Tuesday sen’night, which will give full time for considering them carefully, and will



render it unnecessary to disturb you on this account during your excursion to Dropmore.

“Wilberforce, the Solicitor General, and indeed everybody to whom the subject has been mentioned, have stated so strong an opinion against suffering the Abolition Bill to pass in its present shape, that I think we must make up our minds to the introduction of the proposed clauses. If you come to town on Monday, I wish you would devote an hour to the consideration of this point with Wilberforce and me on Tuesday morning.

“The fifty-fifth bulletin, which appears in a *Moniteur* received to-day, announces positively the declaration of war against Russia by the Porte. From the manner in which it is stated I have no doubt of its truth. Will it be necessary to take any further measures in consequence ?

“I have spoken to Bond, and will urge Windham forward as fast as I can.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOTT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 21. Dublin Castle.—“Mr. Fisher’s letter reached me at a very late hour last night.

“The two situations alluded to by General Needham are both promised ; the collectorship to a friend of Lady Downshire, and the surveyorship to a relation of Corry, whose interest in the town of Newry is now united with Lady Downshire’s. Lady Downshire and General Needham are at open war, and if the Lord Lieutenant had not acceded to Lady Downshire’s application, it would probably have produced a rupture between her and Government.”

*Postscript.*—“The Lord Lieutenant never received any application from General Needham, and the engagements were made some time ago.”

*Private.* MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1807, February 21. Oxford Street.—“I have just now received the inclosed note from Arthur, and I send it to you without delay.

“I am satisfied that he is better qualified for any service, either military or civil, in India than any person whom I know ; and if any mischief has been occasioned, either in the army or territories subject to the government of Fort St. George, he is the best possible instrument for remedying it. He possesses in the highest degree the confidence of the army and of the civil service in India, and especially at Fort St. George ; and he is entirely untainted with prejudice in favour of any systems or men.

“He is indifferent to the period of his continuance, but would be happy to execute any service to which he might be deemed equal.

“This note requires no answer ; if you should think of Arthur, you will of course send to him.”

*Enclosed.*

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1807, February 21. 11, Harley Street.—“ Your will have heard the reports which are in circulation in London about the late occurrences in the Carnatic, which certainly must draw the serious attention of Government. In a conversation which I had with Mr. Tierney the other day in the House of Commons upon this subject, I understood that the settlement of Madras, as well as the Council, were much divided in opinion upon this as well as upon every other subject, and that affairs there were in a state of confusion from which they could be relieved only by a change of authority, and by sending out there a person having the confidence of Government, and military as well as civil power. Interested as I am for that settlement, and for the credit of the army of Fort St. George, I cannot but agree with Mr. Tierney, although I should be very sorry to see anything disagreeable done by Lord William; and I think it probable that this will be the measure adopted by Government.

“ You are aware of the service on which Lord Grenville proposed to employ me; but I think that every day affords a slighter hope that we shall be able to carry our plans into execution. I am therefore induced to tell you that, if you approve of it, I should like to offer him my services upon this occasion. My opinion is that, if Government should determine to make any change at Madras, they should do it immediately, and the person to be appointed ought to go forthwith. I am ready to set out at a day's notice.

“ I have no particular desire to return to India, and no wish to stay there one moment longer than Government may think that I can be of service. I have also to mention that, although I think I should be more likely to succeed in re-establishing affairs at Madras, and in regaining the confidence of the army by having both civil and military authority, as Sir William Meadows had, I have no objection to go with either, or in any other situation in which Lord Grenville may think I can be useful.

“ If you should approve of my notions, I beg you to offer my services to Lord Grenville; and you may tell him that, notwithstanding all that has passed with the Court of Directors, I have reasons to believe from the communications I have had with many of them, that they would have been glad to appoint me to the office of Commander-in-Chief, if circumstances had permitted Government to recommend me for that situation; and that they would now be happy to send me to Madras.”

VISCOUNT HOWICK TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 22. Stratton Street.—“ Miolay yesterday communicated to me the despatches he received by the last

courier from the Baron de Budberg. They state the overture made by France to treat for a general peace with this country, Russia, and Prussia conjointly, and the answer given by the Court of Petersburg; which is, first to ask on what basis France would negotiate; and proposing, if a basis should be agreed upon, that the negotiation should be carried on in a neutral territory. Miolay is instructed to represent the expediency of our agreeing in this proposal, and Galicia is proposed as the seat of the negotiation, on account, I suppose, of the convenience of the situation to us.

“This morning Sidling Effendi brought me two letters, one for the King and one for me, the last enclosing the notes which had been delivered to M. d’Italinski, and Mr. Arbuthnot, in consequence of the declaration of war against Russia. They are very long, and contain nothing very material but the fact above mentioned. They appear very solicitous to preserve peace with us, but this, I have told the Turkish minister, is nearly impossible.

“Upon both these points an answer should not be delayed. We must have a Cabinet as soon as possible after you come to town.”

#### EARL TEMPLE TO THE SAME.

1807, February 24.—“Enclosed is a letter from my father, and another from my uncle, on the subject now in discussion. The former I have seen, and I can only observe that my father always feels stronger upon a point in which I am concerned than upon any other. Sanguine and eager in all he undertakes, his affection for me makes him more eager in proportion as he conceives that I am interested in the question. My feelings upon the point he presses are as strong as his. My conviction that the Government would lose much in character, and gain but little in strength by the accession of George Rose, is to the full as decided as his. Upon this I rest the strongest. My own personal feelings ought not to stand in the way of an arrangement beneficial to the Government. At the same time with me they must have some weight, when accompanied by the persuasion that the Government would not be the better for the sacrifice of them. This, however, is matter only of opinion; and however strong mine may be, it of course will always give way to yours. If the question now pending ever reaches as far as discussion of terms, I cannot disguise the mortification I should feel in finding one of those terms, not to be departed from, to be the admission of Rose into the Government. Still, however, I should feel it my duty, though it would be a painful one, to give way; fully convinced, however, that, putting aside all personal considerations of my own, the Government will lose by the arrangement.

“With respect to the point urged in my uncle’s letter, I cannot too strongly urge the adoption of the plan he proposes. Late last night I had a letter from the person through whom

the communication has taken place, urging in the strongest manner that some communication should take place as soon as possible between you and C[anning]. His friends were continually urging him forward, and the delays he had thrown upon their plans, had already created some suspicion in the minds of Castlereagh and Lord Hawkesbury. The Opposition are not satisfied with the head they have found in the Duke of Portland, and they have three candidates for the place. You will laugh when I name them, but you may depend upon the fact; the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Richmond, and the *Marquis of Abercorn*. The second is the favourite. To arrange this finally, and to pledge all who are to be pledged, meetings and dinners are to be given this week. This makes the difficulties of Canning's situation of course greater; and I cannot but think that Lord Sidmouth's objections, whatever they may be, can be as strongly insisted upon *after* you know how far Canning's terms will admit of discussion, as before. If your determination is to see him, as I hope it will be, the messenger must return as soon as you can send him back."

*Enclosing two letters :*

*Enclosure 1.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 19. Stowe.—“ I take the opportunity by a servant whom I send through London to Gosfield, to write to you upon a point that gives me uneasiness, in proportion to the pain which my son expresses to me. He has stated to me very much at length, the communications that have passed through his hands respecting Mr. Canning, and his sincere and anxious hope that he may have been the humble instrument of putting within your reach an arrangement that, in the contingency of Lord Grey's death, may put you at your ease respecting the House of Commons. He states to me his fear that you may have an uneasy task respecting Lord Sidmouth; but he thinks—as I do—that finally the objection that naturally occurs in the first moments to Canning's co-operation, will be given up by Addington. He therefore looks to the probability of this matter being brought to immediate discussion between you and Canning, in which some of the subordinate points that have been hitherto only hinted at, will be opened to you, and amongst them will be—as my son imagines—the proposition of office or arrangement for George Rose; and he tells me that he is not without his alarm that you are not indisposed to admit such a proposition.

“ Perhaps I am not quite as impartial an adviser on this matter as I wish to be upon every matter, in which your ease or credit are concerned, But I am sure I do not suffer my prejudices to get the better of my judgment, when I entreat you to consider this point upon public grounds, and to weigh well the impression which will be created by the

acquisition of a man so utterly devoid of all public character, and one so notoriously dipped in all the filth which you and your friends are labouring to remove. It is impossible to avoid hearing these stories whenever any transaction such as Delaney's, Davison's, and others are brought before the public eye; and even if a well-grounded jealousy did not exist in the public mind on this subject, his conduct in Parliament upon all those questions of economy and investigation of accounts would be sufficient to affix upon him a very general impression of the most unfavourable description. If I am right in this opinion, I need not urge to you the extreme disadvantage to you of any arrangement that is to stain your Government by the contamination of one to whom so much has been imputed; and whose opposition in the House of Commons has been marked by a public course of conduct and opinions quite peculiar to himself, and quite incompatible with any of the public principles to which we stand engaged. On these grounds I should urge you to withstand such a proposition from Canning, as one that stands upon grounds wholly different from those that operate on your mind to induce you to treat with him.

“But it is impossible for me not to remind you of the uniform *personal* and direct attack, in which this man has gone out of his way to endeavour to throw every obloquy, and every public cry of every description, against every one bearing our name, or connected with us. You will trace it in every discussion of your conduct, and in every public debate with my son last year; in the Hampshire election, where his use of your name and my son's was as foul as it was invariable and constant; and latterly in the discussions of this year in the House of Commons, where his attack upon you, upon Lord Temple, and upon Mr. Fremantle as *your* agent, and acting under *your* immediate orders, have been so personally offensive and malicious, as to make it utterly impossible for any man of those feelings which, I hope, my son will ever entertain, to find himself in any habits with a Government in which he is to meet such a man; of whom, whether in respect of his public or private character and conduct, he thinks in common with all mankind, but with the additional irritation, of having been obliged by managements for Government, to bear so much of what he would not otherwise have borne for a moment.

“He states to me in terms the most amiable, the cheerfulness with which, so far as he has been concerned, he has urged by every exertion in his power, an arrangement with Canning for the security and ease of your Government; though personally to him the consequences of this arrangement will be necessarily the putting at a greater distance, any views of his own, such as we had more than once talked over last year. But I find his mind is so uneasy at finding you inclined to listen to the idea of including Rose in this arrangement,

that he expresses to me the most earnest hope that the result of all the trouble he has taken for the strengthening your Government may not be the sacrifice of himself on this new altar to George Rose ; and for this purpose he has in the warmest terms pressed me to state to you—what he does not like personally to urge to you—the gratification he will feel in every thing that contributes to your ease, but the anxious hope that you will, for your own sake, but certainly for his sake, relieve him from the pain he feels on this subject. And he urges me the more strongly to this representation to you, by assuring me that he has every reason to satisfy himself—and he speaks of course with more knowledge than any one can possess on this matter—that Canning will not pin his conduct upon this point, but that, if he is satisfied of your disinclination to it, he will most certainly give way.

“ In all this I have opened to you my whole heart ; and I verily declare that I am satisfied you will lose as much ground in your public character, as you will in your private affections and feelings, by putting this upon those you love so well. I therefore beg you to pause on your resolutions in this matter, so far as Rose is concerned in it, till you have tried the extent of your line with Canning, on the supposition of its being negatived.

“ Since I received this letter from my son, it has occurred to me that I can give you a facility to your negotiation on this matter with Lord Sidmouth. I understood ten days ago that he either was, or is to be, a very warm supplicant with you, to bring Sullivan into Parliament, who, with Lord Buckinghamshire, has spent a very large sum of money at Lincoln, where he has been beat, and is at the end of his line. I had calculated on the Buckingham vacancy—if it should be liberated by Neville being seated for Saltash, which is now I hope certain—for an object of old personal regard and friendship. But, if you can put Addington into humour for this negotiation, by engaging my Buckingham seat for Sullivan until my son George, now eighteen, shall be of age, I am most willing to promote this object of Canning, which I have much at heart for your ease and comfort, by making this arrangement in favour of Mr. Sullivan, which, I know, is an object very near to Lord Sidmouth’s wishes.

“ Do not think me too urgent upon all this business. Everything so nearly interesting to you, and to my dear son, must be deeply interesting to me ; and as such, I should not do justice to my feelings, if I did not state my whole heart upon it ; and I send this open to my son, that he may read it, and may more easily converse with you upon it.”

*Enclosure 2.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 23.—“ Lord Temple has just now been discussing with me the subject which you had mentioned respecting

the owner of South Hill. You know that I am at least as anxious as you, or as any body can be, to find a prosperous result to this negotiation ; and by what Lord Temple tells me, I cannot help thinking that it would be beyond all things important that you should see the person in question without any further delay, with all the advantages for your meeting that Dropmore affords. If you send up this evening, Lord Temple will manage with the other that he shall go down to Southill to-morrow, and then go over to you on Wednesday, and talk the thing fairly over with you, to see what present or future facilities can be found. To present facilities I should most earnestly entreat you to look, more especially as I am persuaded that the person in question—with all his eminent talents—is less than anybody calculated to carry on the wary course of sitting on the Opposition bench without committing himself in hostile discussions to the Government. The only possible objection to your seeing him now would be that of doubting how far you may be able to reconcile Lord Sidmouth to it. But surely you will do much better to ascertain first, with the person in question, whether his views are such as can probably be assisted or realised, in the case of the difficulty of Lord Sidmouth being surmounted ; because you are otherwise beginning at the wrong end, and encountering all the difficult discussions with Lord Sidmouth before you know how far you shall be advanced in the case of your having persuaded Lord Sidmouth to acquiesce. The other person is of an eager and impatient mind ; being seen now, will probably go great lengths to engage himself ; and there is the peculiar additional inducement of the chance of your being at Dropmore. I do, therefore, most earnestly recommend to you without loss of time to authorise Lord Temple to fix with him for his coming over to you at Dropmore on Wednesday. I have only further to add that it seems to me beyond measure desirable that *present* arrangements should be made, instead of *future* propositions ; and that any possible immediate arrangement which I can in any way assist, I shall be most happy to concur in, being perfectly persuaded that want of health and strength will make it impossible for me to give you leading assistance in the House of Commons ; and being well assured that, under those circumstances, the best help I can give you is to furnish every facility by giving Admiralty, or anything else that can best assist. But by all means do, without loss of time, see *him* on Wednesday.”

#### W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1807, February 24. [Arlington Street.]—“ The troops by this time will have nearly embarked, and everything be ready for the departure of Whitelock and Gower from town to-morrow night. The Admiralty have very properly given them a frigate instead of one of the sloops, the convoy before having

been scarcely sufficient either for convenience or safety. There will be of troops, between regiment, recruits, and artillery, near 1,700 men. I called on you on Saturday to mention several particulars not previously known or settled; but found you were gone out of town. Since that I have been unwell. Cotton could not well be sent, had he been ready, as there is already a cavalry general there, Lumley. At the wish of Whitelock, supported by the Duke of York, Aekland has been sent, who, from his services at Maida, had a claim for employment on the first favourable opportunity. The regiment sent is a battalion of the 89th, Whitelock's own. On talking over the instructions with your brother on Saturday, several alterations occurred, besides what has been added since the copy which I sent to you.

“Some of these are of so much importance that I could have wished for more time to talk of them. I have given up at the suggestion of your brother, and without much struggle, the idea of combining the supply of the service at Buenos Ayres with the future supply of India. I believe these combinations rarely answer, and they leave you in the mean while completely in the dark. It is better to lose some time and be upon a certainty. A new circumstance of doubt has arisen as to the delivery of the orders by the *Fly*. The chance does not seem to be much of the *Fly* following Murray to the Cape, and consequently of Craufurd's going to the Plata. I don't know whether you will approve of the provision made in the case of all attempt being abandoned at Buenos Ayres, by leaving even then a possible chance of something being done on the opposite coast. But the necessity must not be put out of sight of a landing by Craufurd for the purpose of saving himself from starving. A case might happen too, though not very likely, of certain information received by Whitelock that the whole of the province of Chili was in a state of insurrection, at the same time that Buenos Ayres was inattaackable in consequence of all their forces being transferred to that side.

“An application has been made by Whitelock for a step of local rank, not for the sake of any advantage which it carries, for it gives him, I believe, none, not even an addition of aide-de-camps, so at least say the War Office; but in consequence of the bad practice lately established, and continued in the recent instance of the appointment of Grey, very contrary, as you know, to my opinion and wishes. It is in consequence of that example, and for other reasons, more difficult perhaps to resist the application in the case of Whitelock. Fox, Bowyer, Maitland, and a host of others, all have or have had it. Another question respecting Whitelock's situation relates to the allowance to be made him as Governor, should the whole of the province fall into our hands. Beresford you know, by the grant of Baird, was to have 10,000*l* a year. Whitelock's military appointments will



amount to something more than 4,000*l.* I should think 5,000*l.* as Governor would be about the mark ; at least such is the best calculation which I can make, according to the different comparisons on which the question may be determined.

“ A material consideration now arises out of these arrangements of another sort, and which relates to home appointments. It is of indispensable importance to me to have a person whom I can perfectly rely on in the Inspector-General’s Office, and with this view I have talked to Lord Rosslyn who, partly from good will to me, and partly from perfect concurrence and zeal about the new plans, is willing to undertake the office, not as one in which he might like to continue permanently, but in which he would act for a time as coadjutor to me, and as partaking in the credit of measures which every day gives more reason to be satisfied with. I have waited only for a communication with you to propose Lord Rosslyn to the Duke of York, to whom I intimated, at the time of proposing Whitelock, that I should have some one to submit to his consideration as a successor in the office of Inspector-General. Whatever ideas you may have about this office ultimately, and in which, I am sorry to say, I differ from you *toto celo*, it is impossible to think of making a change of the whole system of recruiting at this moment, and before the effect is fully tried and established of the other great change that has been introduced.

“ The mention of these topics leads me by rather a long but a connected chain of association to the recollection of a matter which I have often intended to speak about, and which is a certain Canadian regiment of fencibles which, having subsisted for some three or four years, and costing annually about 22,000*l.*, has, with a complete establishment of officers, only 103 men, without a prospect of the number being ever augmented. I will state to you another time what I think ought to be done in lieu of this regiment. What should be done with the regiment itself can be nothing else but to reduce it.”

*Private and Confidential.*

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 26. Dublin Castle.—“ Lord Ponsonby seems to entertain a hope, from conversations he has had with several of the Catholics since his arrival in Dublin, that they may be satisfied with their petition being presented to the House of Commons, and suffered to lie on the table without being brought into discussion. I am not aware of the Parliamentary objections which may attach to this measure. The only one which occurs to me is that it leaves the matter liable to be taken up at any time by any individual member of the House, who may think fit to agitate the question ; but I cannot help thinking that it will be no inconsiderable point gained to

obtain the consent of the Catholic body to their petition remaining on the table of the House of Commons as a simple record that they have not abandoned their claims; at the same time disclaiming a wish of bringing them under immediate discussion. Such a proposal could not of course come directly from the Government; but if Lord Ponsonby through his influence as an individual, should be able to obtain this concession of them, I think you may be inclined to consider it of some importance, as at least gaining time; though it would be rash to say that it is likely to prevent the re-agitation of the measure next year, in a body composed of such various materials as the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

“ I have now to revert to the interesting subject of tithes, though I have not had the advantage of hearing from your lordship upon it since my letter of the 14th January (marked private) in which I enter fully into that very important topic. I learn from Lord Ponsonby, and from other quarters, that some impatience is felt on your side of the water at this measure not having been yet recommended by the Government of Ireland to be submitted to the consideration of Parliament, and I entreat your lordship to be well assured that I have never ceased to keep in mind an object which I am convinced is essentially connected with the future peace and happiness of Ireland; but I must retain the opinion which I formerly gave, namely, that it is not one that should be hastily taken up, or superficially considered. Where such a mass of property and such various interests are concerned, too much caution and deliberation cannot be used; and if we should plunge rashly into the discussion, we may find ourselves involved in interminable difficulties. Much previous enquiry is necessary; and if you have fully determined to make a regulation or modification of the title question in Ireland a subject of Parliamentary proceeding, and authorise me to consult with the leading members of the Church upon it, I will immediately do so, but I have not hitherto conceived myself at liberty to take such a step.

“ It will readily strike you that it must be most essential to the success of the measure to conciliate as many of the bench of bishops in support of it as we can; for, although a reasonable and practicable plan is likely to have the countenance of a great majority of the parochial clergy, yet, if the whole of the episcopal bench should be hostile to us, it cannot be concealed that we should have a most formidable power to encounter. It is therefore necessary that we should be prepared to meet this hostility, and endeavour to subdue it as far as we are able. It would be very material that the business should originate with you in the Lords, as the House of Parliament in which the interests of the church are supposed to be most effectually represented; and that it should be conducted through the House of Commons by the King's advocate, or by the Attorney General of Ireland,

but the former as a civilian would be preferable. I may say to you in confidence that, if it should be taken up by either Sir John Newport or Mr. Grattan, a strong feeling of alarm would be excited in this country, and a cry of the 'church in danger' would be heard from one end of the island to the other.

"I am not aware that any step can safely be taken this session, beyond a general notice that you will, early in the ensuing session, submit to Parliament a measure upon tithes, as you did last year in regard to the Scotch judicature; or if it met your approbation, a commission might be proposed as a preliminary step, to enquire into the present state of tithe property in Ireland, and revise the laws connected with that property, into which abuses may have crept from time to time, which are the source of the existing grievances; due care being had that the commissioners shall be persons entitled to the good opinion and confidence of the church, disposed at the same time thoroughly to examine the subject with impartial and unprejudiced minds. Whatever mode you may think fit to pursue, you may implicitly rely on my co-operating with unvarying zeal in the attainment of an object so intimately connected with the future happiness of Ireland."

*Private.* VISCOUNT HOWICK TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 26. Stratton Street.—"Combe will do all he can to counteract Birch's mischief, and has undertaken to sound Sir William Curtis and Alderman Shaw, which we thought it better that he should do, before I spoke to them.

"I send you two letters which I have just received from Stahremberg and Count Munster. I really think the march of an Austrian army against the French might at the present moment be of such incalculable advantage, that it would be worth while to purchase it at almost any expense. The worst of it is that so much time must be lost before any communication from hence can reach Vienna.

"I forgot to tell you this morning that I have had a letter from Lord Ponsonby since his arrival in Dublin, which, upon the whole, I think very satisfactory. He says he is not without hopes that the Catholics may instruct the person who presents their petition to declare that it is not their wish to press for any division on their claims at this moment, and that their motive is to show that they have not abandoned their object. He urges very strongly that no time should be lost in making some arrangement about tithes.

"I am under the necessity of troubling you with the enclosed letter from Lord Albemarle. I believe I once before sent you an application from, or in favour of, the same person."

*Postscript.*—"I find a clause for compensation in the Slave Carrying Bill of 1788, which appears to have been introduced without much consideration, and which in some degree furnishes

a precedent against us. I am afraid it is too late to say anything about the loan ; but I cannot help having great doubts of the propriety of making it, before the bill for carrying the new plan into effect has passed."

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 27. Dublin Castle.—“ In answer to your question as to the expediency of a portion of the Government patronage in Newry being given to general Needham, I have to observe that this could not now be done without an absolute breach of an engagement with Lady Downshire and Mr. Corry. Mr. Corry is to have the recommendation of the person to succeed Mr. Goddard in the surveyorship, and Lady Downshire has a promise of the new collection of excise.

“ If general Needham should retain his seat after the hearing of the petition, and should then come to an understanding with Lady Downshire and Mr. Corry (as he probably may) I shall be most happy to facilitate by every means in my power the objects he has submitted to your lordship.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOTT.

1807, February 28. Downing Street.—“ I am urged, and I am desirous (if the thing be not objectionable) to give Lord Blayney expectations that he may succeed to the representative peerage at a future time. He is, I believe, willing to postpone his views to the 4th or 5th vacancy from this time. What I wish therefore is to know who are the persons with whose claims an engagement even so distant as that might possibly interfere, and how far Lord Blayney could, without inconvenience to the Government here or in Ireland, be put in competition with them ? ” *Copy.*

THE SAME to W. WINDHAM.

1807, February 28. Downing Street.—“ I have this moment only seen Fremantle. I have settled with him that Rainsforth shall have one of the Custom House offices at the Cape, which enables me to give effect to the strong wish I felt that, under the circumstances which you mentioned to me, Mr. Byng should not be disappointed.

“ With respect to the question itself, my decided opinion is that all offices connected with the receipt, payment, and audit of the public money, must act under the control of the Treasury, and derive their authority from that source ; and that no appointment of such officers by a Governor abroad can be considered otherwise than as provisional until a person regularly authorised to act in those situations shall arrive.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1807, February 28. Downing Street.—“ Since I came to town I have heard (I hope without foundation) that General

Whitelock, to whom I must say I cannot see the reason of giving the local rank of general, is to carry out with him a very large staff. I must entreat you to inform yourself distinctly upon this point, and to know accurately what the increase of expense is which Whitelock's appointment, and his increased rank is to cost the public.

"Both Lord Henry and I are pledged to Parliament for endeavouring to reduce the enormous actual expense of the staff of our army all over the world; and we could not show our faces if all I hear about Whitelock and his staff be true.

"I must also say that, on the best consideration I can give to the subject, I think 4,000*l. per annum* is full enough for his salary as Governor, in addition to a like sum which you state he is to have as Commander-in-Chief there.

"I conclude, that in consequence of the news respecting the *Fly*, you will countermand the orders for sending out an additional regiment of infantry. The artillery troop may, I think, still be of use." *Copy.*

#### W. WINDHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 28. Downing Street.—"The reason for the wish expressed by Whitelock for additional rank was a very simple one, namely that almost every one for a long while past had had it; and among the latest and strongest instances was Lord Howick's brother; who (Lord Howick) would certainly have found himself awkwardly situated if he had been obliged to object to this step in Whitelock's instance when the same had been given to Grey, rather a young Major-General, who was going upon no active service, and whose chief reason for wishing the rank of Lieutenant-General was stated to be, more than the increase of pay, the privilege of having an additional aide-de-camp.

"The difficulty, however, is removed by the fact of Whitelock having relinquished the application in consequence of the wish which I expressed to him, and an instance or two which I was invited to cite where the step in question had not been granted. What his staff is in other respects I don't know, but, I take it for granted, neither more nor less than is usual in similar cases, except in the single instance of a third aide-de-camp, which was added by the sole act of the Duke of York, unsolicited and unknown to me, and not even from any personal motive of his own, but from the mere consideration, as far as I know and believe, of the doubtful state of health of one of the other aides-de-camp, and of the nature of the service being likely to require a good deal of that sort of aid. This aide-de-camp was originally to have gone out supernumerary, and without pay. By the act, as above, of the Duke of York he was put upon pay. He may undoubtedly be struck off again, but with less than two aides-de-camp (this would make the third) no Lieutenant-General, I fancy,

upon active service ever goes out. Grey, not upon active service, and only a Lieutenant-General by local rank, has that number, namely two.

"In respect to the additional allowance to be made to General Whitelock as Governor, I have, as I told you, no very decided opinion. But I still think that 5,000*l.* would be nearer the proper sum.

"In the last war, when only a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and with a very confined command, he had what amounted to between four and five thousand. The reference however, is chiefly to be made to other governments, and upon the result of that comparison the conclusion seems to be the same. I shall state to him what you seem to think would be the proper allowance. I have stated to him no opinion of my own.

"The intelligence received about the *Fly* does not vary at all in my mind the propriety of sending the regiment, nor does it, in fact, vary the state of facts as they appeared to us at the time when that determination was taken. This intelligence only does away the effect of what we learnt about the *Fly*, subsequent to the original discussion. If an account received by a letter from a land officer on board the *Fly* be true, it will not be even that; as the *Fly* is said to intend to look for Murray in the first instance at the Brazils. My own opinion remains decidedly as it was, that the regiment now embarked should go. By the want of it I think the whole character of the service may be changed.

"I have just learnt that it was not proposed to put the third aide-de-camp upon pay."

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 3. Milton.—"Having reason to think that Lord Holland will again call your attention to the case of Mrs. Dickson, widow of the late Bishop of Downe, and that his solicitations will be backed by many other persons, allow me to add my name to the list of solicitors in her behalf. I do so from a variety of considerations; on account of my own long intimacy and friendship with the bishop, but still more from a thorough conviction that poor Fox had much at heart the relief of the family of a friend he had loved so long and so much as the Bishop of Downe. He was through life one of his dearest friends. It is needless to state the nature of Mrs. Dickson's case; Lord Holland will enter into that detail, but I believe you are yourself already aware of all its circumstances."

W. WINDHAM TO THE SAME.

1807, March 3. [Arlington Street.]—"I have left with Sir James Cockburn a draft of the instructions to General Whitelock, altered in a way to make them more conformable to

ideas that seem to prevail, though probably not entirely so. They are at the same time by no means in perfect conformity to my own. I am clear for operations on the northern part of the west coast, in preference to the more southern; or would at least leave a discretion for that purpose. Against a total prohibition of operations on the western side, I must protest still more strongly.

“As the urgency of General Whitelock’s departure is now no longer the same, and so many things may yet not be quite ready, my absence, even if it could create a delay of a day or two, might be of no consequence. But there is no necessity for its doing so. The instruction may be altered, as shall seem best. I can only keep to my own opinion. My going into Norfolk was pressed by very strong reasons. I shall get back by Thursday night or Friday morning.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOTT to THE SAME.

1807, March 4. Dublin Castle.—“Your note of the 28th February reached me this morning, and I have taken the earliest opportunity of showing it to the Lord Lieutenant.

“The next vacancy in the representative peerage is (as you will recollect) destined for Lord Leitrim, and Lord Portarlington has (as you also know) been given to understand he might look to the second. Lord Lisimore, Lord Belmore, Lord Gosford, and Lord Farnham are all very anxious to be representative peers, and are (particularly the three first) powerful candidates.

“Except in the instance of Lord Portarlington, the Lord Lieutenant had made it a rule not to make any promise or hold out any expectation beyond one vacancy.”

*Postscript.*—“Perhaps I ought to mention that Lord Blayney has a deep orange tinge, and committed one of the violent acts in the year ’97 or ’98. Of course you will have the goodness to consider this hint as quite *confidential*.”

*Private and Confidential.*

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to THE SAME.

1807, March 7. Dublin Castle.—“I am unwilling to risk any interruption of the progress of Lord Spencer’s recovery during his stay at Althorpe by unnecessarily harassing him with business, and beg your permission that I may address myself to you upon that very anxious subject on which I have of late so frequently communicated confidentially with Lord Spencer, namely—the discussions now carrying on in the Catholic body. By the information I have received, of which I transmit herewith a copy to your lordship, it appears that some alarm has been taken by the committee now sitting in Dublin, and suspicions excited that Lord Ponsonby has been sent by the Government in England to tamper with the leading men of the body, and induce them to forego for the

present the professed object of their late meetings. I had before received an intimation that such a suspicion was afloat, and it naturally created some uneasiness in my mind. Conscious that the Government on this side of the water stood perfectly clear of such an imputation, I felt anxious that an impression so injurious should not attach to the Government in England, and immediately upon the receipt of this information from Mr. Hay, I requested to see the Chancellor and Lord Ponsonby in presence of Mr. Elliot. They were with me yesterday evening after the breaking up of the Court of Chancery, but left me at too late an hour to allow of any writing to your lordship by that evening's mail. The Chancellor and Mr. Elliot were decidedly of opinion (in which I fully coincided) that the best and safest policy to be pursued was to let them take their own course without interfering with their measures in any shape, or attempting to counteract a spirit which, I am persuaded, will only acquire additional strength from resistance. This, I imagine, will be the most dignified as well as most effectual refutation of the assertion that Ministers are tampering with the Catholics to create a delay.

“It may be perhaps necessary to apprize your lordship that my informant is not entitled to the most implicit credit; and I learn through another channel that the alarm of the committee takes its rise solely from a paragraph which has appeared in some of the newspapers, stating that you had declared at a public dinner that the session would close before Easter.

“Not having heard from you directly on the subject of Lord Ponsonby's mission to Ireland, I felt somewhat embarrassed as to the degree of confidence it was expected I should give to him in the communications I should have occasion to hold with him; but Lord Howick having informed me that it was by your wish, united to his own, that he came here to endeavour by his personal influence to diminish as much as possible the mischiefs likely to result from the ill-timed zeal of some, and the evil intentions of others, among the Catholic body, I could not hesitate in lending the most cordial co-operation to Lord Ponsonby's efforts towards so desirable an end. I trust, however, that your lordship will approve of the caution I have invariably used in not suffering the name or even the wishes of the Irish Government to be blended in any intercourse Lord Ponsonby may have had with individuals among the Catholics; and in requesting that whatever may pass between him and any of them, may be considered as proceeding from his own private sentiments, and in no degree whatever committing the Government of the country.”

*Postscript.*—“I have to add that, understanding it was in contemplation to call a meeting of the Catholics of the county of Kerry at the time of the assizes, Elliot wrote to Mr. Fitzgerald to suggest the expediency of his endeavouring



to dissuade the Catholics in that quarter from adopting so injurious a proceeding, and this is the only communication that has originated from the Castle on the subject."

*Enclosure.*

E. HAY, SECRETARY of the CATHOLIC COMMITTEE, to THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, March 5. Lower Ormond Quay.—“When last I had the honour of addressing your Grace I did not imagine that anything would occur that should induce me to communicate it. The Committee assembled this day, and came to the resolutions enclosed. Reports are circulated that the session is to close for the purpose of preventing the Catholic petition from being presented. Individuals of the Catholic body are said to have been tampered with by the Government, to create a delay for that purpose. Those individuals are said to be already so pledged to the petition that they cannot recede, and it is the opinion of many that the petition ought to be forwarded immediately, signed by the chairman, committee, secretary, and a few other respectable names. I have written to Lord Fingall this evening as directed.” *Copy.*

*Enclosing.*

*Resolutions of the Catholic Committee that a petition be drawn up immediately, and presented to Parliament.*

\**Private.* LORD HOLLAND to VISCOUNT HOWICK.

1807, March [6].—“I have reflected upon the subject of our conversation, and will explain as shortly as I can my opinion upon the conduct we should pursue towards Lord Sidmouth, the Parliament, and the King.

“Lord Sidmouth, I understand, has declared that either a junction with Canning, or the extension of concessions to the Catholics beyond the letter of the Irish Act, must lead to a breach between him and his colleagues in office. I own it appears to me essential to our characters that he should not have it in his power to confound these two questions; because I have little difficulty in saying that our cause of separation would be as bad if it originated with an intention of bringing in Canning against Lord Sidmouth's will or without his consent, as it is clearly good and creditable if it arises from our determination to give to the Catholics all that they have been promised through Mr. Elliot. As the negotiation with Canning has taken place, it is idle now to regret that so unnecessary a precaution against possible, and I trust remote cases should have been thought of, while a question on which Lord Sidmouth was naturally jealous was depending, and when the agitation of that question gave him an opportunity, if he was averse to the negotiation, of

\* This letter, originally undated, appears to have been forwarded by Lord Howick to Lord Grenville in another, also undated, and now printed on page 123. Both letters were probably written on or about March 6, 1807.

separating with credit and advantage to himself. But as I should have thought it unhandsome to him to take in Canning (to whom, however, I feel no dislike, but on the contrary great personal friendship and regard) without his consent, and as I think in any question or choice between them we were bound to decide in Lord Sidmouth's favour, I hope it is not too late to offer him the concession of that point, and thereby to prove to our own satisfaction that it is upon the Bill and not upon any preference shewn to his particular enemies that he has broken his political connexion with us.

"I think, in short, that we owe him this for his hitherto honourable conduct towards us ; namely, the assurance of abandoning all negociation with Canning if his objections to such a measure are insuperable. But I think we must expect that he should use no efforts against our Catholic Bill, except his simple dissent to the parts which he disapproves. I agree with you that he cannot recede ; but it is surely essential that he should not put us in the wrong, and represent us, after coalescing and acting with him, to have preferred, without any immediate necessity whatever, our own opponents and his bitter enemies to him.

"As to our mode of proceeding in Parliament, I agree in almost every view you have of the subject. The Bill, if possible, must be got through the House of Commons. If rejected there, our course is clear, and we must that instant resign. If passed, any placeman who opposed it should be removed ; but while that point is battling with the Court, the Bill might go to the Lords, where its rejection would be more certain than it is in the Commons, and would, as there, call for our immediate resignation. But, as the most eligible mode would be to go out upon a rejection of the Bill, not upon a question of turning out a placeman, I think we might protract, though we must not delay, the discussion of dismissing those who oppose us in the Commons. The difference, however, in these modes of proceeding are very immaterial, and the only object of consequence is to get the Bill through the House of Commons as fast as possible. The more I think of our strength the more I am convinced that we shall either carry our point without coming to an open rupture, or that we shall be finally successful in the struggle."

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, March 11. Downing Street.—"The pressure of this, the most busy period of the session, has prevented my answering your Grace's letters as regularly as I could have wished, and has obliged me to rely on Lord Spencer's communicating to you from time to time the sentiments of the King's Ministers on the interesting matters which have been passing in Ireland. His illness has, I fear, led to some, though

unavoidable yet, inconvenient delays in that respect—nor is he yet returned to town.

“The difficulties of the subject of tithes, always considerable, are much increased, as indeed every other difficulty is which respects the Government of Ireland, by the rash and intemperate conduct which the Catholics of Dublin have been so inconsiderate as to adopt. A spirit of bigotry has been awakened in this country to a degree which it is not easy to conceive without being an eye-witness of it. And so far from there being the least probability of success in obtaining for the Catholics that full and complete toleration which accords with your Grace’s opinions and mine, it appears to me still very doubtful whether the measure now actually in its progress in Parliament may not be defeated by the intolerant principles which prevail so extensively in this country, and by the spirit of intrigue, which is so actively at work on the subject.

“If therefore, in this state of things, we were to agitate the matter of tithes, without being prepared with a satisfactory and well-considered plan, great mischief might unquestionably arise, and a prejudice would be created as to the question itself which it would be very difficult indeed to remove. I should therefore strongly advise that your Grace should immediately consider of three or four persons fit to be entrusted with the consideration of such a subject, and should proceed in conjunction with them to digest and methodise a measure, which might be fully considered here during the recess of Parliament, and might be ready to be submitted to the two Houses at the opening of the next session.

“In doing this, our leading consideration must be that of the church of Ireland, whose opposition would infallibly draw after it that of the church in this country also. You are much better acquainted with the character of the Irish bishops than myself, and could therefore much better judge whether the Primate, or any other of the bishops could safely be taken into your confidence for preparing and digesting a measure on this subject. There is no doubt that to reasonable men such a measure must appear no less beneficial to the clergy of Ireland than to the country at large, but men are not always reasonable when their interests, and particularly tithe interests are in question. Yet so much benefit would result from our having some ecclesiastical help in this business, that I think it would be well worth while for your Grace to sound on this matter either the Primate or such other bishop in whom you think you could better confide. Whatever is said (especially at this moment) must, however, be under the strictest injunctions of secrecy.

“It has occurred to me that the proposition, whatever it may be, which we may finally adopt, may be rendered much more acceptable, if it be left optional to the tithe-holder to apply for a valuation with a view to *modus* or other conversion

of tithe into money, or to continue on his present footing. The discouragements and even dangers which are now in the way of the collection of tithes are so great that I cannot help thinking that, if the valuation were conducted on equitable principles, a great proportion of the holders of tithes would gladly avail themselves of it. And it might be provided that tithe once so converted should not afterwards be liable to the former mode of collection, so that the remedy would thus gradually extend itself in a progression constantly advancing.

“It is hardly worth while in this stage of the business to advert to the details of such a plan, but it strikes me strongly that the interference of the magistrates of the country in any part of the valuation would be highly exceptionable; and that such a valuation must be solely by commissioners appointed (under due regulations) by the Court of Exchequer, and subject to appeal first to that Court, and thence to the House of Lords.

“Your Grace will see from what I have already stated that I am by no means of opinion that any notice should be given on this subject in Parliament until we are prepared with our measure, being convinced that such a notice would only stimulate a blind and indiscriminating opposition. The notice on the Scotch Judicature was not given without my being prepared with the leading features of the measure, which were actually voted in the form of resolutions at no long time after the notice was given. The same objections which apply to such a notice, before our plan is in some state of forwardness, apply I think with still greater force to the measure of a Parliamentary Commission, the proposal of which would excite every species of alarm without our having the benefit of those favourable impressions which the details of a well digested plan might in part create.

“But although for these reasons I do not think that any thing can well be done or said on the subject in Parliament during the present session, I am in the greatest degree anxious that no time should be lost in bringing the measure into such a shape as that it may be carefully and attentively considered here at the earliest possible moment.

“With respect to the principles on which such a measure should be founded I have no preference for the ideas which I submitted to your Grace’s consideration, over any others that may be found more practicable. But if the measure could, according to the suggestion which I have already mentioned in this letter, be made optional on the part of the titheholder, it might then be advisable to open to his choice more than one mode of commutation or conversion.

“The throwing the *modus* on the landowner would most unquestionably be a thing highly desirable in principle. But it should seem that such a plan could not be adopted except with reference to future leases, especially in Ireland where

there are so many holdings one under the other, all which bargains would be materially varied, if this burden, now borne by the last in this scale, namely the actual occupier, were without compensation removed from him, and thrown back on the first in the scale, who may have little more than a nominal seignior over the lands; another difficulty would also arise in the execution of such a plan on account of the remedy to be given to the tithe-holder, as it would be a great practical grievance to subject the occupier to a distress for the default of some person with whom he has in fact not the smallest connection.

“These and other difficulties will no doubt require much consideration and care, but I have little doubt they may be surmounted when the matter comes to be examined and worked out in its details; and all I would now urge is that no time may be lost in entering upon the work, by such instruments as you may judge best for the purpose.

“I have said all this in the supposition that this and other public business will remain in our hands. But this is certainly to be considered as doubtful, on account of circumstances connected with this very business of the Catholics of Ireland, to whom Parliament may possibly refuse to grant even the little that is now proposed.

“I have heard from other quarters of the supposed declaration attributed to me, that Parliament would have finished its business before Easter. I heartily wish that I could have said this with truth, as I have always thought that it was incumbent on the Government to expedite the progress of its business in Parliament with much more efficacy and dispatch than I have ever known it done. But to do this it would be necessary to root out from the public offices those inveterate habits of procrastination which so many years of a different practice have created.

“I own I am not much alive to the imputation of *tampering* with the Catholics. I have never concealed, but have on the contrary taken pains openly to avow, the total disapprobation with which we view the course which they have recently pursued, and the great mischiefs which we think it likely to produce both to their interests and to those of the empire. I am confident that what they have now done has thrown their cause back many years, and has more than counteracted all the advantages, great as I think they were, which it derived from the discussions in the two Houses in 1804.

“Feeling these impressions strongly, and thinking that the Catholics have now but one course left, that of receding in some degree from what they have already done, or at least disavowing and separating themselves from the intemperate conduct and language of those who have led the Dublin proceedings, I do not feel that there can be any inconvenience in letting these sentiments be generally known. But on this

as on every other point connected with the management of this most delicate business, I am much more desirous of following your Grace's judgment than my own.

"Lord Ponsonby went to Ireland as much at my desire as at Lord Howick's, but in the impossibility under which I was of writing to your Grace fully on the subject, I left it to Lord Howick, who undertook fully to explain to your Grace what was the object of his mission, which may however be comprised in a few words. It was to express to the Catholics, *without committing Government*, the decided opinion of all their friends here that they were pursuing the course which was exactly the most calculated to injure their cause, and to postpone, if not to frustrate, their hopes of ultimate success.

"This is certainly the opinion which every friend to a full toleration entertains in this country, and I heartily wish I had not every day fresh reason to think it well-founded. Under such circumstances I cannot help thinking that all prudent and cautious means ought to be used, to bring them to a better sense of their own interests.

"If the Bill for the admission of Catholics into the army should pass, I shall have occasion to trouble your Grace on the steps to be taken for giving immediate effect to its provisions; a subject on which I have already had some communication with the Duke of York." *Holograph.*

#### LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1807, March 12. Downing Street.—"Lord Grenville humbly solicits your Majesty's permission to attend your Majesty to-morrow at any time that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to appoint. In consequence of what your Majesty expressed to him yesterday, he has felt the greatest anxiety and distress of mind from the idea that any misunderstanding, however unintentional on his part, should have had the effect of creating uneasiness in your Majesty's breast on a point on which he had felt so earnest and peculiar a desire to avoid any such impression. And he trusts that what he will have the honour of laying before Your Majesty to-morrow, will at least evince the sincerity of these sentiments." *Holograph copy.*

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1807, March 12. Stowe.]—"I send you back the letter which you received from Lord Fingall that you may compare it with another of March 4th which I have just received. Every circumstance of the style and tone of this last letter satisfies me that a disposition exists to resist Mr. Keogh and his democrats. I have therefore written, as you see, very explicitly my opinion of the necessity of a virtual, if not of

a direct disavowal of Mr. Keogh's principles; and you will observe that, for the purpose of gaining confidence for you, I have ventured to vow in your name what you certainly will not disavow; and as I thought that my letter was more ostensible if understood to be written without communication with you; yet, if there is anything that you wish to be said or done in this business, I am ready to be employed. You will observe that there are in his letter some allusions to blame of Elliott. Of course I have taken no notice of them, but the impression of his want of management of these people is very strong; I do not however know the details.

"Many and many congratulations on the Eylau battle. I trust and hope you are thinking of your fleet in the Baltic, which, in cases that may turn up in your cards, may have very decisive effect upon friends and foes."

*Enclosure 1.*

THE EARL OF FINGALL TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 2. Dublin.—"I regret very much not having some months ago made known to your lordship what was foreseen, I should suppose, by every person in this country, that the Catholics would petition Parliament again this session. Since the Union it has been their intention every session; and though unsuccessful two years ago, the discussion that took place, and in which the cause of the Catholics was so ably supported, certainly did good in this country at large. Last year Mr. Fox's letter, I believe, in great measure disposed the Catholics to put off their petition; this year, the new elections have certainly contributed to hurry the business forward. I must also say to your lordship, without being inclined to find fault, that it was most unlucky that after an application was made by the first meeting held in Dublin early in January, an answer was so long delayed. Nothing raised the public expectation more than this interval, and there was not a Catholic who was not persuaded something would, at last, be done. Parliament for the present they did not look to; but sheriffs, the corporations, the Bank directorships, and the Inner Bar. However, I can safely assert, the first of these points would have been satisfactory; and I will further say that until it is conceded, in an unfortunate country so torn to pieces by party and prejudice as this is, things cannot go on well.

"I perfectly agree with your lordship that it is very unlucky and to be deplored that the public meetings and speeches have not been more temperate; but, since the Convention Act, the Catholics have no way left to them but these sort of aggregate meetings; and this is a misfortune while the laws are not repealed by which the Roman Catholics are affected, which is unavoidable.

“There is nothing so objectionable to Roman Catholics since the year 1793 as division amongst themselves. Some gentlemen who at that time disapproved of the proceedings of the Body, seceded; concessions *very valuable* were made to those who came forward; and the influence which ought to have been in the hands of the Catholic aristocracy, more by far for the benefit of the country than their own gratification, they have never since recovered. Since the Union the democratic part of the Catholics, I do not apply this to their principles, has rapidly increased; and one who is not a close observer can hardly believe how much both in property and numbers the Catholics increase every day. These are fortunate circumstances for the empire, I should suppose. Men who acquire property will be attached to the government they live under, and increased population is surely most desirable to fill the ranks of our defenders. However repugnant it is, I am persuaded, to a great majority of the Catholics that language should be used by some individuals which may be construed into a wish to intimidate, or may deviate from the general sentiment of the Catholics respecting their friends now in power, it would, I am sure, be impossible to procure disavowal of what is really attributable to the very few, because it would produce much irritation and ill-will amongst the Catholics themselves; and surely all who really know the Catholics must be persuaded that they merely look to privileges which, in the opinion of all the wise and enlightened statesmen in Europe, they ought to enjoy as much for the advantage of the empire as for their own. There never was a greater misfortune, nor a more disastrous measure than the Union, not having been followed by those arrangements, which, if not promised, were understood to be the consequence. This, I am sure, your lordship will agree in. Aware and convinced as I am what the difficulty now is, and that it is insuperable, I should be the happiest man in the world if I could arrest the public Catholic mind, and persuade them to wait with patience. Two years ago I made no small struggles to this effect, but in vain. This year it was impossible; and to have the questions brought forward by one set of Catholics, and then thrown out or withdrawn because all do not join, is, I conceive, almost as great a misfortune as can happen to the country, or the Catholics themselves. This opinion I several times heard expressed by Mr. Fox. For my own part I may mistake in my conduct. I am in a very difficult situation; but I feel that no motive can actuate me but the best intentions for the safety and prosperity of the country. I wish I could stop the progress of the question. To its being brought forward two years ago I sacrificed the object nearest my heart; at least to this I attribute it more than existing laws which, I am happy, are now to be relaxed.”



*Enclosure 2.*

THE EARL OF FINGALL TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1807, March 4. Dublin.—“The interest you are so good as to take in a subject on which I had the honour of addressing myself to you in answer to your lordship’s very kind letter to me a few days ago, encourages me to hope you will forgive my again trespassing on that *same subject*. No one more sincerely agrees with your lordship in all the observations you so justly make, nor more cordially wishes, and has ever done so, that this business could be let to rest till the auspicious moment shall arrive when, without difficulty, it can be accomplished. But of this it is impossible to persuade other people. And, without referring to past occurrences in which there has been some want of good management everywhere, is there not a possibility of retrieving some of the errors that have been committed, by means short of dividing the Catholics. For to this I could never bring my mind; and there is nothing, as I before had the honour of stating to your lordship, so repugnant to the general feelings; and certainly, to separate from the Catholic body those in whom, I will venture to say, every confidence may [be] placed, is a measure, if it could be managed, not without serious consequence. I find the public mind is beginning now to be more temperate, the value of having friends in power, and keeping out of enemies is more felt. This disposition might be worked on to the general advantage; but I need not say this is to be done with much management. The moderate and well-inclined may be persuaded, but they will never be driven to recede from resolutions adopted—it is fair to say—without all the consideration they ought to have had. So perfectly acquainted as you are with Ireland, you well know how apt we are to act or speak before we reflect; also how positively we adhere to what we have undertaken; and how much afraid of appearing inconsistent, by changing a determination once made. In this desirable change, I am too far pledged to be able to take any part; but this much I can say to your lordship in confidence, if it can be managed, I shall feel it my duty to give it every discreet assistance I can. Some of the principal Dublin merchants, and the country gentlemen, should originate this plan. There is time enough, as the assize will not be over till the middle of next month; and though the petition should be, as it will, most generally signed, perhaps much inconvenience would be avoided were it let to lay over till next session, some assurance being given that it should then be taken into consideration. Though I will not answer that this can be done, it occurs to me worth trying, and I should feel myself wanting in what I feel I owe to your lordship for your constant kindness and friendship to me, if I were not to suggest what strikes me on this subject. Your lordship will do me, I trust, the justice to believe that

measures tending to embarrass never can originate with me. At the same time you must well see how impossible it is for me to resist the public opinion. If time can be gained, such management will, I hope, be used as will take things out of the unpleasant situation they now are in ; and confidence so placed as to prevent a recurrence of the like again.

“No person is better acquainted with this country than your lordship. You know its interests, and have always shown how much you value them. Yours and my Lord Grenville’s attachment to the cause of the Catholics must be felt by every one. Your opinions must have the greatest weight in England.

“I have, in the utmost confidence, communicated to your lordship my view of things here now. If what I have hinted be worth attending to, I need not repeat it must not by any means be thought to come from me. I have many apologies to make to your lordship for this long letter, but I wished for an opportunity of explaining myself more fully than I could do in my last.”

*Enclosure 3.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE EARL OF FINGALL.

1807, March 10. Stowe.—“I am this moment honoured with your lordship’s letter of the 4th instant. I should not have felt myself precluded by your lordship’s injunctions of confidence from showing that letter to Lord Grenville, through whom alone I could assist your wishes, if he had been within my reach ; but, at this distance from London, I should lose three days before I could say anything upon it in communication with him ; and I think it may be essential towards the replacing the Irish Catholic body in that situation, tone, and temper, that alone can enable any one to support their petition at any time, that no time should be lost in ‘persuading’ not in ‘driving’ those moderate councils, which alone can set right what has been so wrong. I have therefore determined to answer your lordship’s letter immediately, and I shall do it without the smallest reserve, conceiving as I do that very much of the prosperity of the empire, so far as it is connected with this most important discussion, will depend upon the turn that may be given to it by those moderate Catholics to whose opinion your lordship adverts.

“The principles of the Catholic body, and the leading features of their petitions to Parliament for the last 25 years, and particularly of their last petition, were patience, submission, confidence in the equity of Government, and resignation to the result ; and the tone and colour of their public meetings always enabled the advocates for their petitions to state, in the most favourable point of view, their attachment to Government and their dutiful submission to Parliament. Those who have forced forward these discussions at a moment

when they knew—for no one is ignorant of the fact—that it was *impossible* from various circumstances that their petition should succeed, and who urged that petition, as is generally believed, with many sentiments of menace, defiance, and ill-blood, increased by a mischievous reference to the capitulation of the city of Limerick, and to transactions of that period, civil and military, which can only tend to irritate on both sides ; those men—I say—whoever they may be, have ‘divided’ the Catholics by separating from the opinions and conduct adopted by that body for the last fifty years. I have not heard that this language or character of proceedings was reprovèd or disavowèd ; and if the influence of these people, of the multitude, has ‘driven’ your more moderate and respectable Catholics of all ranks and situations, without persuading them—for I well know that your lordship could never have been so ‘persuaded’—pains should be taken to disavow what must otherwise continue to be understood as the style and character of all composing your last Dublin meeting. It would indeed be most desirable that the body should be ‘persuaded’ to adopt a more temperate course, not by separating into parties, but by a general and avowed disposition to reconsider, and to adapt to the circumstances of the times, resolutions which were, most certainly, hastily entertained ; for, in point of fact, the whole deliberation, which ought to have been most grave and well digested, was over in two hours. Perhaps it may be possible to induce your meeting, when their petition shall have been signed, to agree to suspend the presentation of it, on a suggestion from your assize meetings, or from some respectable individual or body amongst yourselves, that those who are in Parliament considered as the steadiest friends to your cause, *all* consider this an improper time to urge it, and fear that the mischief of pledging new votes against your petition greatly counterbalances all supposed advantage of perseverance. This might, of course, save to all parties their several opinions ; and, if this resolution was mixed up with proper expressions of loyalty, submission, and humble confidence, much of the bad impression now created might be done away. But in urging this, which I do from the purest principles of good will to your body, and as the only path to those objects which I trust you will one day attain, I beg to suggest that I would not consent, even as an humble individual, and much less could I if I were a Minister, to pledge myself to any specific line of conduct in this business next session ; and though I am aware that I furnish the weapon in argument against myself by admitting that the same or other reasons may call upon me, even *then*, to wish to put by that consideration and question, yet I feel it my duty expressly to say to your lordship that I can give no assurances for myself on that matter, further than that my opinions never have varied, and to the best of my belief never can be shaken, on

the proposition of relieving the Catholics from all religious disqualifications; but that I must continue to judge for myself on the political expediency of proposing to Parliament that relief, at one time rather than at another. And I know enough of Lord Grenville's opinions on these matters to be able to assure your lordship most confidently, that no wish is nearer to his heart, than that he may find the opportunity of proposing that relief to Parliament whenever he can do it advantageously for the Catholics, and with security to the internal quiet of the empire. I feel that, by the whole tenor of this letter, I must appear to act ungraciously to this body, and to claim on behalf of Lord Grenville a confidence in him beyond what many may think reasonable; but as, in truth, he has been at all times and in all situations the steadiest friend to your claims, so you must leave to him, if you are satisfied that he means fairly to you, the discretion of judging in this matter, as he must in all great state questions, not only the abstract question, but the various political bearings that have reference to it. Amongst these questions of expediency must be the consideration whether the Catholic claims would lose ground in the two Houses of Parliament by the time or circumstances under which they are put forward; and of this question the Catholic meeting has no means of judging, whilst Lord Grenville and the Ministers would be unfit for their situations, if they were not the best judges of that point of expediency.

“As to the means of recalling your body to the course that for so many years did them so much credit, I may be more sanguine than your lordship; but, if the disposition exists, the course is most obvious for confiding in those to whom the immediate discussion of Irish affairs is officially committed, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Spencer, and Lord Grenville, and to their brethren in Cabinet. For that question which you cannot decide, the question of expediency, I cannot imagine that it would be difficult to find some person respectable for his character, whether from your laity or your clergy, to suggest at some country meeting that before the petition is transmitted to England, the resolution for the immediate delivery of it should be deliberately considered with the intention of giving due weight to the opinions that may be entertained by Government on the disadvantage or advantages that the Catholic body may derive from the discussion of their claims in Parliament at this period. I shall conceive that no one of the very many who are known to your lordship and to me as men of the purest honour and integrity, would decline to put himself forward to a proposition which I verily believe is now the only one that can do away the mischief already created; and my only reason for not writing to any other person to press this idea, arises out of my persuasion that your lordship might (as I think directly and avowedly, but of that you must be the best judge) through

some friend in whom you can confide, set this stone rolling which will collect in its progress. If, however, your lordship thinks differently, and will point out any other course or channel through which this can be done, I shall be ready, as I always have been, to serve your cause so far as you yourselves will allow me to do ; or as far as I may be able ; and you will, I am sure, give me credit for the gratification I shall feel in being enabled to uphold and to praise the tone and course of the Catholic proceedings, instead of feeling myself imperiously called upon to resist principles which were put forward as the grounds of your claim, and which were not, as I believe, disavowed by any one there present.

“ I must entreat your lordship forgiveness for this long letter, drawn from me by my anxiety, that has already induced me to represent to you the mischief that has arisen from want of temper and deliberation. I urged you then, and I again take the same liberty of pressing you, to stand forward to dissuade your countrymen of your communion from a course so ruinous to themselves, and to the empire. My situation, as unconnected with office or Cabinet, my age and, may I say, experience enables me to speak explicitly on this interesting matter, and I can have no personal interest nor indirect object in my advice. You must be the best judge how, and when, and through whom it may best be attempted to lead back opinions that have run wild, to the steady, sober, and dignified situation in which the Catholic body stood before this mischief ; but you have not a moment to lose ; and I again repeat, that if you can point out any name or course in which I can be of use to this object, I am impatient to know it.

“ Personally your sentiments are so well known to me, that I can write without reserve to you, even where I think your wish for conciliation has carried you much too far ; and if I appear to urge you to stand very forward for the purpose of regaining to your body the advantageous ground they have lost, it is because I wish that others should think as highly of you, as I do.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOTT.

1807, March 13. Downing Street.—“ I have written a volume to the Duke of Bedford on all our difficulties and distresses. I never was called upon to make any sacrifice to public duty that I so strongly felt as this ; and yet, I feel satisfied that we are called upon to make it. Even with this sacrifice you will see it is still doubtful whether all will do, and whether the country is not, at all events, to be exposed to a struggle in various ways which it is ill able to support.

“ Whatever can be done with honour to avert this evil I am prepared to do. But I am alarmed by an expression in one of the Duke’s letters which seems to point at his leaving Ireland.

“For God’s sake, if he has any such idea, use every exertion that man can use to prevent his carrying it into execution. Such a step, under the present circumstances, could not fail to produce consequences at which his mind would look back with horror, and, may I add, with some degree of self-reproach, if he had not, like us, done all that is possible to avert them.

“Bring these considerations strongly to his view if it be necessary, but I trust it is not; and if you feel, as you probably and naturally must, some pain at the situation in which all this places you, remember that we are not (whatever Lord Castlereagh may say) on a bed of roses.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, March 13. Downing Street.—“You will receive with this a letter, which I had prepared a day or two ago, on the tithe question, but which in the hurry of the present moment I have been obliged to leave to be transcribed, as well as this, by another hand.

“In addition to what is there mentioned of the growing difficulties on this side of the water respecting the Catholic Bill, it is now necessary that I should apprize you of what has passed within these few days on this most distressing subject.

“The intended measure was brought under the consideration of the King by a minute of Cabinet, transmitting to him for his approbation the draft of Lord Spencer’s despatch to your Grace of the 12th (I think) of February. I was fully persuaded at the time, and remain so still, that the terms of that despatch contain a clear avowal of the intention of opening to the King’s subjects of all descriptions the naval and military professions, without any other restriction than the necessity of taking the oath there described. The King’s consent to this despatch was not obtained without considerable delay and difficulty; but when that consent had been obtained, I felt no hesitation in authorising the communication of that intention to the Catholics, and in concurring in bringing the measure forward in Parliament.

“It now appears, however, and I have no doubt that such is the fact, that the King, when a reluctant consent was extorted from him, conceived himself as consenting to no more than that the Irish Act of 1793, according to its strict letter, should be extended to England; and he has stated within these three days such objections to his going one inch beyond the concession so limited, as plainly to leave no other alternative, but either to yield to those objections or to break up the Government.

“In this state of things our first duty manifestly was to put off the discussion of the Bill, which stood for this day, in order that there might be time both for him and us to consider what course we should pursue. The dissolution of the present Government on such grounds as these, would

be attended with such manifest public inconvenience, that in the universal opinion of all our friends, both in and out of the Cabinet, much ought to be done to avoid it. On the other hand, the difficulties of concession on our part, both as to form and substance are greater than have belonged to any other subject that I have ever been called upon to consider.

“Yesterday evening some of the leading members of the Cabinet met here to discuss the subject, and the result was an opinion, in which I trust under all the circumstances your Grace will concur, that an opening should be made to the King to-day of a disposition on our part, to ascertain how far it was practicable to exclude from the Bill those parts of it which the King objected to as new concessions going beyond the principle of the Act of 1793. We had in fact abstained from urging larger concessions only because, as success was hopeless, no good could result from the proposal; while, on the other hand, the discussion, and still more the rejection of the measure, must produce fresh irritation and mischief of every kind. The same consideration more strongly applies to the present question from the moment that we are certain, as we now are, that we could not carry through any concession beyond the Act of 1793. The object to be obtained, and, much less important, the hopes of success are not at all better, and the mischiefs from a fruitless struggle on the subject exactly the same. Having therefore forbore to stake the continuance of the Government on the larger ground, we did not think that we could be justified in doing it in an instance of so less comparative importance.

“Your Grace will readily believe that this resolution was nevertheless on many accounts in no small degree painful to us. When it was taken, it was important that no time should be lost in executing it. I saw the King to-day, and have undertaken to prepare and lay before the Cabinet the draft of a paper to be submitted to his consideration specifying the different circumstances to be attended to in attempting to modify the Bill according to this idea.

“These are principally, 1st, the question of the navy, with the exception of flag officers, corresponding to that of generals upon the staff. 2nd, The oaths and declarations against the more obnoxious tenets ascribed to papists, and which are abjured by Catholics in Ireland under the Act of 13 and 14 George III, and in England under a later Act, and from which, if the act of 1793 be strictly adhered to, they cannot be exempted; and which it will nevertheless be difficult to apply to this case, the declaration not being the same in the two countries. And 3rd, the case of Protestant dissenters, whom it was not necessary to include in the Act of 1793, they being already relieved in Ireland from the sacramental test by the Act of 1774, and who cannot with any propriety be left in England subject to a disqualification no longer applying to Catholics.

“The King’s prejudices are, however, unhappily, so strong on all these points that I must confess, I think it extremely doubtful whether any arrangement of them can be made which we should think it possible for us to propose, and which he could bring his mind to acquiesce in.

“Should this be the case, we shall be driven back to consider whether it may not be better, instead of endeavouring to alter the Bill, rather to let it drop entirely; professing that it was brought forward in the hope that when the whole of what we think useful could not be obtained, yet some good might be done, and that when this appeared desperate, we no longer wish to press the discussion of the subject in a shape in which we can hope no good from it.

“I am well aware that whatever course the business can now take it must be productive of considerable inconvenience in Ireland, and add much to the difficulties of your situation there. Under these difficulties I must fairly say my only hope of maintaining the tranquility of Ireland would be in the confidence which the Catholics (I mean the rational and well disposed part of that body) place in your Grace’s character and conduct. This sentiment is a leading consideration in all that we have done in this most difficult and trying situation, and the fear of the inevitable consequences of a change of Government here, but still more in Ireland, if it took place on such grounds, weighs more with us than any other circumstance whatever, in restraining us from that course which, in an ordinary situation of things, would naturally present itself as the only one to be followed on such an occasion.

“I will not fail to apprise your Grace of the course of this business with as much regularity as the unavoidable pressure which this (added to all other matters now depending) brings upon me will probably allow; and I hope that a few days will bring back Lord Spencer in a state of health to carry on this correspondence with his usual punctuality. It is a great mortification to us all under such circumstances that we cannot have the benefit of your Grace’s assistance and advice.” *Copy.*

*Secret.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO EARL SPENCER.

1807, March 14. Dublin Castle.—“Since the suppression of the disturbances in the western counties I have been turning my attention to the particular causes of those disorders, with the view of suggesting, if possible, a permanent remedy for preventing in future the recurrence of so great an evil.

“Upon the best consideration I have been able to give this subject I am satisfied that tithes, and the occasional rigid exaction of them by the farmers and tithe proctors, have been the chief and immediate causes of the late, as well as of many former disorders in this country.



“Tithes, from the peculiar nature of this species of property, the perpetual fluctuations in their quantity and value, the difficulties inseparably incident to the modes of recovering and collecting them, have been often a subject of popular discontent; but in Ireland from the irritable temper of the lower orders of the people, their imperfect subordination to the laws, and the greater proportion of the population being dissenters from the established church, they have more frequently been the occasion of popular commotion than perhaps in any other country. The high rents, especially of the smaller farms, of which the number is very great, may also have contributed to the dissatisfaction which has been so frequently and generally expressed against the payment of tithes in Ireland.

“It has, however, been alleged that tithes were merely the pretence, and that a spirit of disaffection to the Government was the real cause of the late disturbances, and that the confederacy of the *threshers* was formed for the purposes of rebellion.

“But I feel it my duty upon this occasion to state, that from all the information I have been able to collect, and from the observation of the judges who tried, and the Crown lawyers who prosecuted a considerable number of the *threshers*, under the late special commission, it does not appear that any thing treasonable existed in that confederacy. To avoid or diminish the payments on account of tithes was the main object they had in view. To this they certainly joined a reduction of the dues paid to the priest, and in some instances a reduction of rents.

“In the years 1786 and 1787, when similar disturbances prevailed very extensively in the province of Munster, the very same objects were professed, and then there was not a pretence for suspecting, nor was it suspected, I believe, that any treasonable motive or purpose existed among the insurgents.

“I am well aware that a certain degree of disaffection exists among the lower orders of the people, and that a confederacy against the payment of tithes, at all times alarming, is peculiarly dangerous at present, and might easily be diverted in case of invasion, to the purposes of rebellion; and it is this very danger, which I feel to be great and urgent, that has led me to seek most anxiously some remedy for this permanent general source of discontent.”

#### *Partial commutation of tithes.*

“Amongst other schemes the exemption of the poorest or lowest class of the peasantry (for instance, every person occupying not above four acres of land) from the payment of every species of tithes, has been sometimes suggested. This plan to be efficacious, supposes, what is certainly true, that a very considerable number of persons would be

comprehended within the exemption ; and a compensation to the clergy out of some other fund must form an essential part of the arrangement.

“ Many strong objections present themselves to this partial commutation of tithes.

“ All the occupiers of upwards of four acres of land would be jealous of the persons to whom this benefit is proposed to be limited, and complain of being excluded from so great a boon.

“ It would be found very difficult to justify so extraordinary a distinction between those included in, and those excluded from the exemption. Besides, its effects as an absolute exemption from tithes, or any equivalent payment, must be partial and temporary even in respect of those intended to be favoured by it. It would only be effectual to this purpose during the continuance of the leases existing at the time it is established. All lands let afterwards in parcels not exceeding four acres, as they must be let tithe free, would of course be let with an advance on the rent, equal at least to the tithe. Thus persons who never had lands before the commencement of this system, would never derive from it any portion of this particular benefit. Those actually in possession of such small holdings would enjoy this benefit during the subsistence of their terms. Some would enjoy it for three years, others for five, and in ten or fifteen years a great proportion of the peasantry for whose relief the plan is to be established, would be completely divested of its most obvious and substantial advantages, and their landlords exposed to the invidious imputation of having deprived the poor of the benefit conferred on them by the legislature.

“ The peasantry are already too much disposed to complain of high rents, and to endeavour to redress this supposed grievance by unlawful combinations, and acts of violence. It is undoubtedly true that in Ireland the rents paid by the occupying tenants, especially of small portions of land are too frequently racked to the utmost that can be got ; and that, in general, they bear a greater proportion to the gross produce than such rents do in England. This evil cannot, I fear, be remedied by the legislature.

“ But it is a serious objection to any legislative measure if it affords a plausible pretence for additional complaints on this head. Besides the objections to the principle and general operation of this plan, there would evidently be many difficulties to encounter in the course of its execution.

“ It would prove a matter of infinite difficulty to decide out of what fund the compensation to the clergy for the tithes to be abolished, and to the lay impropiators, should be paid.

“ It could not be charged on the counties by grand jury presentments, for then the occupiers of farms subject to

tithes would also be charged with the tithes of the small holders entitled to exemption, which would be manifestly unjust.

“It could not be charged on the landlords of these small holdings during the continuance of the leases existing at the commencement of the exemption, for, during that period, they could derive no benefit from it. The exemption would be a gratuitous bounty from Parliament to these small holders, conferred on considerations of general policy, in the beneficial consequences of which all the members of the community would participate in like manner as in the security and other advantages afforded by the civil or military establishment; and the expense, it would seem, should for that reason be defrayed out of the same fund, that is, the general revenue of the State.

“This, however, would be but a temporary charge, for, as the rent of every small lot of land let after the establishment of the exemption would be raised in proportion to the value of that exemption, it would follow of course that the landlord in every such case should out of such advanced rent pay the estimated value of the tithes to the clergyman or lay impropiator as the case might be.

“Upon the whole it appears to me that this partial exemption from tithes would be attended in the execution with many of the difficulties incident to a general commutation, and with some peculiar to itself; that it promises a remedy for a very small portion of the evil. That it would unnecessarily give a great present pecuniary benefit to a certain description of persons, and thereby create a most invidious distinction between them and all the other occupiers of land, which would be felt by all, but so much by the class *immediately* above the exempted persons, that I should fear the most dangerous discontents might result from it. This pecuniary boon too, would be extremely unequal in its duration; many would never reap the benefit of it, and all would in the lapse of a few years be deprived of it, and deprived of it by their landlords.

“The attachment of tenants to their landlords is one of the most important ties which bind the lower to the superior orders of the State.

“Unfortunately that attachment is from obvious causes very weak in this country, if it can be said to exist in it at all; and any regulation therefore that might tend to weaken it still farther, would be on that ground extremely exceptionable.”

#### *General commutation.*

“A general commutation of tithes is not liable to all the same objections. It makes no invidious distinctions. It does not grant a partial benefit of short and capricious duration. It offers the same relief to all, a remedy as extensive as the

evil, and the benefits of this remedy, whatever they are, will be permanent, as well as equal.

“ When a general commutation is effected, all the occupiers of land will become subject to a certain instead of an uncertain payment ; and when the existing leases expire, the tenantry will have only a rent ascertained by their own agreement to pay to their landlords.

“ While I endeavour to state for your lordship’s consideration the outlines of different schemes on this most interesting and important subject which have engaged my attention, I am most anxious to convey to your lordship the deep impression I entertain, both of the difficulties attending the execution of any effectual measure, and the incalculable mischiefs that would result from attempting a regulation without success.

*Basis of a commutation.*

“ The first point to be ascertained, and which forms the basis of every scheme of commutation is, by what rule, or upon what principle the value of the tithes to be commuted shall be estimated.

“ Shall the tithes for which a commutation is to be provided be estimated according to their real and full value, or according to what other rule ?

“ A just and scrupulous regard to the rights of property would seem to require that their real value should be the rule for commutation. But I am afraid this principle would render any commutation so exceptionable to the landed interest, that it would be utterly impossible to establish it.

“ From such information as I have been able to obtain, but which I must premise is very imperfect, I believe the clergy of Ireland in general have not received above one half of the real value of their tithes.

“ In the county of Antrim, for instance, it has been stated to me that the real present value of the tithes may amount to about forty thousand pounds a year, and that the value received both by the clergy and lay impropiators does not exceed thirteen thousand pounds, which is less than one third of the supposed real value.

“ It would be in vain therefore to expect that the landowners would listen to a commutation to be paid by them in any shape equal to the real value of the tithes.

“ The proportion which the real value bears to that which has been actually received varies I am told in every diocese, and even in the different parishes of the same diocese. Although there is scarcely such a thing as a *modus*, or fixed composition for tithes, any where in this country, or any limit, by custom or usage, to the progressive increase of the value received, yet there is by usage a very different mode of valuing tithes in different places ; and a person skilled in the valuation of tithes in one diocese, or district, and who would in general

give satisfaction to both the rector and the parishioners, would in another district be totally unfit for this employment. There does not seem therefore to exist any uniform proportion between the real value and the sum actually received for the value of tithes, so as to form the basis or principle for a general commutation. The only remaining basis that can be suggested is the actual receipts of the clergy upon an average of a certain number of years, for instance of the last five, or seven years. This may be objected to as a great infringement on the property of the church. But unless it be submitted to, I much fear a commutation will be absolutely impracticable.

“I am fully sensible of the great importance in every point of view of a sacred and scrupulous regard to the right of property; and if the peace and tranquillity of this country were not essentially interested in this question. I should never propose any measure trenching on the property of the church. But I think there are some weighty considerations affecting the welfare and comfort, and even the pecuniary interests of the clergy of the established church which should induce them to compromise a right of which they never have availed themselves; and from the peculiar circumstances of this country, it is improbable they ever should avail themselves, to near its full extent.

“If the present possessors of church benefices get their present incomes secured to them free from the risk, vexation, and expense of litigation, as well as of such commotions as have at different periods prevailed in this country, they would not on the whole have reason to be dissatisfied.

“Their successors cannot personally have any right to complain. Their interests will not be violated. But such a commutation may undoubtedly affect very seriously the permanent interest of the establishment. Although the present incomes of the clergy may generally speaking be sufficiently liberal, yet, if the expense of living increase as much during the present century as it did during the last, the present incomes will not be sufficient to preserve the clergy in the stations they now hold in society, and which it is essential to the interests of religion and good government that they should.

“A permanent pecuniary compensation for tithes is therefore liable to the most serious objections, and every scheme of commutation I have ever heard suggested always professed to make some provision for a gradual increase of the incomes of the clergy, and this would ultimately be as necessary, although not so soon, if the clergy were to receive a pecuniary compensation for the full present value of tithes as if it were made on the principle I have proposed.

“Assuming therefore as the only practicable basis for this measure that the rule of compensation must be the present average receipts of the clergy for their tithes, the

next consideration is to provide a proper compensation; of which one of the most essential requisites appears to be, so constituted as to rise in proportion as the incomes from tithes would rise, or in such a proportion as to afford a reasonable probability of preserving the clergy in their present stations in society.

*Periodical valuations.*

“ A scheme of commutation has been suggested as particularly adapted for securing to the clergy an increase of income bearing a fixed proportion to the increase in the value of tithes.

“ By ascertaining the present real value of tithes by a survey and estimate for three years, and also the actual receipts of the clergy, the proportion between them would of course be ascertained, and this proportion should be established as a permanent proportion, according to which the amount of the payments in commutation of tithes should in future be regulated. For the first fifteen or twenty years the present actual receipts to be paid to the clergy by an assessment on the lands of each parish. At the end of this period another valuation of tithes should be made, according to an actual survey of the three preceding years, and the payments to the clergy for the next period should be settled so as to bear the same proportion to the real value ascertained by this second survey, as the payments during the first period bore to the real value ascertained by the first survey; and thus by periodical valuations the incomes of the clergy might be always kept in the same proportion to the real value of tithes as they are at present. But the expense of such valuations would be enormous. It would be necessary to employ commissioners in every diocese, perhaps in every parish. If juries of farmers or landholders were resorted to, I fear there would be little chance of a fair valuation. If juries were on that account excluded, there must be an appeal from the award of the commissioners, a farther source of expense and delay.

*A commutation for a Corn Rent.*

“ A plan of commutation on the same principle of securing a progressive improvement to the incomes of the clergy, has been suggested by Doctor Paley, whose authority on this subject is entitled to a great consideration.

“ He proposes a Corn Rent equal to the value of the tithes, or as I should propose it for Ireland, equal to the value now received from tithes. That is to say, that the quantity of corn which the present receipts for tithes in every parish would purchase at the present prices should be ascertained, and the current price in all times to come of this ascertained quantity of corn, taken on averages of seven or ten years, should be paid to the clergyman of each respective parish.

This arrangement would, as has been proved by long experience, afford an effectual security from loss of income by reason of the depreciation in the value of money; and it would in like manner afford a security to the landlord, or farmer, against any loss which might arise from the increase of the value of money, an event, which, however improbable it may now appear, may happen, and in any permanent scheme of commutation, ought perhaps to be guarded against.

“But if we are to judge of the future by the past, which on such subjects is the safest guide, I am afraid this mode of commutation would not secure the clergy from losing their rank in society.

“During the first fifty or sixty years of the last century the average price of corn rose very little, if at all; and if this commutation had been established in the year 1700, the clergy from that time, to the year 1760, would have received little or no increase to their income; and yet during that period the habits of expense probably increased considerably, and the clergy would have sunk into comparative poverty. They would have been entirely deprived of the gradual additions to their income arising from the extension and improvement of agriculture. The degree of weight due to this objection must depend on an accurate enquiry into the rise of the incomes of the clergy during that period. Also the increase of the rents of the landed proprietors, and perhaps of the official incomes of the persons who went into the different branches of the public service as professions.

“But supposing that upon the result of such an enquiry this objection should not appear of sufficient magnitude to render the scheme wholly inadmissible, several difficulties of detail would occur in the execution. The sum now paid as tithe for an acre of wheat, is more than what is paid for an acre of hay, barley, or oats, and less than what is paid for an acre of potatoes in those districts where, by usage, potatoes are tithable. And by law no agistment tithe whatever is payable in any part of Ireland.

“As the ground which this year produces wheat may the next produce barley or potatoes, it would seem expedient for the sake of uniformity, and certainty, to assess all the lands in tillage, whatever be the crop, with the corn rent, at the same rate per acre. But as much of the pasture land may and most probably will remain in the same state for many years, during all which time it will be, by the present law exempt from tithes, the proprietors and occupiers of such lands would probably strenuously object to paying any assessment for tithes in respect of such lands. If weight be attributed to this objection, the whole of the present income of the rector of any parish must be assessed solely on the lands now in tillage. But wherever it might happen that pasture should be turned into arable land should it then continue tithe free? If so, the proprietor would gain

a most unjust advantage over his neighbours, whose lands were in tillage when the commutation was established.

“Should such land be then subjected to the same rate for tithes as other tillage lands, and the produce thereof allotted to the clergyman as a fair increase to the income of his benefice? If this were proposed, the landholders might probably propose in return that wherever lands in tillage at the time of the commutation were afterwards converted into pasture, they should be exempted from the assessment.

“This arrangement would introduce such a degree of uncertainty and complication in the system, as might probably render it more advisable to suffer the present pasture lands to remain for ever tithe free.

“Besides these difficulties there is still another incident to this scheme of commutation, and one which might possibly prevent or embarrass the effectual and complete removal of one of the greatest evils attending the present state of tithes in this country.

“At present the Catholic peasantry complain loudly that they pay tithes to the protestant clergy. In this they are in some respects mistaken, for in settling with their landlords the rents to be paid for their farms, the annual sums usually paid for tithes are taken into the account, and their rent is by so much the less. But to a certain degree their complaint is well founded; for every rise in the tithe above the rate which on taking the land they had calculated they were to pay, must come out of their own pockets. And although such rise may in most cases be the result of improved cultivation, yet as they pay no more rent on that account they feel it hard to pay more tithes, and especially to the clergy of a different religious persuasion. They pay their own clergy besides, and hence they draw an invidious and mortifying comparison between their own condition, and that of their fellow subjects of the established religion.

“As no agistment tithe is payable in Ireland, the peasant who pays tithes for his small farm, on which he raises both corn and potatoes, thinks himself most unjustly and oppressively treated when he compares his situation with that of a wealthy neighbouring farmer who pays no tithe whatever for extensive tracts of rich pasture.

“On these grounds it appears most desirable that, in any scheme for the commutation of tithes, the payment of the commutation should be transferred from the tenant to the landlord. I see no means, however, of effectually accomplishing this change during the subsistence of the present leases. But on the expiration of the leases of every occupying tenant it may be provided that the land should be let tithe free, and his immediate landlord should of course become liable to pay the corn rent to the clergyman; and if this immediate landlord should, as is very often the case, be himself a tenant, then on the expiration of his lease, his



lessor should in like manner let to him tithe free; and so on in succession, until the head landlord came to be subject to this payment, and in return entitled to let his interest tithe-free.

“Lessees of perpetuities, or of leases renewable for ever must for the purpose of this commutation, as for most others, be considered as the proprietors.

“But will the landlords submit to be charged with this species of composition for tithes? after the commutation is established, as leases dropped the landlords would let their lands tithe free; but they would let them for certain rents in money.

“During the continuance of any lease the average price of grain might rise, as it has done within these last thirty years very considerably; their money payments to the clergy must rise in proportion, while their rents remain the same.

“The landlord might protect himself from this burden by requiring from the tenant a covenant to make good to him all such additional payments resulting from any rise in the price of grain. This arrangement would be perfectly reasonable, as the tenant would himself be indemnified from any real loss by the advanced price at which he would sell the whole of his crop. But I am very doubtful whether it would so appear to the tenant, especially before he had any experience on the subject, and I apprehend the difficulty of reconciling the parties to this arrangement might prove another serious objection to this scheme of commutation.

#### *Commutation for Land.*

“I shall therefore proceed to mention another plan, and which, on the first view, appears well adapted to answer all the ends of commutation, and would probably of all others prove the most satisfactory to the church; and that is, to give them estates in land producing, at the time of the commutation, rents equal to the average of their present receipts from tithes.

“By this arrangement the clergy would, I apprehend, be permanently secured in their present stations in society, as their incomes would improve like those of other landholders with the growing wealth and prosperity of the country, and they would also be protected from the effects which the depreciation in the value of money would necessarily produce on fixed incomes in money. By this entire separation of their property from that of the laity, it would completely relieve them from the litigation and embarrassments to which they are now subject, and also from that disposition to dispute and withhold from them their rights, which they so frequently experience at present, and from which they would not probably be always exempt by any scheme of commutation which required an annual payment from the owners or occupiers of lands, in lieu of tithes. At the same time I

see no reasonable ground of objection on the part of the landholders to the principle of this scheme.

“ If every landowner were to transfer immediately a portion of his estate producing in rent and tithes, at the present rate, a sum equal to the tithe paid from his whole estate in the parish, and to be entitled thereon to receive the tithes of the remainder of his estate, he would at the moment sustain no loss of income, and in the end be a considerable gainer by the exchange.

“ During the continuance of the subsisting leases he would receive the tithes of the part of the estate retained by him, being equal to the rent of that part of the estate given to the clergyman ; and on the expiration of the subsisting leases, by letting his estate tithe-free, he would get considerably more rent than he could have got, other circumstances being equal, from the whole of his estate while subjected to tithes. But I am aware that there are some objections to this scheme in its principle.

“ It is alleged that locking up so much land in mortmain would be attended with injurious consequences to the prosperity of the country, and perhaps to its constitution. But I am inclined to think this objection is more specious than solid. A certain quantity of land would indubitably be so locked up ; but the remainder being discharged of tithes to the full value of what is withdrawn from commerce, the same *value* in land would remain free, as at present.

“ Another objection of the same sort has perhaps more foundation. The lands transferred to the church would not perhaps be quite so well cultivated, as the lands belonging to lay proprietors. But this disadvantage might perhaps be sufficiently counteracted by enabling the rectors with the consent of the ordinary and metropolitan on proper sworn estimates of the value, to let leases for such a period as would ensue good cultivation.

“ A third objection appears more serious ; such an arrangement might tend to engage the clergy too much in the occupations of agriculture, and thereby produce habits not altogether suitable to their sacred character and functions. Perhaps this might in some degree also be obviated by restraining the parson from keeping more in his own hands, than what is now considered as a small or moderate glebe. And in like manner to restrain him from attending fairs and markets, or buying, or selling the stock or produce of land in person.

“ Upon the whole therefore, I am disposed to prefer this mode to any other that has occurred to me.

“ There are, however, some serious difficulties attending this plan. To carry it into execution at once, the commutation must be compulsory. But as very considerable portions of land are let at very low rents, either from having been let long ago, or let more recently on the payment of large fines, it would, I fear, be impossible to ascertain and provide for

such complicated interests adversely, were it even advisable to adopt so violent a measure as a compulsory alienation to so great an extent, and affecting at once such a number of persons in so essential an interest.

“As land cannot therefore be obtained compulsorily, and as a voluntary transfer of land must be too slow in its operation to afford any relief against the urgent evils of tithes, it remains to be considered whether any temporary mode can be devised to remove such evils, ’till this exchange can be accomplished.

“Among other expedients, one has occurred, which may deserve your lordship’s consideration.

“To assess in the form of a land tax, upon all the arable lands in just proportion, the amount of the present receipts for tithes.

“The land tax to be collected from the occupying tenants in the first instance, and afterwards on the expiration of their leases, from their next immediate landlords in the way suggested for the collection of the corn rent.

“In carrying this scheme of commutation into execution, some doubts respecting pasture land will necessarily arise. If the commutation into land were to be immediately effected lands would be given adequate only to the present receipts for tithes, and, of course, all the pasture lands might be converted into arable without being subject to any payment in respect of tithes. At least this would seem to be a necessary consequence, for the sake of making a final settlement on the subject.

“Would it be reasonable in consideration of this perpetual exemption afforded to pasture, although afterwards converted into arable land, to make such pasture contribute in an equal, or in any other proportion to the tax which would be substituted for tithes, ’till land could be obtained? I apprehend it would not be thought equitable to do so.

“Claiming tithe of agistment was, by a resolution of the House of Commons in the year 1735, declared to be a new and grievous demand. Whatever may have been the usage before that period, no agistment tithe has been paid since, either to the clergy, or the lay impropiators. Pending the discussions on the Union an apprehension having been expressed in the House that the respect and submission hitherto manifested to their resolution might not continue after the Union, nor be enforced by the authority of the House of Commons of the united Parliament, it was judged expedient to pass a law confirming, and establishing this exemption. And this circumstance may perhaps render the policy of touching this exemption additionally doubtful. But it might, as I have suggested in speaking of the commutation for a Corn Rent, appear a reasonable mode of making some additions to the incomes of the clergy to subject to the assessment such pasture lands as from time to time should be converted into arable land antecedent to

the acquisition of land. This, however, would render the measure of obtaining land in exchange more complicated and difficult in the execution, as the value of the land to be got would be liable to frequent fluctuation.

“ I should therefore recommend that all the land in pasture at the time a land tax is imposed as a commutation for tithes, should be suffered to remain for ever exempt.

“ In order to provide a fund for the gradual improvement of the incomes of the clergy on the double presumption that the receipts for tithes would have gradually increased, and that an increase of income will probably be necessary to keep them in their present stations, either a little more land-tax than is sufficient to pay the clergy at their present rates of income should be imposed, which would not be unjust considering how much less than the real value of the tithes the land-owners will have to pay by way of composition for them; or if the landed interest should be averse from this, to provide the fund from the public revenue. The annual amount necessary for this purpose would not, I believe, be very great.

“ I have been told that all the tithes in Ireland do not very much exceed four hundred thousand pounds. This statement is not pretended by the person from whom I received it to be the result of any calculation founded on particular data; but is derived merely from general observation, and the speculations of some well informed persons.

“ As a contrast to this statement, I may mention some data on which the real value of tithes have been sometimes estimated.

“ Arthur Young in the account of his tour through Ireland, states, that there are nearly twelve million of acres in this country, and that the average rent paid by the occupying tenants at the time he wrote (1779) amounted to about nine shillings an acre. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the rents have at least been doubled since; and accordingly some intelligent persons state the average rent now to be about twenty shillings or even a guinea an acre. The present rental of Ireland may therefore be about twelve millions *per annum*.

“ In England the average produce has been estimated at three times the rent. In Ireland where the capital employed in farming and the tenant's profits are comparatively small, the produce may not much exceed two rents.

“ But as pasture lands pay no tithe of agistment in any part of Ireland, and produce great rents, and as in the north and south-west parts of Ireland no tithe is paid on potato grounds which also pay high rents, a considerable deduction from the total rent must be made to ascertain the amount of the rents arising from tithable produce; perhaps one-third of the whole. This would reduce such rents to eight millions

*per annum*, and sixteen millions would thus be the amount of the produce subject to tithes; and one million, six hundred thousand pounds would be the real value of the tithes. If only half the real value be actually received by the clergy and the lay impropiators, the receipts would, according to this calculation, amount to eight hundred thousand pounds, instead of four hundred thousand pounds, their supposed amount according to my former statement.

“If, as has been very confidently stated to me, the actual receipts on account of tithes do not exceed one-third of the real value, and if that real value amounts only to one million, six hundred thousand pounds, the actual receipts would amount to five hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three pounds *per annum*.

“I shall assume therefore five hundred thousand pounds as the present actual receipts on account of tithes. Ten *per cent.* by way of an accumulating fund would on that sum be fifty thousand pounds a year.

“If this was accumulated for twenty years, it would furnish an additional sum for the purchase of land. And where that should be still unattainable, the interest of this accumulated sum, would furnish a moderate addition to every income, and during the next twenty years the original payment of fifty thousand pounds would form a fresh accumulation applicable to similar purposes. The increase I am aware would not be in any proportion to the rising value of tithes, nor am I apprized of any expedient to form it in any such proportion.

“Although it will evidently be for the interest of the proprietors of land voluntarily to surrender an adequate portion thereof in every parish, in order to obtain for the remainder a discharge from this land-tax, yet it is equally plain that this commutation or exchange must proceed very slowly, and be attended in many instances with much difficulty in the adjustment.

“Where the arable land of a parish is divided among only a very few proprietors, the necessary quantity may be obtained in a few lots. But where a parish is much subdivided, and small parcels of land belong to different persons, the portion to be surrendered by each would be too small to be let or cultivated separately, or easily preserved to the church. In such cases therefore an exchange for other land must be effected, or such lots sold and other lots more conveniently situated purchased with the price. These operations would require more time, but the accumulating fund which I have proposed might be employed to facilitate such arrangements.

“It must be remembered that in the mean time the land-tax and the accumulating fund would secure to the clergy their present incomes with a progressive improvement, and the evils and mischiefs resulting from the present sale of tithes would be remedied.

*Sale of tithes.*

“ Were it advisable to sell the tithes to the proprietors of the land, and vest the purchase money in stock, to furnish equivalent incomes to the clergy, a fund for the amelioration of their incomes, and also to assist in the purchase of lands, the landed gentry, I fear, could not for a very long time accomplish such purchases.

*Improprate tithes.*

“ I must not omit stating that there is a certain portion of tithes in lay hands in Ireland, although by no means proportioned to that which belongs to the laity in England. In some instances the rectorial tithes belong to the proprietor of the land. There is nothing to be done in this latter case, but to declare that, until the expiration of the existing leases, the rent for the tithes is inseparably united to the rent of the land, and that afterwards the tithes shall be absolutely extinguished. Where the tithes do not belong to the landlord they must of course be commuted, as well as ecclesiastical tithes. But there appears to be a very reasonable objection to commuting such tithes on the same terms on which we have proposed to commute the tithes belonging to the clergy.

“ The interest of the present possessor of tithes, whether he be a lay or an ecclesiastical person, may be considered equally as private property. But the reversionary interests after the death of the present possessors are in these two cases of very different natures.

“ In the case of a lay impropriation this reversionary interest is *private property* in the strictest sense.

“ In the case of an ecclesiastical person it is not. During the life of the possessor or incumbent, the reversionary interest is not vested in any particular person. No particular person therefore can be injured by the diminution or even extinction of such interest.

“ It appears a matter of the most serious doubt whether for any reasons of public policy, however important, the right of private property ought to be encroached upon, without securing a full equivalent for the contingent and future, as well as for the present value; and I can suggest no means of removing this difficulty, unless it should be thought expedient to provide out of the public revenue a reasonable compensation for this future contingent interest.

“ I am so little informed as to the proportion which the tithes in lay hands bear to the tithes belonging to the church, that I cannot venture even a conjecture on the subject. It has been asserted that the former amount to about one-fifth of the latter. But the most material facts to ascertain is, what portion the lay tithes not belonging to the proprietors of the land, bear to the tithes of the church.

“ The very great mischief that would result from exciting any alarm, or expectation, on this delicate subject has precluded

me from seeking information, except from a very few persons; and they, for the same reason, could only furnish me with what they were already in possession of.

“ Having stated very fully the grounds on which I venture to recommend a commutation of tithes in this country, and also according to the best information I could obtain, which I am sensible is very imperfect, such schemes for effecting that measure as appear to me the least liable to objection, I cannot too strongly express to your lordship my conviction, that whatever plan his Majesty’s Ministers may adopt for that purpose, the details will be found extremely complicated and embarrassing; and will require in the adjustment an extensive knowledge and the most careful consideration of the present state of that species of property in this country. But as such information cannot, I apprehend, be obtained without an enquiry by persons vested by Parliament with suitable powers for the purpose; and as it would be attended with much inconvenience and danger to the public tranquility to institute such an inquiry before the principle and basis of the measure received some Parliamentary sanction, I beg leave to throw out for the consideration of your lordship and your colleagues whether it might not be advisable to propose to Parliament, before any public enquiry takes place, to resolve that a commutation of tithes is expedient in Ireland; and secondly, that the actual receipts taken on an average of the *last five years* by the persons entitled to tithes, is the proper basis for such a commutation.

“ Perhaps a Bill might be framed upon these resolutions for appointing Commissioners to obtain more particular and accurate information on the subject, and to report their opinion on the best mode of accomplishing this commutation, on the basis established by the second resolution.”  
*Copy.*

LORD ELLENBOROUGH to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 17. Bloomsbury Square.—“ I cannot adequately express the pain which I have received from your lordship’s communication, or the sense I entertained of the very obliging terms in which it is conveyed. I will allow myself still to hope that so great a public calamity as the dissolution of the present Government must be, may yet be averted. I will do myself the honour of calling in Downing Street to-morrow morning at 11 o’clock, unless I understand from your lordship in the meantime that you cannot conveniently see me at that hour.”

*Private.* W. ELLIOTT to THE SAME.

1807, March 17. Dublin Castle.—“ The Lord Lieutenant tells me that he has communicated to you the result of a long conversation which we had this morning with the

Chancellor, and that he has apprized you of the obstacles which appear to all of us to present themselves to a *beneficial* continuance of the present Irish Government. Both the Duke and the Chancellor are of opinion that they could not remain without having to encounter the total loss of the confidence of the Catholic Body. Whatever embarrassment they may feel, I am under still greater. At the time of the Union, to which measure I was a party *here*, it was urged over and over to the Catholics that from the united Parliament they might expect the most substantial advantages; and it is beyond dispute that many of them at that period acted under that impression. There was, to be sure, no compact with them, but there was that sort of understanding between Government and them on the subject, which afforded them ground for entertaining very sanguine hopes. It proves now, however, that nothing can be done for them, partly owing to the prejudices of the King and of the two Houses of Parliament, and much perhaps owing to the indiscretion and intemperance of the Catholics themselves. But the question for *myself* is whether I could under such circumstances remain in my present situation without a loss of character, and consequently of the means of serving the Government with which I am connected. Upon the best consideration I am capable of affording this question, my judgment and conscience tell me I could not. You know how much on every public and private principle my very heart and soul are wrapt up in the success and prosperity of your administration, and will do me the justice to believe that nothing could have induced me to press this topic so urgently on your attention short of the strongest sense of duty.

“It occurs to us on this side of the water that, if you were to transfer the conduct of the affairs of this country to persons favourably disposed, but less pledged than the present Irish Government are in their sentiments and feelings towards the Catholics, and on whom therefore the people of that persuasion would have less claim, such an administration might probably have more authority over the Catholics, and more control over the Protestants than this Government under the recent circumstances can hope to gain. By the Protestant faction here we shall of course be considered as a beaten Government.

“The Lord Lieutenant is most sensible to the impropriety and inexpediency of any rash decision on this subject, and is anxious that it should undergo your most mature deliberation. As I am naturally very solicitous to have an opportunity of conferring with you on it, and as the Duke also wishes me to do so, I have thought of going to London, but will not set out till I hear from you. My stay must not exceed a few days as, in the present state of things, my absence from Dublin would be inconvenient.”



*Most Private and Confidential.*

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 17. Dublin Castle.—“By the express which reached Dublin at a late hour of the night of the 15th instant, I received your Lordship’s two letters (marked private) of the 12th and 13th. The one of the former date referring almost wholly to the subject of tithes, important and interesting as that subject is, must for the present give way to the more pressing urgency created by the dilemma in which you find yourself involved by the unexpected repugnance of the King to concede the full extent of the advantages proposed to be given to his Roman Catholic subjects by opening to them the naval and military professions, a measure to which the faith of the Government has been solemnly and distinctly pledged. Your lordship will readily imagine that I did not receive this information without feelings of the deepest regret, persuaded as I am, that such a disappointment cannot fail to be attended with consequences the most injurious, perhaps fatal, to the interests of Ireland. The difficulties and embarrassment which it must bring upon the Irish Government are serious, and, I fear, insurmountable. I have repeatedly conversed with the Chancellor and Mr. Elliot upon this most distressing subject in the course of yesterday and this day, and they appear to entertain the same unsatisfactory view of it that I do; but I beg to be distinctly understood as delivering my sentiments only, when I state to your lordship that, under the circumstances of receding from the pledge held out to the Catholics, I do not foresee the possibility of my being able to carry on the Government of Ireland, with the slightest hope of its being attended with satisfaction to myself, or with advantage to the country. This opinion I assure you has not been formed on light grounds, or hastily adopted. I have given to the subject, from the moment I received your letter, the most anxious deliberation, and in no one instance of my life have I felt more pain than in the necessity to which I now feel myself reluctantly compelled of making this declaration. There is no personal sacrifice which I am not ready and willing to make to assist with my humble services the administration of which you are at the head; but I must also consider what is due to my own feelings, to my own sense of what is right, and balance these against the power of serving my country in the station in which I am placed.

“The result of this consideration, honestly and conscientiously formed, and to the best of my judgment, is what I have already submitted to your lordship. Any compromise with the prejudices of the King, I would still deprecate (if it be not too late), assuring you of my decided conviction that the consequences may prove a surrender of the peace and safety of Ireland into the hands of bigotry and faction.

“ I have written in haste and amid many interruptions, but I hope when I am informed of the future course of these proceedings to enter more at large into the subject.”

*Private.* EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 18. Milton.—“ The King’s consent to the admission of the Catholics into the army, having been so distinctly given before I left town, my mind was at rest on the subject, and I looked for its being carried into effect, either by a clause in the Mutiny Bill, or by a special Bill, without further trouble. The papers, however, of yesterday morning, and a private letter, intimating a suspicion that all was not right on that subject, which I received at the same time, took off from the excess of my surprise at the contents of a letter I have received from Lord Howick this morning, giving a summary account of what has occurred on the subject, and that the result is, that the Administration is virtually at an end. Holding no official situation I have no ostensible means of manifesting my decided adherence to those of the Administration who feel their retreat necessary on the present occasion. Under these circumstances it naturally occurs to me that I should be on the spot to make that declaration in person ; but really I am not in health or strength to do so, though greatly recovered since I left town. Should the weather grow milder, another week may make a great difference, and enable me to undertake the journey. But in the meanwhile let me beg of you, either when you give in your resignation, or receive your dismissal, to make my sentiments known to h[is] M[ajesty], and my intention, as soon as my health permits, to request h[is] M[ajesty’s] permission in the most dutiful manner, no longer to attend the meetings of his confidential servants.”

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*Official Correspondence relating to the Irish Catholic question, from February 9 to March 18, 1807, as arranged by Lord Grenville.*

EARL SPENCER to GEORGE III.

1807, February 9. St. James’s Place.—“ Earl Spencer has the honour to lay before your Majesty a dispatch received from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland relative to the proceedings which have lately taken place among certain of the Catholics in that country, together with a minute agreed upon by your Majesty’s servants to be humbly submitted to your Majesty, with the draft of an answer to the Lord Lieutenant’s despatch referred to in the said minute.” *Copy.*

*Two enclosures (1).*

*Secret.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to EARL SPENCER.

1807, February 4. Dublin Castle.—“ About a month ago I heard that a few of the Roman Catholics in the city of Dublin

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

were beginning to discuss in private the expediency of petitioning Parliament at this time for relief from the restrictions to which they are subject under the existing laws.

“After one or two meetings held by a very few persons to deliberate on the subject, a public meeting was assembled at which fifty or sixty persons attended, when the question was considered, and it was unanimously resolved that this was a fit time to petition for relief, and that a deputation of five persons whom they chose by ballot should seek an interview with Mr. Elliot, on behalf of the Catholics of Dublin, to know whether it was the intention of his Majesty’s Ministers to support a Bill in Parliament for the relief of the body. The deputies were Lord French; Mr. John Keogh; Mr. O’Connor, a country gentleman of some fortune; Mr. Murphy, and Mr. Luke, two wealthy persons in the rank of tradesmen in the city of Dublin.

“Some days afterwards these persons waited upon Mr. Elliot, and communicated to him the resolutions of the meeting. Mr. Keogh, a man of considerable talents and property, entered at large into the subject, stated the different restrictions to which the Catholics were still liable, and how they were affected by them in their feelings and in their interests; that while they laboured under these mortifying and disadvantageous restrictions, a certain degree of discontent must exist among the great body of the people, whom, in the present state of Europe, it was peculiarly desirable to conciliate and cordially unite in the defence of the Empire, and on this ground he conceived the present a favourable moment for presenting their petition.

“Mr. Elliot informed them he could return no answer to their question, without communicating with me on the subject, which he should take an early opportunity of doing. This answer was reported to a second meeting held the next day, which, without any debate, adjourned to a further day to allow of time to receive my answer.

“From the best information I could obtain of what had passed at their meeting, I collected that many were of opinion that they should relinquish their intention of petitioning, provided some of the existing restrictions were removed; although some others maintained that they ought to petition, unless complete relief was unequivocally promised.

“After the maturest deliberation I thought it impossible under all circumstances to return any other answer than that I should communicate their resolution to his Majesty’s Ministers in England. Mr. Elliot sent for the deputies and delivered the answer to them, upon which occasion little more was said by them than that they should report the answer they had received at their next meeting, which was to take place a few days afterwards.

“On the third meeting the deputies reported my answer delivered to them by Mr. Elliot; and I am informed that the

meeting, after appointing a committee of twenty-one to prepare a petition, as a measure of precaution in case an unfavourable answer was received from England, adjourned to the 7th instant.

“By this time it appeared that the question had become a more general subject of conversation and interest among the Catholics. Lord Fingal and Sir Edward Bellew called upon Mr. Elliot and requested to know on behalf of themselves and those Catholics who acted usually with them, and who on all occasions have manifested great moderation, whether it was the intention of Government to grant any relief to the Roman Catholics in this session of Parliament. They intimated that if they could receive any satisfactory assurance on that subject, they thought the intention of petitioning might not be persevered in; but that if they could receive no such assurance, they thought it right to apprize him that at a general meeting of the Catholics, which was intended to be held very soon, this subject would be taken into consideration, and that the measure of petitioning would be most probably adopted by every branch of the Catholic body.

“Mr. Elliot gave the same answer he had the day before returned to the deputies from the meeting of the Catholics of Dublin.

“I ought to acquaint your lordship that Lord Fingal, Sir Edward Bellew, Lord Gormanstown, Lord Southwell, and some other persons of rank and consequence of the Catholic persuasion, had been repeatedly solicited by letters to attend the meetings of the Catholics of Dublin, and they had all declined it, but on terms of great civility. Several of the most respectable Catholic merchants in Dublin also kept away from these meetings; one or two of them were, notwithstanding, appointed of the committee of twenty-one to prepare the petition.

“Lord Fingal, immediately after he had seen Mr. Elliot, called by public advertisement a general meeting of the Roman Catholics for the 9th instant. His lordship and the other Catholics who usually act with him do not appear to have been zealous for the agitation of the question at this moment; but they probably think that it cannot be prevented, and prefer joining in the discussion to being entirely separated from the rest of their body.

“As many of those persons who have expressed any opinion on the subject, have insinuated, I understand, in their speeches, that some concessions might induce them to relinquish their present intention of petitioning, I have endeavoured to learn what concessions they have particularly in view; and from all I can collect, these concessions appear to be the removal of all restrictions from Catholic service and promotion in the army; the removal of the incapacity of persons of that persuasion to serve the office of sheriff; and, lastly, facilitating their admission into corporations.

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

“ I cannot venture to form a positive opinion that any or all of these concessions will be sufficient to prevent them from proceeding with their petition. I can only say that, if they were gratified on these points, I think there is a reasonable chance that the petition would be relinquished. At least such I conceive to be the present disposition of many persons who have taken a share in these discussions ; and your lordship will allow me to add, that as speedy a decision as may be compatible with the importance of the subject is highly essential.” *Copy.*

*Enclosure 2.*

## CABINET MINUTE.

“ At the Earl Spencer’s, 9th February, 1807.

Present :

|                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| The Lord President.  | Lord Henry Petty.      |
| The Lord Privy Seal. | Lord Grenville.        |
| Earl Spencer.        | Mr. Secretary Windham. |
| Earl of Moira.       | Mr. Grenville.         |
| Viscount Howick.     |                        |

“ Your Majesty’s servants upon consideration of the despatch received from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of the 4th instant respecting the proceedings of certain of the Catholics of Ireland, and the communication made by them to your Majesty’s Government, beg leave to submit to your Majesty their humble opinion that it may be proper that the answer, a draft of which is herewith humbly submitted to your Majesty, should be sent to the Lord Lieutenant with instructions to conform his conduct to what is therein stated.” *Copy.*

*Secret.* EARL SPENCER TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, February.\* Whitehall.—“ Your Grace’s despatch of the 4th instant has been considered by his Majesty’s servants with all the attention due to the extreme importance of the subject to which it relates, and it is in conformity to their opinion humbly submitted to his Majesty that I am now authorized to transmit to your Grace the following instructions for the regulation of any communications which your Grace or Mr. Elliot may hold on this business with any of the King’s Catholic subjects in Ireland. It will be in your Grace’s recollection that a petition was in the session before the last presented to Parliament on behalf of the Irish Catholics, with a view to a further extension of the privileges which have been granted to them at different periods during his Majesty’s reign. The subject was on that occasion fully and deliberately discussed. The opinions of many of

\* Sent on February 12, after the King’s consent had been given.

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

the persons whom his Majesty has since been pleased to call to his councils, were, as is well known, declared to be entirely in favour of the measure, as one which would in their judgment essentially promote the safety and prosperity of the empire, and contribute to the preservation of its established constitution in church and state. But it cannot be disputed that the general sense of Parliament in both Houses was decidedly adverse to the concessions which were then in view. Whatever may be the individual opinions which his Majesty's servants respectively hold as to the merits of the question, those who are most favourable to the measure see no reason to believe that any such change has, in this short interval, taken place, as to afford the smallest probability that it could at this time be successfully proposed to Parliament, and are of opinion that, without such hope, the renewal of this question within so short a period after it has been solemnly considered and decided, can tend to no public good, and is not likely to promote either the general advantage of the empire, or the particular interests of that class of the King's subjects to whom it more immediately relates.

"This opinion they feel it their duty to desire that your Grace will express on their part, and in the strongest terms to all those with whom your Grace may communicate on the subject, and especially to these with whom their judgment is likely to have any weight on such a question.

"Your Grace will be particularly careful to avoid any appearance of offering as the price of forbearance in this respect, any part of those indulgences which on other grounds they have judged it advisable to submit to his Majesty as proper to be now proposed to Parliament. Before they had been apprized of any of the recent discussions which have taken place in Ireland, they had already had under their consideration the inconvenient and contradictory provisions of the present laws in as far as they affect the King's Catholic subjects in Ireland with respect to their serving in his Majesty's naval and military forces. Your Grace is well aware that, at the time when his Majesty was graciously pleased to recommend to the consideration of the Irish Parliament the situation of his Catholic subjects, it was intended that these professions should be opened to them universally, and under such restriction only as are expressed in the Irish Act of Parliament, 33 George III c. 21; and this intention was openly held out to them, and was declared in the two Houses of Parliament by the late Earl of Clare, then Lord Chancellor, and the present Earl of Buckinghamshire, then Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. But the effect of the Irish Act of Parliament which was passed for this purpose could only go to the removal of the legal restrictions and disabilities existing in that kingdom. It could not operate in Great Britain, and no particular act having been proposed here, the consequence is that in the two parts of the united

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

kingdom the law is totally different in this respect ; and that in Ireland (where alone if there were any danger from the employment of Catholic officers, that danger could be felt), the King's subjects of all descriptions are capable of holding any military commission whatever, except that of a general on the staff, while in Great Britain where no such danger can exist, and where the whole country is decidedly Protestant, not even the lowest commission can legally be held by a Catholic officer ; a circumstance leading to this striking inconvenience and absurdity that either the intentions of the Act passed in the Irish Parliament must be wholly frustrated, and the Irish Catholic gentry remain excluded from the army, or else that a regiment legally officered in Ireland cannot be ordered from thence to this part of the united kingdom, even in a moment of the most urgent danger, without exposing many of its officers to the necessity of either violating the laws, or quitting the service in which they have been educated, and in which possibly the greater part of their lives have been devoted.

“ In addition to these two considerations of the faith of Government positively pledged, and of the manifest incongruity of the present system, his Majesty's servants are deeply impressed with a sense of the great advantage of enabling all the King's subjects to contribute equally in this moment of common danger, to the military defence of every part of the empire ; and of affording to the sons of the gentry of Ireland the means of displaying in the cause of the united kingdom those military talents by which they have in all ages been distinguished ; and of their bearing their share both in the dangers and the glory of that great contest in which we are now embarked.

“ On these grounds it is that his Majesty's servants have thought it expedient that in the Mutiny Bill to be this year proposed to Parliament a clause should be offered for enabling his Majesty (whenever he shall deem it advisable) to confer any military commission whatever on any of his liego subjects ; such commission to be lawfully exercised in all places within and without the empire, and under no other condition than that of taking such oath of allegiance and fidelity as shall be provided in order to evince their attachment to his Majesty's person, family, and government, and to the established constitution of this united kingdom. And another clause will in that case become necessary in order to give all his Majesty's subjects, however employed in any of his forces, a legal right to that full toleration as to the exercise of their religious profession which, by the practice of the army, and by the just and liberal orders by which it is governed, they now enjoy, but for which it would unquestionably be proper that they should have the security of the laws.

“ These regulations if thus adopted, must of course, in order to their continuance, be annually renewed in Parliament,

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

which would thus be every year enabled to meet any inconvenience to which such a concession could by any possibility give rise. But his Majesty's servants feel the fullest confidence that it would, on the contrary, be in every possible view of the subject productive of the greatest benefit to the public service.

"This intention your Grace is therefore authorised to announce to any of the King's Catholic subjects with whom you may communicate, as a step taken from the views of justice, policy, and consistency which so manifestly recommend it. But as I have before explained, it is judged highly important that you should declare that it is not adopted in any view of compromise, or with any purpose of thereby obtaining the abandonment of any intended or projected petition to Parliament, a measure which the King's servants think highly unadvisable, and the agitation of which at the present moment could not fail, in the opinion even of those who are most favourable to the present question, to be attended with effects injurious to the interests of the empire, and to those of the Catholics themselves; but which they would not seek to avert by partial concessions.

"The objection to the proposal of the opening to the Catholics by Act of Parliament the office of sheriff will obviously appear from what has been already said. This measure, comparatively of such inferior importance, could not be proposed without the agitation in Parliament of the whole subject, nor, consequently, without producing all the mischief attendant on an adverse discussion of the claims and wishes of the Catholics.

"With respect to the admission of Catholics into corporations, the King's servants are not aware of any law existing in Ireland by which they are now excluded; nor consequently does it appear in what manner or to what effect the interference of Government is wished for on the subject.

"In so far as relates to the execution of existing laws your Grace is already fully apprized of the anxious desire which the King's servants entertain that the Catholics should practically enjoy all the advantages to which his Majesty's gracious recommendation and the liberality of Parliament have successively entitled them, and I am too well acquainted with the perfect conformity of opinion which prevails between your Grace and the King's servants here not to be quite certain that the whole tenor of your Grace's conduct has been entirely consonant to this principle; and has already impressed upon the minds of all temperate and reasonable men the fullest conviction that such is the rule by which the King's Government in Ireland is naturally administered; a course to which the King's servants wish that the most decided adherence should continue to be manifested."

*Copy.*



*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

## GEORGE III to EARL SPENCER.

1807, February 10. Windsor Castle.—“The King has received Earl Spencer’s letter transmitting a minute of Cabinet with the despatch from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the draft of the proposed answer to which it refers. Whilst his Majesty approves of that part of the answer which instructs the Lord Lieutenant to keep back any petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to prevent the renewal of a question upon which his Majesty’s sentiments and the general sense of the country have already been so clearly pronounced, the King cannot but express the most serious concern that any proposal should have been made to him for the introduction of a clause in the Mutiny Bill which would remove a restriction upon the Roman Catholics, forming in his opinion, a most essential feature of the question, and so strongly connected with the whole, that the King trusts his Parliament never would, under any circumstances, agree to it. His Majesty’s objections to this proposal do not result from any slight motive; they have never varied, for they arise from the principles by which he has been guided through life, and to which he is determined to adhere. On this question a line has been drawn from which he cannot depart, nor can Earl Spencer be surprised that such should be his Majesty’s feelings upon this occasion, as he cannot have forgotten what occurred when the subject was brought forward seven years ago, and he had hoped in consequence that it would never again have been agitated.”  
*Copy.*

## LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1807, February 11. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville begs leave humbly to submit to your Majesty the enclosed minute drawn at the meeting of the Cabinet this evening. Earl Spencer’s health is not yet sufficiently restored to allow of his attendance, but Lord Grenville is confident that Lord Spencer fully participates in the sentiments which the rest of your Majesty’s servants have ventured to express. Lord Grenville feels that it is in some degree presumptuous in him to think that any individual representation on his part can add weight to that of your Majesty’s Cabinet. And yet he cannot refrain from adding the earnest entreaties of an attached and faithful servant that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to bestow upon this paper that full consideration which he trusts it merits, not less from the spirit in which it is drawn than from the extreme importance of the subject which it has in view. He can faithfully assure your Majesty that it was his earnest wish (and that, as he confidently believes, of all your Majesty’s servants) that every discussion should be avoided which could in the

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

remotest degree be painful to any feelings, or repugnant to any opinions of your Majesty. And this object they hoped they had attained in the measure which they took the liberty to suggest, when the circumstances of the times, and the considerations due to the peace and union of the empire, no longer left any possibility of postponing the consideration of a question so importunately pressed forward by others.

“The measure in question so far from being in opposition to any known or expressed opinion of your Majesty, is perfectly conformable *in its principle* to that concession to which your Majesty had long ago been pleased most graciously to consent. And while the exercise of the power to be conferred is lodged solely in your Majesty’s hands, and a reserve made for the annual exercise of the discretion of Parliament with respect to the continuance of that power, Lord Grenville flatters himself it is impossible that any evil can result from it to the security of principles and establishments to which he is as warmly and conscientiously attached as any other of your Majesty’s subjects.

“On the other hand the advantage is beyond all calculation of recruiting your Majesty’s army by the superabundance of that population, which, for the want of such a vent, is now too frequently engaged in acts of turbulence and disorder at home; of adding to the public strength by the very same measure which will contribute to the public tranquillity, and employing against the enemy abroad the very same hands that would possibly be raised in his support were he to succeed in landing an army in Ireland.

“In like manner with respect to the officers, Lord Grenville is persuaded that no measure should more effectually promote the general interests of the empire than one which will accustom the gentry of Ireland to look for their promotion and advancement in life to your Majesty’s service, and which by mixing them in habits of intercourse with the great body of your Majesty’s officers, will gradually infuse into their minds the same spirit and principles by which that body is animated.

“Of the sincerity of those opinions your Majesty cannot doubt. Nothing but a deep impression of the indispensable necessity of some step of this nature at the present moment, and the peculiar advantage of the measure now recommended in its tendency to prevent difficulties of the most embarrassing nature, could induce Lord Grenville to think himself warranted in recommending it with such extreme earnestness. And whatever may be your Majesty’s ultimate decision on this momentous question, he is persuaded that your Majesty’s condescension and goodness will attribute this freedom to its only true motive.”

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.**Enclosed.*

## CABINET MINUTE.

Downing Street, February 10, 1807.

Present :

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Lord Chancellor. | Lord Henry Petty.      |
| Lord President.  | Lord Grenville.        |
| Lord Privy Seal. | Lord Ellenborough.     |
| Earl of Moira.   | Mr. Secretary Windham. |
| Viscount Howick. | Mr. Grenville.         |

“ It is with the deepest and most unfeigned regret that your Majesty’s servants learn that the proposed despatch to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has not in all its parts been honoured with that approbation from your Majesty which they had allowed themselves to hope for, and which they still flatter themselves it may ultimately obtain from your Majesty’s gracious consideration of what they now beg leave to submit. They can assure your Majesty with the utmost sincerity that it had been their anxious endeavour so to frame the proposed instruction as that it might be entirely free from the difficulties that might attend other parts of this subject on which (as your Majesty knows) a difference of opinion prevails among the persons whom your Majesty has been graciously pleased to call to your councils, and on which they are all aware of the sentiments which your Majesty has at former periods expressed. They had persuaded themselves that in the clauses to be proposed for the *Mutiny Bill*, your Majesty would be of opinion that they are only fulfilling the engagements which had formerly been entered into under your Majesty’s authority, and carrying into effect a *principle* which has already received the fullest and most formal sanction by the Act passed in the Irish Parliament in the 32nd year of your Majesty’s reign. That Act enables your Majesty’s Catholic subjects in Ireland to hold commissions in your Majesty’s army with no other restriction than is there pointed out ; and if a similar provision be refused with respect to this part of the now United Kingdom, it appears obvious that the grace thus conferred by your Majesty on that large body of your people must be rendered wholly illusory ; and an appearance given of a conduct on the part of your Majesty’s Government not consistent with your Majesty’s uniform and paternal beneficence towards your people, or with that openness and good faith with which your Majesty always wishes that your servants should conduct themselves in all the transactions of your Government.

“ In addition to these considerations they beg leave to represent to your Majesty with the most profound deference, and at the same time with the utmost earnestness, that the formidable dangers which now surround the country from a state of affairs in Europe altogether unexampled, appear

to them to impose upon them the indispensable duty of proposing to Parliament to unite in the common cause the military efforts of the whole population of your Majesty's empire, and to secure the best interests of their country from ultimately sinking under the increasing preponderance of France. The absence and want of such aid would in such a moment be deeply felt; but your Majesty's servants fear that a still greater danger might result from conveying to so considerable a body of your Majesty's subjects the impressions which must follow from a decided refusal to admit them to a full share in the military defence of their country.

"In such circumstances your Majesty's servants would think themselves deeply criminal if they could disguise this peril from your Majesty, or if they could neglect to offer to Parliament a proposal which they respectfully conceive is not liable to the ground of objection which your Majesty appears at first view to have felt to it; which *in it's principle* is already sanctioned by a law long since passed and acted upon in many instances; which in its form would continually keep the subject within the care and control of Parliament to whom it must be annually submitted; and which, while it appears to them the measure the best calculated to avert the dangers which they have humbly represented to your Majesty, affords at the same time the most probable means of preventing the agitation of those questions on which the opinion of Parliament has been so recently pronounced." *Copy.*

#### GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, February 12. Queen's Palace.—"The King has maturely considered what is stated in Lord Grenville's letter of the 10th instant, and the accompanying minute of Cabinet. He is disposed upon this, as upon all other occasions, to do full justice to the motives which influence any advice which may be submitted to him by Lord Grenville and his other confidential servants; and however painful his Majesty has found it to reconcile to his feelings the removal of objections to any proposal which may have even the most distant reference to a question which has already been the subject of such frequent and distressing reflection, he will not under the circumstances in which it is so earnestly pressed, and advertising particularly to what took place in 1791 [1793?] prevent his Ministers from submitting for the consideration of his Parliament the propriety of inserting the proposed clause in the Mutiny Bill. Whilst however the King so far reluctantly concedes, he considers it necessary to declare that he cannot go one step further; and he trusts that this proof of his forbearance will secure him from being at a future period distressed by any further proposal connected with this question." *Copy.*

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

## LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE III.

1807, February 12. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville begs leave, in the absence of Earl Spencer, most humbly to submit to your Majesty the minute of the meeting of your Majesty’s confidential servants of this evening; together with the despatch from the Lord Lieutenant to which it refers, and which Lord Grenville has read with great concern.” *Copy.*

*Two enclosures.*

*Enclosure (1).*

## CABINET MINUTE.

Downing Street, February 12, 1807.

Present :

The Lord Chancellor.

Lord Henry Petty.

Lord President.

Lord Grenville.

Lord Privy Seal.

Lord Ellenborough.

Earl of Moira.

Mr. Secretary Windham.

Viscount Howick.

Mr. Grenville.

“Your Majesty’s confidential servants humbly beg leave to express to your Majesty their grateful acknowledgments for your Majesty’s most gracious communication received this day by Lord Grenville, and the deep sense they entertain of the favourable opinion which your Majesty is pleased to express of the motives which will always regulate any advice which it may be their duty to submit to your Majesty. They trust that they shall not be disappointed in their hope of beneficial consequences to result from the measure to which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent; and they humbly entreat your Majesty to believe that they have no object more at heart than the endeavouring by all means consistent with the faithful and conscientious discharge of their duties to your Majesty, to avert from your Majesty every circumstance that can in any manner be painful to your Majesty’s feelings. Your Majesty’s servants are the more anxious to express this assurance because it appears from the despatch just transmitted by the Lord Lieutenant that there is now scarcely a hope left of preventing the immediate presentation of a petition on the part of the Catholics to Parliament; a circumstance of great difficulty and embarrassment in every view of the question.” *Copy.*

*Enclosure (2).*

*Secret.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to EARL SPENCER.

1807, February 10. Dublin Castle.—“The meeting of the Catholics summoned by Lord Fingal met yesterday, and his lordship was put in the chair.

“I understand about two hundred persons attended, among whom were many country gentlemen, and some of them from

a considerable distance; and also some of the most eminent Catholic merchants of this city who had not attended any of the former meetings. Mr. Keogh, it is said, made a long speech, in which he insisted on the same topics that he had stated in his former speech, adding that, from all the circumstances under which the present application was made, he could not help indulging a sanguine hope that everything would be conceded but seats in Parliament.

“There appearing no difference of opinion, little more was said; and on his motion it was unanimously resolved, that this was a fit and proper time to present a petition to Parliament on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland; and that the committee of twenty-one should be re-appointed, which, with the Catholic peers and baronets and twenty-one country gentlemen, should be a committee to prepare a petition to the Imperial Parliament; and report the same to a meeting to be held on Tuesday the 17th instant, to which day the meeting then adjourned.” *Copy.*

*Secret.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to EARL SPENCER.

1807, February 17. Dublin Castle.—“I had the honour of receiving on Saturday afternoon your lordship’s despatch of the 12th instant, and Lord Fingal and Lord French having repeatedly expressed great anxiety to be made acquainted, as soon as possible, with the answer I should receive from his Majesty’s ministers, Mr. Elliot requested them and the other gentlemen appointed by the Catholic meeting to communicate with Government on this occasion, to come to him yesterday. The Lords Fingal and French, and I believe all the other persons except Mr. Keogh (who did not attend) met Mr. Elliot in the presence of the Chancellor. Mr. Elliot stated to them, according to the tenor of your lordship’s instructions, that after the very full and deliberate discussion of the Catholic question in Parliament in the year 1805, on which occasion the opinions of many of the persons forming a part of the present administration were declared to be entirely in favour of the measure, as tending, in their judgment, essentially to promote the safety and prosperity of the empire, and to the preservation of the established constitution both in Church and State, and the general sense of both Houses so decidedly declared to be adverse to the concessions which were then in view, whatever might be the individual sentiments which his Majesty’s Ministers respectively held on this subject, those even, who were the most favourable to the measure saw no reason to believe that any such change had in this short interval taken place as to afford the smallest chance that it would at this time be successfully proposed to Parliament; and they were of opinion, and the Lord Lieutenant most sincerely concurred with them, that the renewal of this question, so soon after the very solemn decision in 1805, was not likely to promote

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

either the general advantage of the empire, or the particular interests of that class of the King's subjects to which it more immediately related. Mr. Elliot then proceeded to mention the Lord Lieutenant had authorized him to state that the King's Ministers, antecedent to these recent discussions, and without any reference to, or connection with them, had taken under their consideration the incongruous and defective state of the law respecting the admission of Catholics into his naval and military services; that in 1793 the then Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, and Lord Buckinghamshire, then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the House of Commons, had declared, that it was intended, under such restrictions only as are expressed in the Irish Act of Parliament 33 George III, cap. 21, to open these professions to the Catholics of Ireland everywhere, but that the Act of the Irish Parliament passed for this purpose could give effect to the concession only within Ireland, and, therefore, to supply this defect, and to fulfil the intention thus publicly manifested in 1793, his Majesty's ministers proposed to offer a clause in the Mutiny Bill to enable his Majesty to confer *any military commission whatever* on any of his liege subjects; and, to render effectual this measure of the year 1793, it was further proposed to give a legal right to all persons so employed to the free exercise and full toleration of their religion, which they at present enjoy only from the liberal practice of the service.

"In pursuance of your lordship's instructions, Mr. Elliot repeated to them that the measure for correcting the defect in the year 1793, and fulfilling the intention then held out, was proposed to be taken solely on the views of policy, justice, and consistency, and was not connected with, and did not in any degree result from the recent discussions; and strongly impressed upon them that it was not adopted with a view to a compromise, or to procure the abandonment of any intended petition to Parliament; a measure which his Majesty's ministers and the Lord Lieutenant thought highly unadvisable, and the agitation of which at the present moment could not fail, in the opinion even of those who were most favourable to their claims, to be attended with effects injurious to the interests of the empire, and to those of the Catholics themselves.

"Lord French stated that in 1793 corporations and the Bank were promised to be opened to them. The Chancellor observed that the present bank charter did not allow of the admission of Catholics into that direction, and Lord French replied he only wished the point to be kept in mind when the charter should come to be renewed. Mr. O'Connor asked if the Catholics were to be capable of being appointed generals on the staff. Mr. Elliot answered he could only say it was proposed to enable his Majesty to confer *any military commissions whatever on any of his subjects*. Mr. Elliot

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

concluded the conversation by saying that he trusted it was superfluous to add that it had been the anxious wish of his Majesty's Government to administer the existing laws in such a manner as that his Majesty's Catholic subjects might enjoy all the advantages to which they are entitled, and that he had the Lord Lieutenant's commands to assure them that this principle should continue the invariable rule of his conduct. The Catholic gentlemen received this communication without expressing any opinion upon it, or in any way manifesting whether it was satisfactory to themselves, or whether they thought it likely to give satisfaction to the Catholic body at large. On consultation with the Chancellor it was thought advisable that the earliest communication of your lordship's answer was necessary, as there was to be a meeting to-day, and it had been rumoured that at such meeting it was very probable the measure of petitioning would be finally adopted, unless the answer from England should be of a nature to induce them to relinquish the petition altogether." *Copy.*

*Secret.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD to EARL SPENCER.

1807, February 18. Dublin Castle.—“The Catholic committee appointed to prepare a petition met on Monday afternoon to receive from the persons sent for by Mr. Elliot the result of the communication from England. So far as I am able to learn, they stated that the naval and military services were to be opened to them on the ground of fulfilling the intention of Government in 1793 and not by way of compromise, or to purchase the abandonment of the petition; and also that his Majesty's ministers were of opinion that agitating a petition in Parliament would at present be highly injurious to the empire, and to themselves, and that in this opinion the Lord Lieutenant entirely concurred. They represented to the committee that Mr. Elliot, in answer to Mr. O'Connor's question mentioned in my former despatch, spoke doubtfully about situations on the staff; although in their conversation, they seemed to think that the words used by Mr. Elliot ‘any military commissions whatever’ imported that such situations were to be opened to them. Lord Fingal and Lord French and a very few others endeavoured to persuade the committee to propose to the general meeting an adjournment for three weeks, on the ground of giving time for the Catholics in the different counties to express their sentiments on the subject. But this proposition was very ill received, and the prevailing disposition was to proceed immediately to settle the terms of the petition, which was accordingly done. Yesterday the meeting was attended by upwards of two hundred persons. After Lord Fingal had repeated the substance of Mr. Elliot's communication, Mr. Burke, a young man of considerable fortune, immediately proposed that the petition prepared by their



*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

committee should be read, and then that it should be adopted as the petition of the Catholics of Ireland. Some debate arose; Lord French again proposed an adjournment for three weeks, which was negatived almost unanimously. Several persons spoke, and except two or three, all were for petitioning immediately. The same topics were urged as at the former meetings, and little was said, I understand, about the indulgences now proposed to be granted to them. They resolved that the petition should be presented this session, that it should be revised by the committee, and reported again on Tuesday next the 24th instant, to which day they adjourned.

“Mr. Keogh, who had not attended the committee at all, because, or on pretence, of bad health, attended the meeting and spoke, but with rather more moderation and caution in his expressions than on former occasions.

“It was generally understood that the Catholics in the country would be solicited to concur in the petition, and that the approaching assizes would afford a convenient opportunity for the purpose.” *Copy.*

## VISCOUNT HOWICK TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, March 3. Downing Street.—“In the absence of Earl Spencer who has obtained his Majesty’s permission to go into the country for the recovery of his health, I have the honour of transmitting to your Grace copies of the clauses which it is intended to propose for insertion in the Mutiny Bill respecting the admission of Catholics into the army, and the securing to them the free exercise of their religion.

“The clause respecting the admission of Catholics into the army your Grace will observe is in perfect conformity with and almost in the words of Lord Spencer’s despatch of the 12th ultimo, and will enable your Grace to confirm the explanation given by Mr. Elliot at the meeting which took place with the leaders of the Catholic body as mentioned in your Grace’s despatch of the 17th ultimo, in consequence of a question put to him by Mr. O’Connor as to the extent of the proposed measure; the new clause being so framed as to enable Catholics to hold *in common with the rest of his Majesty’s subjects any military commission or appointment whatsoever* which his Majesty may be pleased to confer upon persons of that persuasion under *no other condition* than that of taking the oath of allegiance and fidelity there provided, to evince their attachment to his Majesty’s royal person and Government and to the established constitution of this united kingdom, agreeably to what is stated to your Grace in the above-mentioned despatch.” *Copy.*

*N.B. by Lord Grenville.*—“This was sent in draft to the King on Monday night, March 2, and returned by his Majesty

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

on Tuesday morning without any remark or objection. In consequence of which it was despatched to Ireland that day.

“On the following day, namely Wednesday March 4, both Lord Howick and Lord Grenville saw the King.

“Lord Howick’s audience was first. Lord Howick understood the King to express to him a repugnance to the measure, but to have agreed to his proposing it to Parliament. And immediately on his coming out of the closet he so explained what had passed to Lord Grenville.

“In consequence of this Lord Grenville, who went in afterwards, did not touch at all upon the subject, *nor did his Majesty say anything to him upon it.*

“Lord Howick that day made the motion in Parliament.

“It was not till the following Wednesday that his Majesty renewed the subject both to Lord Howick and Lord Grenville; and it then appeared that his Majesty had conceived himself as having stated to Lord Howick the preceding Wednesday that he did *not* consent to the proposal of the measure in *Parliament.*”

## LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1807, March 15. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville has the honour most humbly to submit to your Majesty a minute containing the opinion of such of your Majesty’s servants as are therein named respecting the matter of the Bill which has been proposed to Parliament. The pressure of the subject is in every view of it so great that Lord Grenville trusts your Majesty will excuse his taking the liberty of presenting himself at Windsor to-morrow for the purpose of giving any explanation which your Majesty may deem necessary on this important occasion. Lord Grenville will be in attendance on your Majesty’s commands as soon as he can after 10 o’clock, and he has ventured to mention that hour because he is under the necessity of attending the House of Lords on the Scotch Judicature Bill.” *Copy.*

*Enclosure.*

## CABINET MINUTE.

1807, March 15. Downing Street.

Present :

Lord Privy Seal.

Earl of Moira.

Viscount Howick.

Lord Henry Petty.

Lord Grenville.

Mr. Secretary Windham.

Mr. Grenville.

“Your Majesty’s servants now present, being those whose opinions are favourable to the Bill depending in Parliament, beg leave humbly to submit to your Majesty that, on a full consideration of all the circumstances connected with that Bill, they do not intend that any farther proceeding upon it

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

should be had on their part in Parliament. This determination rests entirely on the same motives which have induced them to abstain from bringing forward other and more extensive measures connected with the same subject, and which would in their judgment be highly advantageous to the public interests. They had flattered themselves that the present proposal might not have encountered the same difficulties which attend the measures to which they allude ; but as this hope appears to have been founded upon a misunderstanding, they judge it on the whole more consonant to their public duty not to press forward any further the discussion of the present Bill.

“ They have thought this course of proceeding would be both more respectful to your Majesty, and more advantageous to the public interest than any attempt to alter the Bill so as to bring it nearer to the strict letter of the Irish Act. The points of difference which exist between that law and the present Bill relate to matters the consideration of which (as it appears to them) it is almost impossible to separate from the measure itself, and they have found the attempt impracticable to reduce the Bill to such a form as would, on the one hand, be likely to obviate the difficulties which now obstruct its success, and as could, on the other hand, be at all satisfactory for them to propose. In stating to Parliament the determination to make this very painful sacrifice to what they conceive to be their public duty they trust your Majesty will see the indispensable necessity of their expressing with the same openness by which their language on that subject has uniformly been marked, the strong persuasion which each of them individually entertains of the advantage which would result to the empire from a different course of policy towards the Catholics of Ireland. These opinions they have never concealed from your Majesty ; they continue strongly impressed with them, and it is obviously indispensable to their public characters that they should openly avow them on the present occasion, and in the possible event of the discussion of the Catholic petition in Parliament ; a discussion which they have all equally endeavoured to prevent ; on which, if it should be forced upon them, there might not be a perfect uniformity of conduct between them ; but in which the adherence of them all to their former opinions must naturally be declared. They beg leave to add that they cannot look without great uneasiness and apprehension at the present state of Ireland, which they consider as the only vulnerable part of the British Empire. The situation of that country is, as they fear, likely to force itself more and more upon the consideration of your Majesty's Government and of Parliament. And it is essential not only to their own characters but also (as they sincerely believe) to the public interests that the deference which they have felt it their duty to show on this occasion to the opinions

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

and feelings expressed by your Majesty should not be understood as restraining them from submitting from time to time as their duty is, for your Majesty's decision, such measures respecting that part of your United Kingdom as the course of circumstances shall appear to require.

"They have only further most humbly to assure your Majesty that in discharging that, and every other part of their duty (so long as your Majesty shall think fit to honour them with your confidence) nothing shall be omitted on their parts which can best testify their invariable and respectful attachment to your Majesty, and their sincere and anxious concern for your Majesty's personal ease and comfort, and for the prosperity and honour of your Majesty's Government." *Draft by Lord Grenville.*

## GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 17. Windsor Castle.—"The King has lost no time in dictating the answer to the minute of Cabinet. Lord Grenville will receive it enclosed, and his Majesty desires he will communicate it to his colleagues, trusting at the same time that Lord Grenville will see the propriety, with a view to the prevention of all future mistakes, that when they shall have duly considered the latter part of his Majesty's answer, their determination should be stated on paper." *Copy.*

*Enclosed.*

1807, March 17. Windsor Castle.—"The King having fully considered what is submitted in the minute of Cabinet which he received yesterday morning, desires Lord Grenville will communicate to those of his confidential servants who were present, his sentiments and observations upon the contents of that minute, as hereafter expressed. His Majesty has learned with satisfaction that they have determined not to press forward any further the discussion of the Bill depending in Parliament, and he is sensible of the deference shown to his sentiments and his feelings. But he regrets that, while they have felt bound as his Ministers to adopt this line of conduct, they should as individuals consider it necessary to state to Parliament opinions which are known to be so decidedly contrary to his principles, at a moment too, when it is the declared object of his Government not to encourage any dispositions on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to prefer a petition to Parliament.

"From the latter part of the minute the King must conclude that, although the Bill now depending is dropped, they have been unable to make up their minds not to press upon him in future, measures *connected with a question* which has already proved so distressing to him; nor can his Majesty conceal from them, that *this intimation* on their part, *unless*

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

*withdrawn*, will leave the matter in a state most embarrassing and unsatisfactory to him, and, in his opinion not less so to them. The King therefore considers it due to himself, and consistent with the fair and upright conduct which it has and ever will be his object to observe towards every one, to declare at once, most unequivocally, that upon this subject his sentiments never can change, that he cannot ever agree to any *concessions to the Catholics* which his confidential servants may in future propose to him, and that under these circumstances, and after what has passed, his mind cannot be at ease, unless he shall receive a *positive assurance from them, which shall effectually relieve him from all future apprehension.*" Copy.

## LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1807, March 18. Downing Street.—“Lord Grenville has the honour most humbly to lay before your Majesty the minute of a meeting of such of your Majesty’s servants as are therein named, which was held to-night at Earl Spencer’s House.” Copy.

*Enclosure.*

## CABINET MINUTE.

1807, March 18. At the Earl Spencer’s.

## Present:

|                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| The Lord Privy Seal. | Lord Henry Petty.      |
| Earl Spencer.        | Lord Grenville.        |
| Earl of Moira.       | Mr. Secretary Windham. |
| Viscount Howick.     | Mr. Grenville.         |

“Your Majesty’s servants have considered with the most respectful and dutiful attention the answer which your Majesty has done them the honour to return to their minute of the 15th instant. They beg leave most humbly to represent to your Majesty that, at the time when your Majesty was graciously pleased to call them to your councils, no assurance was required from them inconsistent with those duties which are inseparable from that station. Had any such assurance been then demanded, they must have expressed, with all humility and duty, the absolute impossibility of their thus fettering the free exercise of their judgment. Those who are entrusted by your Majesty with the administration of your extensive empire, are bound by every obligation to submit to your Majesty without reserve the best advice which they can frame to meet the various exigences and dangers of the times. The situation of Ireland appears to your Majesty’s servants to constitute the most formidable part of the present difficulties of the empire. This subject must, as they conceive, require a continued and vigilant attention, and a repeated consideration of every fresh circumstance which may call for the interposition of your

*Irish Catholic Question—cont.*

Majesty's Government or of Parliament. In forbearing to urge any further while employed in your Majesty's service, a measure which would in their judgment have tended to compose the present uneasiness in Ireland, and have been productive of material benefit to the empire, they humbly submit to your Majesty that they have gone to the utmost possible limits of their public duty; but that it would be deeply eriminal in them, with the general opinions which they entertain on the subject, to bind themselves to withhold from your Majesty under all the various circumstances which may arise, those councils which may eventually appear to them indispensably necessary for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, and for defeating the enterprizes of the enemy against the very existence of your Majesty's empire.

“Your Majesty's servants must ever deeply regret that any difficulty should arise on their part, in giving the most prompt obedience to any demand which your Majesty considers as indispensable to the ease of your Majesty's mind. But it is not possible for them consistently with any sense of those obligations which must always attach on the sworn councillors of your Majesty, to withdraw a statement which was not made without the most anxious consideration of every circumstance which could be suggested by their earnest desire for your Majesty's ease, comfort, and happiness; or to give assurances which would impose upon them a restraint incompatible with the faithful discharge of the most important duty which they owe to your Majesty.” *Copy.*

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MARQUIS WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 19. Oxford Street.—“I received your kind note last night. For nearly a month, I have been confined to my house, and for a great part of that time to my bed. My illness has been very severe; it is only within the last three days that I have been able to take the air in my carriage; but I have not yet been out of my house in the evening, nor have I yet, even in the day, felt sufficient strength to make any visit. My sufferings have been much aggravated by the recent transactions in the House of Commons respecting India, which have left my honour and reputation ‘to float, and welter to the parching wind.’ Excepting from newspapers, and the accidental reports of the few friends who have called here, I had heard nothing of your Bill, or of the strange disturbances which have ensued, until I received your note. Indeed, for some time past, I have received no authentic information respecting any political event; for I can scarcely call the persecution which I have undergone by so high a name. I sincerely hope that some propitious change may still happen to establish you in your seat at the head of the Government. Your expulsion at this moment would be a most serious blow to the country;

and I trust that you will make every sacrifice, which may be consistent with your honour, to avert such a calamity. I deeply lament that I was not sooner apprized of the circumstances which have led to so alarming a conclusion: if my opinion could at any moment have deserved notice, I apprehend that the period of time has long elapsed when it might have been useful; and I therefore regret more deeply, that we should have had so little communication for several weeks. My physicians have ordered me to go into the country for a few days, and I propose to go to Brightelmston to-morrow, in order to endeavour to recover myself by change of air. On my return I hope to be able to call upon you; and I trust that I shall hear, in the interval, that you have weathered the storm.

“Richard is recovering, but very slowly.”

*Private.* THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE SAME.

1807, March 20. Dublin Castle.—“I feel it to be my duty to call your lordship’s attention to the unpleasant situation in which I find myself placed in regard to the recent proceedings of the Corporation of Dublin. It was rumoured some time ago that it was the intention of the corporate body to call a post assembly, with a view of discussing the claims of the Catholics, and considering the expediency of presenting a petition to Parliament against those claims. Mr. Elliot immediately saw the Lord Mayor and some of the leading members of the corporation, and readily obtained from them a promise that they would discourage such a meeting, conceiving that it could tend only to increase the irritation which pervades the public mind respecting the Catholic claims. Probably, however, some intelligence received from England induced these gentlemen to alter their determination, and the meeting took place on Wednesday last, attended and encouraged by the very men who had promised Mr. Elliot to stay away if the promoters of it should persevere in their intentions. Mr. Gifford, at the conclusion of a speech in which he indulged himself in the most virulent invective against the Catholic body, and the most strained panegyric on the Orangemen and Sir Richard Musgrave’s history, moved a petition to the two Houses of Parliament be presented by the Duke of Cumberland and Mr. Shaw, which was carried on a division by 39 to 13. Of the committee appointed to draw up the petition were the names of Mr. Alderman Alexander and Major Sirr, both immediately connected with the Government. and Mr. Alderman King, his Majesty’s stationer, who also signed the requisition to the Lord Mayor to call the meeting. This, as you may readily conceive, has caused no inconsiderable sensation among the Catholics; and they contrast the conduct of the present administration (their professed friends) with that of Lord Hardwicke’s, which they observe did not suffer such acts

to pass with impunity. Whatever I may feel on this subject, I confess I am at a loss under the present circumstances, how to act; nor can the Chancellor and Mr. Elliot, whom I have not failed to consult, give me any advice. I must therefore apply to your lordship for specific instructions, apprehending as I do that this will not be the only instance in which the Orange party will show their disregard (to use no stronger term) of the wishes or authority of the Government.

“Public rumour and private information tell us that the material points in discussion relative to the Catholic military Bill are given up; but not having any direct communication from your lordship or any of your colleagues, I shall for the present abstain from entering on the subject; observing only that a mature consideration of the consequences likely to result from this measure more and more confirms me in the opinion expressed in my letter to you of the 17th instant, written immediately after a conference with the Chancellor and Mr. Elliot, following several conversations I had had separately with them. I wished to use the utmost caution in everything that related to their sentiments, desirous of committing no one but myself; but Elliot showed me the letter he wrote to your lordship on the following day, and I can have no hesitation in declaring that my opinions and feelings fully accord with those he has expressed in that letter.

“Elliot will probably leave Dublin as soon as we receive any decisive intelligence from England.”

*Private.* LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 20. Pall Mall.—“I believe Lord Howick has given you the official letter of Lord Auckland and myself upon the subject of our secretaries’ salaries; but in the hurry of business it may be overlooked; and I write to you to remind you of the necessity of something being done, and at the same time to express how much interested I am in the success of our application, as it affords me the only opportunity likely ever to occur of making a very small return to one of the most sensible men and zealous friends that ever lived.”

LORD GRENVILLE to W. ELLIOTT.

1807, March 21. Downing Street.—“I received your letter yesterday. You will have seen from what I have before written, that the Government here is dissolved, and that we on this side are consequently relieved from the almost inextricable difficulty in which we should have been placed if we had been called upon to fulfil the concession which we had offered to the King of letting the Bill drop, without the aid of the Irish Government, whose retreat must infallibly have been followed by ours.



“As it is, all difficulty is removed, and I verily believe there is not one man to be found who approves of the demand which the King has made upon us for a positive and written engagement *never* to propose to him any concession to the Catholics.

“I am, as you may suppose, much hurried in the agonies of the death bed, having much to dispose of and to arrange *in articulo mortis*. We are daily expecting to see you here.” *Copy.*

VISCOUNT HOWICK TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March [6\*]. Stratton Street.—“I was just going to you, wishing to have some conversation with you before you saw Lord Sidmouth; but I have just received a letter from him desiring to see me here, and I probably shall not be able to get to Downing Street before the hour at which you have appointed him. I therefore send a letter from Lord Holland, written in consequence of a conversation I had with him last night, in which I suggested the course described in the latter part of the letter, as to Lord Sidmouth. I think his observations just, so far as they relate to the appearance of our case to the public; but certainly what has happened on this occasion, makes it very desirable, if not absolutely necessary, that if this government is to continue, it should not contain in it a separate party on the Catholic question.

“I shall go immediately from hence to the Office, after Lord Sidmouth has left me, and shall be at your orders at any time till four.”

LORD ERSKINE TO THE SAME.

1807, March 22.—“If, in the winding up of things, you should have any place in the Customs or elsewhere in London which you have no fixed engagement for, I should be very happy if you could put in my poor purse-bearer, who was my clerk when at the Bar, who has served me most faithfully, and who must remain quite destitute until we can dispose of these gentlemen who have so unworthily produced the present conjuncture.”

MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE SAME.

1807, March 23. Oxford Street.—“When I left you yesterday evening, the sentiments which you expressed to me had induced me to determine not to accept office in the event of the formation of a new administration; since that time, this very difficult and painful question has been revived by my family and many of my friends, under circumstances which compel me to reconsider it. Whatever may be the result, I will write to you fully to-morrow.”

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, March 23. Downing Street.—“I received yesterday your letter of the 20th. To-day Lord Howick was authorised by the King to say that his Majesty is occupied in forming

\* See note at foot of page 67.

a new administration. We do not hear of whom it is to consist, nor do I believe that it is yet settled, though the Duke of Portland has certainly accepted the Treasury.

"In this situation of things it is probable that it will not be long before a successor is named to you in Ireland, and to-day Lord Chichester is talked of for that situation.

"This circumstance may in one point of view lessen the embarrassment you feel towards the Catholics. Yet I should say that so long as the sword of State remains in your hands you should not suffer the Government to be insulted, or those in its employment to show themselves active in fomenting religious animosities in that unhappy and devoted country which is about to lose the advantage of your services." *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE TO MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1807, March 23. Downing Street.—"When I expressed to you yesterday my decided opinion on the question you stated to me, I did so without hesitation. It was, as I then stated to you, by no means formed on the sudden, but one to which I had given a great deal of consideration and anxious thought: not from any doubt that I ever entertained upon it, but because I felt the personal delicacy of the question as affecting myself.

"I now feel that I should be wanting in the duties of that friendship, from which I cannot reproach myself with a single deviation in the course of so very many years, if I did not once more (and certainly for the last time) most solemnly and urgently entreat you to pause and consider well, again and again, before you take a step on which, I verily believe, there will and can be but one opinion amongst any persons not directly and personally interested in it.

"I do not pretend to say that I am myself wholly uninterested. It is not indifferent to me whether the acrimonious and bitter war which seems now preparing, is to be waged with troops under your direction, or under that of Lord Hawkesbury. But, if I know myself, this is the least and weakest of the motives which make me solicitous that you should not do a thing which, I sincerely think, whether justly or not, will expose you to almost universal reproach.

"You are the only person living to whom I should have said so much in such a case: and, after all, you must, as every man must in such circumstances, judge for yourself and on your own feelings; and certainly the best approbation a man can receive is that of his own judgment. But you asked me my opinion; and even if you had not done so, I should not have felt myself justified in withholding it from you." *Draft.*

LORD HENRY PETTY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 24. Downing Street.—"Mr. Penn's family, who applied to you some time ago in consequence of the

great distress in which he was, for some increase of his pension as an American loyalist, have earnestly requested me to call your attention to his situation. I only undertook to do so in consequence of their proposing to confine their request to granting the pension now enjoyed by the father, Mr. R. Penn, to his two daughters instead of him; which, as there would be no augmentation required, I thought you might perhaps be good enough to comply with."

LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE III.

1807, March 24. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville has the honour most humbly to submit to your Majesty for your Majesty’s royal signature, if approved, a warrant granting to Major Rennel the sum of 2,000*l.* to enable him to complete a great geographical work in which he is engaged, and of which the geography of Herodotus, a book of singular and acknowledged merit, forms a part.

“ It was some time ago mentioned to Lord Grenville that this work was likely to drop for the want of the funds necessary for carrying it on; proposals were made to Major Rennel for opening a private subscription to enable him to defray the expense, and some communication also passed upon the subject with the delegates of the University Press at Oxford; but Major Rennel having declined the former, and Lord Grenville not having been able to arrange any satisfactory plan for the latter of these two modes, he is induced to hope that your Majesty will not deem it an object unworthy of your Majesty’s royal munificence to grant the encouragement which Lord Grenville now ventures to propose for the completion of a work which is likely to do honour to the country and to be of permanent utility.

“ Lord Grenville also humbly submits to your Majesty warrants for your Majesty’s royal signature, if approved, for a pension on the English establishment of 1,000*l.* *per annum* to Lord Charles Spencer, and also for pensions of 200*l.* to Mr. Southey, and 50*l.* to Miss Lind, daughter of Mr. Lind, formerly your Majesty’s minister at Warsaw.

“ Lord Grenville also submits in like manner warrants for some small pensions on the Scotch establishment, of which a list is herewith most humbly laid before your Majesty. That to Lord Cullen has already been submitted to your Majesty by Lord Grenville.” *Copy.*

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 24. Stowe.—“ I have little to say save that I doubt very much whether you have not hurt your ground by your concessions in the matter of the Bill which I sincerely regret was ever brought forward; for I hear that it would gratify no one, and, unless with the King’s fullest support, it could not fail of producing the effect it has. But

I very truly regret the resolution taken to *resign*, as I hold it to have been clearly your duty to have driven the King—under all the circumstances of a misconduct which I hold very gross—to the necessity of removing you. I explained myself very fully on this head to my brother Tom, and shall always regret your resignation as a move that destroys much of the game to be played hereafter.

“You say very truly that no such proposition as that which is now claimed was proposed to us, or would have been entertained by us twelve months ago; and it is equally true that it not only militates against every sentiment which we are known to entertain, but it militates against the first duty of a Minister or counsellor. I think that you cannot state this too strongly or too generally; but the only way to rescue the country from the effect of this fanaticism is to act in this matter without managements, which are always sure finally to tell against those who use them. In short the King’s conduct is most mischievous, and must be so exposed whatever be the consequence, unless we can consent to give him a power as absolute in this matter as Bonaparte claims in every other.

“If I have any weight with you pray pause on your resignation, and urge the dismissal, for very much depends on this difference.

“Perhaps, and probably, this is the last letter I shall ever write to you as a Minister. I have hated to press upon you for patronage, and in this last moment I fear that any pressing will be severely difficult for you. But two points are very near to my wishes; the first, from the anxiety my wife feels upon it, I mean the 200*l. per annum* Irish pension to Miss Macnamara, which Elliott refused to me; and the second is some ecclesiastical provision for my friend, W. H. Barnard, who lives with me, and has nothing but Finmere, and is starving. Do believe that it is with the greatest repugnance that I urge this at such a moment; but I shall indeed be unhappy if this unexpected event closes all my political views without the means of assisting two persons for whom I interest myself so much, as living constantly with me.”

#### GEORGE III to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 25. Queen’s Palace.—“The King cannot but approve of Lord Grenville’s proposal that two thousand pounds should be granted to Major Rennell for the work in which he is engaged, and his Majesty returns the warrant for that purpose, together with the others which Lord Grenville has submitted, and which the King has signed.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE to LORD HENRY PETTY.

1807, March 25. Downing Street.—“I have to acknowledge your lordship’s letter of yesterday’s date, and I am

sorry to state that the pension to Mr. Penn being a parliamentary grant, it is not in the power of the Treasury Board to make any alteration on that subject." *Copy.*

#### THE SAME TO GEORGE III.

1807, March 26. Downing Street.—“ Lord Grenville begs leave most humbly to submit to your Majesty that he has had the mortification of finding this day that the warrant which he has now the honour to transmit for a pension of two hundred pounds a year to Lord Kircudbright on the Scotch establishment, and which he had directed to be prepared and laid before your Majesty, with the other Scotch pensions, to which your Majesty was graciously pleased to accede, has by a negligence in this Office been omitted to be so sent.

“ Lord Grenville would certainly never have presumed to lay before your Majesty any new matter after his audience of yesterday, but under the circumstances applying to this case, which had previously been directed to be put in course, he thought he could not in justice decline humbly laying it before your Majesty, that your Majesty may do in it as your Majesty shall think fit.

“ If in thus intruding himself he has taken too great a liberty, he humbly solicits your Majesty's gracious forgiveness.” *Copy.*

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 26. Stowe.—“ I see in the newspaper that your death warrant is signed, and that the Duke of Portland has succeeded to you ; and from the same authority I see many other matters respecting those who come in, those who go out, and those who refuse to come in, that are highly interesting. As my son is good enough to come down to me in a day or two, I shall hear something more authentic on all these points ; and I trust I shall hear of a determination to mark by the most eager and animated opposition this very desperate and unconstitutional procedure. I will fairly say that I cannot comprehend the wisdom or correctness of the silence hitherto observed ; and I know the advantage gained by those who have succeeded in their workings on the fanatic imbecillity of the King. I should not have written even this short note, having one eye bandaged up and the other much inflamed, if I could have consented to let one post pass by without pledging myself to your situation out of office, even with more cordiality and satisfaction than when you received from the King the office from which he has now kicked you out. I cannot describe to you half the political—not personal—indignation I feel, nor the difficulty you will have to keep me to the state of your thermometer.”

## LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1807, March 26. Downing Street.—“A messenger is (as I understand) under orders for Ireland, that Lord Hawkesbury may announce to your Grace the removal of the late administration, and his own appointment and that of his colleagues.

“I have nothing to add on that subject to what you will learn from him and from the public papers, except that the arrangements do not seem even yet to be very definitely settled; and that little disposition has yet been shown by Parliament or the public to place any confidence in this new fabric.

“The demand for an indefinite pledge on this subject is, as far as I can learn, unanimously censured; and even the advocates for the new Ministry seem rather to endeavour to explain it away than to defend it.

“I know it is unnecessary for me to recommend to your Grace that all possible means should be used, so long as you continue in Ireland, to moderate and soothe the feelings which the demand of such a pledge and the consequent removal of the Ministry is likely to excite in Ireland.”  
*Copy.*

## GEORGE III TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 27. Windsor Castle.—“The King considers that Lord Grenville has acted perfectly right in sending the warrant for a pension of 200*l.* to Lord Kireudbright, as it had through mistake been omitted when the others mentioned by Lord Grenville were submitted. His Majesty has signed it, and he concludes that the date of it will be similar to that of the warrants with which it was to be included.”

## SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1807, March 27,—

*Extract.*—“I shall be very much obliged to you if you will take an opportunity of explaining to Lord Grenville the reasons for which I have thought it proper to accept the office of Secretary in Ireland, which Lord Hawkesbury has offered me.

“When the change of Government took place it was obvious that you could not go into opposition. The only doubt I had therefore, when this offer was made, was whether I should accept a civil office, the duties of which might take me away from my profession. I have consulted the Duke of York upon this point, and he has told me that he approves of my acceptance of the office, and that he does not conceive that it ought to operate to my prejudice; and the Ministers have told me that they consider me at liberty to give up the office in Ireland whenever an opportunity

of employing me professionally may offer, and that my acceptance of this office, instead of being a prejudice to me in my profession, will be considered as giving me an additional claim to such employment. On these grounds therefore I have not thought myself at liberty to refuse an offer made to me under circumstances highly flattering in other respects." *Copy.*

LORD HENRY PETTY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, March 28. Downing Street.—“I have, since I last saw you, heard and seen so much of the impression made by your speech in the House of Lords, not only as it respects ourselves, but, what is more essential, in what regards Ireland and the manner in which future events may affect it, that I must be so importunate as once more to beseech of you to lose no time in preparing it for the press. Wickham tells me he means to go to you in a day or two, and as I do not propose leaving town for more than one day during the holidays, if I could assist in correcting the sheets, or in any other way, I should be happy in contributing to so good a work.

“Sir James Pultney is, I hear, to be Secretary of War. Lady Hertford has, I am afraid, been too successfully employed with the Prince of Wales.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

1807, March 29. Dropmore.—“I beg you to assure your brother that I feel gratified by his persuasion of the interest I should take in what relates to him.

“Of the thing itself I can, of course, express no other sentiments than those of deep regret; but they are accompanied with every possible good wish for his honour and happiness, in whatever situation he may be.” *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, April 1. Dublin Castle.—“Before this letter reaches you, you will probably have seen Elliot who will communicate to you everything relating to our proceedings on this side of the water previous to his quitting Dublin. It is therefore unnecessary for me to do more than to offer you my very sincere thanks for your two letters of the 23rd and 26th ultimo, and to assure you that I am most grateful for the obliging expressions you are pleased to use towards me personally, and that I can never cease to reflect with pride and satisfaction on the effectual and unvarying support which I have received from your lordship in the discharge of a most arduous duty. I feel conscious that my humble services have been faithfully and zealously exerted in support of the just views of the administration with whom I acted; and if my efforts

have merited any portion of your approbation, I am content. As long as the sword of state continues in my hands, I shall endeavour to maintain the interests of the country, and to promote its safety by all the means within my power; and I conceive that I cannot more effectually do so, than by discouraging every tendency to violence, and by repressing any spirit of animosity or anger which may arise among the contending parties; and upon this account I have forborne to notice the late unjustifiable conduct of some members of the corporation connected with the Government, and which I alluded to in a former letter. The displeasure of the Government would have been felt only during my short remaining stay in Ireland, and those upon whom it fell would have been held up as the martyrs of an expiring and vindictive administration.

“I have every reason to believe that the Catholics are patiently and peaceably disposed, and I have no doubt will continue so, unless goaded by the opposite party who are already (among the grand juries) instructing their representatives to oppose the Catholic claims, and in some instances not in the most temperate language.

“The general impression, however, which has been made by the late events in this country has been most favourable to the late administration; a sentiment of almost universal regret appears to pervade all ranks and descriptions of the people of Ireland, and none but those who are under the influence of faction or prejudice rejoice at the change.

“I have not the vanity to attribute any share of this feeling to personal attachment to him in whose hands the Government of this country has been placed; but the people of Ireland do look with dread to a change of that system, under which they felt the gradual but sure return of harmony, confidence, and security to their unhappy country, and of which I was enabled to be the fortunate instrument. I hope and trust I shall soon be relieved from the unpleasant state of responsibility in which I now stand; but as long as I remain here, it will be a satisfaction to me to receive your wishes and advice upon any matters which may appear to you to involve the character and credit of that Government at the head of which you so lately stood, and the principles of which must continue to guide my conduct as long as the administration of affairs is in my hands.”

EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, April 3. Milton.—“Though I take it for granted you will be found in town on Tuesday, still your letter being dated from Dropmore, and Lord Stafford’s motion not coming on before Friday, possibly the delights of the place, and the comfort of a little relaxation may induce you to stay there beyond that day; for fear of that happening, as I intend going to the *levée* on Wednesday to have



an audience, I wish to know previously, if my desire of relinquishing a seat in the Cabinet has been notified to the King, or if I am myself to be the first to communicate it to h[is] M[ajesty].

“Upon another subject also I wish for information. After you mentioned the Garter to me, it so happened that not a word more has ever passed between us upon the subject. I know not when the proposal was made, or how it was received. Before my audience I am anxious to know whether the giving me a mark of h[is] M[ajesty]’s favour was received with approbation, or whether the proposal was referred to future consideration. This is a point I am far from considering as personal to myself, but as one that possibly may throw a considerable degree of light upon other more important matters.”

VISCOUNT HOWICK to THE SAME.

1807, April 4. Stratton Street.—“I did not answer your letter yesterday as your brother told me he intended to write to you. I approve very much of all your resolutions except the first, which I think it would be better to omit. I doubt much whether we should divide better upon it, than upon the second, and it would put the debate upon a bad ground. The new Ministers would be enabled to avoid the real question by a general attack on our administration; we could only speak on the defensive on points on which we might be attacked, and could neither argue nor vote for a motion of compliment to ourselves. I should propose therefore to begin with the second, and to follow with the others, which would confine the question and debate to the true grounds of our dismissal, and of the acceptance of the new Ministers.

“If these motions should be carried, of which I think there is little doubt, it will certainly be necessary to follow them up with something to give them effect; and this, I agree with you, it would be better not absolutely to decide upon till we shall have been enabled, by what passes in the first debate, to judge of the temper and disposition of the House. The obvious motion for this purpose is clearly one pointed at the advisers of our dismissal; and for this, according to the true doctrine of the constitution, founded on the maxim that the King can do no wrong, the new Ministers must be considered as legally responsible. But, without going into this reasoning upon the subject, the responsibility under the particular circumstances of the cases, seems to me to be easily fixed on Lord Eldon and Lord Hawkesbury. Not, however, by their having been the ministers to execute the instruments necessary for the new appointments; the great seal having been put to the appointments of the Secretaries of State and, I believe, to the Treasury Commission also, by Lord Erskine; but by their having been sent for by the King, avowedly for the purpose of advising with

him as to the formation of the new government, and having been the bearers of his orders for that purpose to the Duke of Portland. This, I should imagine, would admit of easy proof; but, if there should be any doubt upon this, the first question, after having carried your resolutions, might be to address the King to know his advisers.

“I think there is no chance of Lord Sidmouth’s being with us; and as none of us can at present look to coming into power with him again. I doubt the propriety of taking any step to induce him to join us in measures of opposition. I make a distinction, however, between him and Lord Ellenborough, and a conversation I have already had with the latter authorises me to speak to him on our intended motions, which, in their present shape, I think he will certainly support. I will write therefore to-day to desire to see him to-morrow for this purpose, when I will give him a copy of the resolutions, leaving him to communicate them or not to Lord Sidmouth as he may judge expedient.

“I do not think ours will be an adjourned debate; but even if it should, I wish you to consider whether, considering the nature of the question, there may not be some objection to its being put off so long as Monday in the House of Lords. If, however, the interval is necessary to bring up any peers who could not be got up before that time, as nothing is of so much importance as numbers, other objections must give way.

“I have gone over the list of peers with Lord Holland. Of those who are marked ‘against’ he considers the Duke of Athol and Lords Carington, Camden, Mansfield, Nelson, Sackville, and Powis as doubtful. Lord Southampton, if he votes at all, I think will certainly be with us; of those marked ‘for’ you may put down the Duke of Leeds as decidedly against us. In the list ‘against’ I should also have stated that Lords Donegall, Harrington, and Harrowby are expected to be absent. Lord Grey de Wilton is omitted. In the doubtful list Lord Say and Sele is considered as decidedly with us, and I have great hopes that my father will be well enough to take his seat at least, and to give us his proxy. I had written before I received your letter to Lord Crewe and Lord Charlemont. Holland has taken the names of those to whom he can apply; and I have written to Lord Fitzwilliam to use his influence with Lord Middleton and Lord Scarborough. The Duke of Grafton, I am told, is the best person to write to Lord Clarendon; and that nothing would do so much good as your writing yourself to Lord Monson who, upon such an application, would certainly come up. I think you had better also write yourself to the Duke of Grafton about Lord Clarendon.

“I have not yet had one unfavourable answer from any of the members of the House of Commons to whom I have applied. Some have not answered at all, which you may perhaps consider as pretty near the same thing.

“I hear they are going to embark on a great scale in subsidies and foreign expeditions.”

W. WINDHAM to THE SAME.

1807, April 4. Pall Mall.—“I send you enclosed the copy of a memorandum which I felt it necessary, on quitting the Colonial Department, to leave in the hands of Mr. Chapman, the first clerk. It was not left according to its date, having been kept for the sake of the enquiry which it was thought desirable to make into the books of the Office. Had it been less necessary that a paper touching, in whatever way, upon transactions in which you were concerned, should be made known to you, I should willingly have avoided even this recurrence to a subject which must always be to me a painful one; and which I cannot hope to mend by anything that can now be said upon it.”

*Enclosure.*

“Memorandum left with Mr. Chapman, Chief Clerk of the Colonial Department.

1807, March 25. Downing Street.—“I think it necessary to state, in justice to myself, that the appointment now made for the first time of a vendue-master at the Cape, has been made without consultation with me, and without any knowledge on my part of the reasons which have rendered such an appointment necessary. And I must further remark, in justice to those who may succeed me in this Office, that the mode in which that appointment has been filled up is contrary to the practice uniformly observed for a period of more than seventy years (being the longest period for which the books of the Office have been as yet examined) in all cases where appointments of the sort in question are known to have existed.

“And I must, for the same reasons, desire to have it understood that the claim, now more fully explained and acted upon, of appointing by warrant from the Treasury all persons at the Cape or elsewhere who shall be employed in any way in the receipt or payment of public money, even where such money shall be merely Colonial money (that is to say, money raised from the resources and appropriated to the uses of the Colony itself through the medium of its own internal regulations, and without affecting the functions or being mixed in the accounts of any correspondent Office here) is a claim which I have never assented to; but consider, on the contrary, as an innovation in the general system of Colonial administration, which, if not supported by reasons different from any of which I am as yet apprized, must of itself have compelled me to relinquish the situation which I am now, from other causes, about to quit.” *Copy.*

## LORD GRENVILLE to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1807, April 5. Dropmore.—“Your intention of relinquishing your seat in the Cabinet was notified to the King the day we all took leave of him. I must take shame to myself for my negligence about the Garters, which I had omitted to mention to the King till after he had determined on changing his Government. The last day I saw him I told h[is] M[ajesty] that I thought it a duty which I owed to your lordship and to the Duke of Norfolk to mention to h[is] M[ajesty] that I had previously apprized you both of my intention of humbly submitting your names to h[is] M[ajesty] for that mark of his favour; but that, under the present circumstances, it must of course be for h[is] M[ajesty] to decide what he would think it right to do respecting them. This was received only with a silent bow.

“It would be needless for me to say how deeply I regret the consequence of the delay. The thing is now irremediable, and I know I need not assure you that it has been unintentional on my part.” *Copy.*

## THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

[1807, April [10]. Stowe.]—“I avail myself of Marsden’s frank to enclose to you a pamphlet, or rather a printed state of a new plan that has been prepared by Government as an improvement on the finance plan moved by Lord H. Petty. I understand that very few have been printed, and I was assured that Lord Grenville has not seen it. I therefore send it through you to him, as the new Treasury secretary may not be as civil as your old Admiralty scribe. I say nothing on your division save that, if your 240 hang together, no Ministry can stand against that opposition, nor even against 200; but the consequence of repeated defeats would be a dissolution, and my ideas turn to immediate arrangements on that chapter in which, with a little management, we may turn that card against Ministers. I have written to my son upon it, and I think no time ought to be lost in that matter. Canning’s tone in the House of Commons, and the military grasp for power both in England and in Ireland are a new feature in the system of government, and cannot be met too soon, or with a too strongly marked reprobation. I never thought that the Commons would quietly hear the threat of their dissolution. You will remember how cautiously Pitt in 1784 avoided any intimation of that intention, though, of course, eagerly challenged upon it by Opposition. Surely such a tone and such an assumption of power ought not to be suffered to pass unnoticed. I have a very handsome letter from Lord Downshire who continues firm to us. I very much wish that a list could be made out of numbers such as they might stand, on a diss[olution], returned by our great leaders, for I fancy that

we have a decided superiority notwithstanding Lord Lonsdale and the Duke of Rutland, who, I conclude, are the best feathers of their wing.

“My son has written to me to beg a bed in Pall Mall, as Long is so very impatient. This, however, will not prevent you from taking a bed there likewise, if Cleveland Row is not open to you.”

#### LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, April 21.—“I find you have fixed Thursday for the question on the Scotch Judicature, on which day Lord Rosslyn, myself, and I believe several other friends have been engaged upon a long engagement to Lord Stafford. As I think it very desirable to muster strong on the question, and, as far as regards myself, Thursday is the *only* day that is very inconvenient to me, I own I wish it could be changed to Friday, unless, at your suggestion, Lord Stafford could put off his dinner instead of the debate to Friday.

“Lord Sidmouth, after you went, expressed more than his doubts of the propriety of extending juries to Scotland. He assured me he had always apprized you of this; but as Ellenborough is decidedly with us on that point, I own I think it would be very material to get him to express his opinion upon it in public.”

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1807, April 28. Stowe.—“I have read with indignation the wicked and atrocious charge brought against you almost by name in the King’s speech, and I will not say how much I am shocked that no opportunity has occurred of challenging the public attention to a performance which is almost an invitation to a mob to destroy you. The time must come when the managements which you have observed too scrupulously must be thrown aside; but it is hopeless to expect numbers such as you have pointed out, for I am satisfied that the cry is completely against us, and that we shall lose wherever it can be usefully employed against us. It is indeed melancholy that such should be the temper of the people at a moment so critical; but I cannot shut my eyes or ears, and I fear that many other cases will occur in which the supporters of your Government will be turned out. Nevertheless you are tied to the stake and must fight your course. I hope and trust that we shall be quiet in this county, but pains have been taken to raise a cry which nothing but my presence has put down. If a county meeting is called to address, you must appear and assist in resisting it, but I *now* hope that idea is out of the question. Yorkshire and Newcastle are heavy pills to swallow. You do not say anything of Cornwall; can we do anything there? I have written to Ireland and

shall be able to assist Mr. Caulfield in Roscommon, and to worry your Captain Gore for Leitrim. I hope Lord Forbes is safe for Longford. I have written to keep my Westmeath votes *in petto*, but I fear that the present members are safe. I have likewise written for support to Sir E. O'Brien for Clare. What is done about Colchester? remember I have some *means* there. I am heartily sorry for Ebrington's contest, and I fear that Proby's disappointment will be great in Hunts. I had hoped he would have been safe as he had not voted in the present struggle. There is much talk of contest in Northamptonshire, but I think that Althorp and Cartwright will succeed. The dissenters all support the former. I find that they (the dissenters) begin to move, and to feel that this cry strikes at them as well as at others.

"I again return to the libel in the shape of a King's speech. The attack upon his Ministers almost by name is quite new, and I am inclined to think that it ought to be repelled (Parliament not being sitting) by some measure of equal publicity; but it is a very difficult subject for discussion, and particularly at present, when your former Cabinet is not only dissolved but are not acting together. I wish you, however, to turn the matter in your mind.

"You have not said one word about West[minster], nor do I know whether Paul stands or not, supported by the Treasury and by H. Wellesley! Still less do I know whether Sheridan stands, supported by your friends."

#### THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, May 2. Woburn Abbey.—"I have requested Adam to write to you on the subject of securing a retreat for Lord Henry Petty at Camelford, and wish to be guided wholly by your decision upon it.

"From what I hear this morning, I fear ministers have succeeded in exciting an opposition to my brother in Surrey, and I cannot in that case risk so great an expense as must unavoidably be incurred by a contest in that county, for an object so wholly unconnected with family interests.

"Mr. Pym has shown so little courage in this county, that I have been compelled to withdraw General Fitzpatrick from the contest to induce him to stand firm at his post. We should, I am persuaded, have otherwise carried both members without difficulty, which perhaps might have afforded me an opportunity of finding a seat for Tierney; but, embarrassed as I now feel myself from these unexpected events, I fear it is wholly out of my power."

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD ERSKINE.

1807, May 4. Downing Street.—"In removing my papers from this house I find that I have still in my custody the original letters and drawings (if they can be so called) which

were referred to in the examinations of Sir John and Lady Douglas, and marked by them; and which, you may remember, were sealed up by me in the presence of the other commissioners. Lady D[ouglas] has applied to me for these papers. The P[rince] of W[ales] has also sent me his orders through Lord Moira to return to H[is] R[oyal] H[ighness] such papers of his as I still have. But this order, as I take it, refers to some letters of the princess, and not to these papers.

“I should be obliged to you if you would let me know your opinion whether I should transmit these papers to the Secretary of State, or return them to Lady D[ouglas], or send them to Lord Moira for the Prince.

“When you have written your opinion on this question, I will thank you to send it with this letter to Lord Spencer and to Lord Ellinboro’, that I may also have the benefit of their advice on a point on which, though not perhaps of any great importance, I should like to do what is correct.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, September 23. Eden Farm.—“I send, under a separate cover, another letter forming the sequel to the packet which I confidentially put into your hands some time ago. The facts stated in the last page shows that the King of Prussia is in a predicament not to be envied by the most wretched mendicant in the streets and highways. It appears from the other part of the letter, and indeed from every information, that the Danish measure rests entirely on the naked assertion of political foresight and general expediency; in other words, on *le droit du plus fort*. I wish to consider more specifically than we have yet done the fair distinction to be taken between that business, and the intended measures respecting the Turkish and Portuguese navies. In the plan systematically taken up to defame the late Government by false and impudent assertions, and exaggerations, we shall be told, again and again, that there was no difference between the cases except in the ability and success with which the several measures were arranged and executed. The acquisition of so many ships (which, by the bye, are not valued on the average at above 10,000*l.* each) will please the million for a certain period; but in general a strong opinion of the national injustice and outrage of the act is very prevalent; and those who look a little deeper doubt much whether the advantages of the moment (which are certainly not immaterial for the safety of Ireland) will in any degree compensate for the stain to our character, the implacable hatred excited against us, the eventual strengthening of the entrance of the Baltic against us, and the possible employment in the Russian navy of 12 or 15,000 Danish navy [sailors]. I certainly think it highly probable that what has happened may tend much to invigorate the war against us.

“I understand (from a commissioner of the navy) that the naval stores to be obtained will be very few, the capitulation having been confined to the Arsenal, and the principal stores being in the town.

“In a letter from an old friend, who is in very efficient confidence with the present Government, there is the following paragraph :—

‘Whatever you may think in other respects, you must at least allow us some credit for secrecy, promptitude, and efficiency in a measure of such magnitude. We are for the present safe ; in particular Ireland is safe.

‘I suppose you lament over the catastrophe of Buenos Ayres ; nothing but the plan adopted could have produced it. It is extremely mortifying, for our garrison was living on the best terms with the Spaniards, our trade was rapidly increasing, and if we had chosen to play the game of independence, I am confident we could have placed all the Spanish provinces on their legs without bloodshed or revolutionary convulsions. I never was so hurt. Many obvious projects of infinite importance are gone for ever.’

“Who selected Whitelocke ? His plan of attack seems to have been devoid of common sense. I understand (indeed on the authority of General Hope) that a trial is to take place.

“I wish that I had some news for Lady Grenville. You probably know that Lord Wellesley has brought Lord Bathurst’s house (I believe for 16,000*l.*).

“It is for the present a sort of secret, but I have reason to believe that Mr. Burrel is the successful suitor to Miss Drummond, and am glad of it for the sake of Lord Gwydir and Lady Willoughby, who are made very happy by it.

“My sons were delighted with Boconnoc. We have been ten days in Sussex with the Speaker, Lord and Lady Chichester, the Marlboroughs and others.

“We are now very busy with our planting and are making a border of American plants. I wish that we had only the prunings of Dropmore borders.”

#### EARL TEMPLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, October 3. Dawlish.—“Craufurd is not to have his trial. He has made his peace with the Duke of York, who had, on his first arrival, spoken to him in *most violent terms* on the subject of his surrender. Achmuty has received the King’s approbation of his conduct, and is directed to remain at home until Whitelock’s arrival, in order to assist, perhaps to prosecute, at his trial. I have seen private letters from Buenos Ayres which throw the blame of the first suggestion of the plan of attacking houses and stone walls with the bayonet upon General Gower, who certainly improved upon Whitelock’s instructions by ordering the regiment which composed the column to which he was attached to *take out their flints* ; in which condition the men were led



to slaughter, but not by him; as these accounts state that neither he nor Whitelock were to be seen during the attack, nor until the next morning, when Linieres sent in his proposals. The army was disembarked up to the men's middles in water, and in marshes where their heavy guns could not move with them. It is said that, previous to the attack, General Whitelock had refused propositions for the surrender of Buenos Ayres and *New Spain*, provided the independence of the country was guaranteed; or for the surrender unconditionally, provided he would guarantee that *New Spain* should not be given up at a peace. *The language of Government* is that on Whitelock's trial facts will come out which will implicate Windham; inasmuch as official documents remain in Lord Castlereagh's Office which prove that the strongest remonstrances were made, principally from the *Duke of York's* Office, against Whitelock's appointment, upon the ground of his former conduct, especially in *St. Domingo*, having proved him unfit for the command. I am still inclined to think that the present disposition of ministers towards America is hostile; but I believe it is certain that George Berkeley is recalled to make way for the superior discretion and steadiness of *Drury*. They are sending out three regiments to America from Cork immediately."

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1807, October 15. Wynnstay.—“You will be glad to hear that I was very much pleased and amused with my various excursions since I saw you, and that I found the inhabitants of *Butleigh* and of *Wynnstay* in the most perfect prosperity. By a letter from *Stowe* I find my brother a little uneasy at the apprehension of too great an eagerness for peace on our part, and of too much hostility from us towards Admiral Berkeley on the American question. I have written to him to say that it will be very fit for us all to converse upon every topic that is interesting to him; that I did not believe you had more confidence in the advantage of peace than he has; but that the difficulty of finding means for war upon the scale of large expeditions would naturally have more weight with you from your attention having been so peculiarly called to that subject; that the American question was a discussion of some difficulty and delicacy, but that both you and I should undoubtedly feel the strongest desire to show all possible regard to the friendship which he has always shown to Admiral Berkeley.

“I see by to-day's papers that they have superseded Berkeley by Sir J. Warren. At *Plymouth* I was told that Berkeley would have *Jamaica*, which is a better thing, and would therefore be a kick upstairs; but I have heard nothing of it since, and the paper only notices his removal. When does Parliament meet? Lord *Boringdon* (as I suppose from *Canning*) says positively not till January. Lord *Westmoreland*

told Lady E. Palk it would be before Christmas; and Jemmy quoted a Treasury clerk (an old *protégé* of Lady Chatham's) for having assured him that although the revenue was very flourishing, Parliament must meet before Christmas for the issue of Exchequer Bills: therefore I conclude it will be late in November, or early in December. I found at Haldon that the Addingtons are all very adverse to Government upon the Copenhagen question, and I know Lord Sidmouth has distinctly written so to Lord St. Vincent; but all that imposing opinion does not change mine, and I am much more disposed to think that it is our business to blame them for their neglect at Lisbon, rather than for their activity at Copenhagen."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, October 16. Eden Farm.—“I have been desirous to procure for you some certain intelligence relative to the meeting of Parliament, but I have not succeeded. Mr. Long, whom I met on Tuesday last at a board of Greenwich directors, told me that it was wished not to meet till after Christmas; and that various accounts had been collected in the hope of finding it practicable, with some managements, to ‘tide forwards’ till January. He inclined to think that this might be done, but said that it was not yet decided. I have since received a letter from the Speaker in which he says ‘I hear nothing yet of Parliament, and concluded from what I did hear in London, that it is not likely to meet early.’ The state of the surplus appears to me to be unfavourable for the quarter ending the 10th of this month.

|                        |    |         |                         |
|------------------------|----|---------|-------------------------|
| The income was         | .. | ..      | 8,827,471 <i>l</i> .    |
| and the charge         | .. | ..      | 6,500,000 <i>l</i> .    |
|                        |    |         | <hr/>                   |
|                        |    | Surplus | .. 2,300,000 <i>l</i> . |
| Deficiency at 5th July | .. | ..      | 149,000 <i>l</i> .      |
|                        |    |         | <hr/>                   |
|                        |    |         | 2,151,000 <i>l</i> .    |

being in part of 3,750,000*l*. for the service of 1807.

“There is every reason to fear that the produce of the two next quarters will greatly fall off. I am told by the best Custom House and mercantile authorities that our exports are almost totally suspended, and that our imports are gradually contracting; that orders for manufactures are revoking; and that not only our European trade is checked, but that the demand of goods for the United States is interrupted. If this account should be in any degree accurate, it will soon affect not only the customs, but the excise, and will also be followed by much individual distress.

*Secret.*—“Mr. G. Rose has many amiable private qualities, but is not in any point of view an auspicious choice for the service in question. About three weeks ago Mr. Canning wrote to Mr. Vansittart in very civil language and proposed

to him to take a special mission to the Congress 'on the unfortunate affair between the two frigates.' Mr. Vansittart answered that the proposition required to be further opened, and that, at any rate, he must confide it to two friends (meaning Lord Sidmouth and me). I stated very strong objections to the acceptance, and I have reason to believe that Lord Sidmouth also objected to it, and in a style of language more hostile than I should have expected towards the present ministers. Mr. Vansittart declined the offer, and I feel that it is no breach of confidence towards him to confide the anecdote to you. His refusal was strong, and conveyed a censure on what he conceived to be the course of proceeding. I have reason to believe, through Monroe, that the King's ministers wished to have a separate negotiation on the frigate business, and the American plenipotentiaries answered that they were not authorised to discuss the question partially. It was thereupon resolved to send a separate mission, which, if meant merely to give up the point, is undignified and unnecessary; and if meant to urge a negotiation will be offensive and probably productive of war. The line of conduct appeared to me plain and obvious; they should have disclaimed any pretension to stop and search ships of war; and doing that in the most conciliatory manner, should have thrown the other question into a course of protracted negotiation. Least of all, should they have sent a young man without rank or commanding talents, and the son of a person who has often affected to hold a language hostile to the neutral trade of the United States.

"I am looking forward to the successive subversions of Portugal, Sicily, and Sweden, (I presume that we shall try to pick Madeira out of the wrecks). I expect also to see the entrance of the Baltic made hereafter inaccessible, and that Russia will declare against us.

"For the large and small talk of the day I send two bulletins which I received this morning. Be so good as to burn them. Upon the whole the public predicament is quite disheartening.

"His Majesty said a few days ago to a lady through whom I receive the expression, that 'though nearly quite blind, he never was so happy,' having nothing 'to do with any politicians.'"

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1807, October 25. Wynnstay.—"Poor Kidd, the Homer editor, remains still a little hampered by his former distresses; you know you was so good as to concur with Lord B[uckingham] and me in giving him some assistance. I have enquired and find that his story is true, and his distress is not produced by any fresh indiscretion. I am therefore tempted to propose to you, if you approve of it, that the three brothers may subscribe 17l. 10s. each, which sum from each of us will make fifty guineas for poor Kidd. I have written to propose

this to Lord Buckingham, and if you concur in it, and will be so good as to tell me so, I will direct Coutts to pay Kidd fifty guineas, and to charge a third of it to each of us.

“Lord Temple comes here to-day.

“I go to Trentham on Wednesday, and probably from thence to Stowe, as I shall hardly face the sands of Norfolk in November.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, October 28. Eden Farm.—“The enclosed relates to a provincial interest of some importance in the actual circumstances of trade. Mr. Robley is a respectable and public-spirited merchant, and I conceive that it might be very useful if the Cornish gentlemen could give publicity to the success of Mr. Robley’s experiment.

*Private.*—“The Attorney-General was here yesterday, and talked privately on the state and prospect of public affairs in a tone and language of despondency even beyond my fears and forebodings.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1807, November 6. Eden Farm.—“I presume that you are preparing to quit Boconnoc for Dropmore, where you will be within the course of better information than any that I can send to you.

*Private.*—“I understand (from Lord Liverpool) that Lewis XVIIIth’s arrival in this country has been a surprise, and not an agreeable surprise; and that he had actually, through some agent, and not on any communication with his brother, hired a furnished house in Albemarle Street, and intended to land and proceed to London. After some *pourparlers* with *Monsieur*, a resolution was taken and executed to apprise his ex-Majesty, that he and his suite must retire to Holyrood House; and I presume that this has been done, though very contrary to the expectations and wishes of the unfortunate party, who addressed a letter to the King in a style of levity and *persiflage* beyond what I should have expected. The letter was in the following strain: ‘*Sire, je vous apporte un souverain le moins puissant, mais le plus fidèle de vos alliés.*’ Lord Liverpool seemed to have heard that, on the peace of Tilsit, the Emperor of Russia gave an intimation to his guests at Mittau, in consequence of which they thought it prudent to go to Sweden; and that his Swedish majesty thought it prudent to send them forwards to England.

*Private and confidential.*—“When I was in town yesterday morning on the business of the Westminster improvements, I was told by a person likely to be correct, that Lady Chatham is at Frognall (in this neighbourhood) under some symptoms of a mental derangement. I most sincerely hope that this report may be without foundation.

“Attempts are making in several manufacturing towns to bring forward petitions for peace. If the actual check to our exports should prevail through the winter, I shall not be surprised at that mode of expressing popular distress. It would be the greatest of all calamities in its effect and impression, both on the French Government, and on our own as at present constituted.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1807, November 7. Eden Farm.—“In mine of yesterday I omitted to mention that a long proclamation is preparing, and will be immediately issued, to put all the coasts and colonies of nations at war with us under a general blockade. This is to be grounded on Buonaparte’s proclamation, on the effect which he is giving to it, and on the acquiescence of other countries in that mode of hostilities. I suppose we shall be told in the usual tone and language that this is a measure of vigour and wisdom for which, in our imbecillity, we had neither head nor heart. It is difficult to reason about it, or to make any remarks, till we have the instrument before us. It is evident, however, that it removes one principal motive which the Americans might have had for remaining at peace with us; and it is equally evident that it increases at the moment the difficulties and distresses of our manufacturers. The West Indians will like it at first view; but it will accumulate in this country a great glut of foreign sugars which must ultimately find a market. One matter at least is certain, it will enrich the people of Doctors Commons.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1807, November 14. Eden Farm.—“After the description which my sons have given to us of the domestic system of Boconnoc, and of your woods, farms, and park, I am not surprised to hear that you are prolonging your stay in Cornwall. Even in my very narrow scale of amusement within my precinct of 280 acres, I look with reluctance to any change of place; and except that we must go from the fourth till the twelfth December to Shottesbrook and to Blenheim, we shall remain here till the 12th January. Nor indeed would I then go to town if it were not necessary for the education of my children.

“There will not, however, be any want of interesting topics in Parliament. Our Portuguese paradise seems to be gone to the infernal regions. My neighbour Lord Liverpool had quite persuaded himself (and indeed seemed to have ministerial authority for it) that the Braganza dynasty would be transferred with all the ships to Brazil, and that we should acquire exclusively the key to all the trade and treasures of South America.

“The want of due decision and foresight as to Portugal, contrasted with what I must think an unprincipled and

impolitic precipitancy in the Danish business, will form an invidious contrast. On reading Buonaparte's strictures on our conduct, I could not help exclaiming *pudef haec opprobia nobis et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli*\* (There were four classical men at the table when I made the quotation, and a dispute arose among them whether it was in Virgil or in Horace; you probably recollect that it is in neither.)

"In another point of view that very impudent and malignant paper well deserves attention as furnishing a sort of insight into the plans and speculations and combinations of our arch-enemy. It appears clearly that he expects Russia to declare against us; and, *secret*, I happen to know that a messenger arrived on Monday or Tuesday with despatches of the 10th October from Mr. Stuart, who writes that the new Russian ministers are avowedly hostile to England, and that Russia is only waiting for the winter season, and for an account that her ships in the Mediterranean are safe, in order to send some very offensive requisitions to us.

"As to private news, Lord Grosvenor sells his place at Newmarket and his stud, and quits the turf. There are hopes, however, that the Duke of Rutland will be the '*alter aureus*.'

"Lord Selkirk is not much to be admired either for his political conduct or for his eloquence, but he is amiable and good in private life, and therefore I am glad that he is to marry Miss Wedderburn, the sister and particular friend of my Louisa. Lady Auckland has the great responsibility of buying the wedding clothes and laces.

*Postscript*.—"The despatches from Petersburg to which I have alluded state that the Russian ministers are endeavouring to draw Sweden into their league, and expect to succeed in that endeavour."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, November 15. Stowe.—"I had already, before I received your letter, sent an order to Coutts to pay 50*l.* to Mr. Kidd on our joint account, and I had written to Mr. Kidd to apprise him of it. You will see by the date of this letter that I have not yet taken up my winter quarters in London, and therefore have no other news to send to you than what the post brings to me. Upon the subject of Copenhagen I have been less reserved in my answers than you have in yours, because I do not like that your opinion and mine should appear to be included in the violent attack which all the Opposition papers have been making on the *principle* of the Copenhagen expedition, a principle which I know not how we are to attack without making ourselves vulnerable upon our former orders respecting Lisbon. It is generally prudent, no doubt, to reserve one's opinion till the case of government

\* Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 1.

is stated, but I cannot help feeling that in their situation we should very probably have given the same order without being able to publish to Parliament the grounds on which we had believed in the hostile mind of Denmark. Another motive with me for not reserving my sentiments on this subject is, that I find by my letters that Windham and Lord Erskine have been loud in Norfolk in holding the language of the *Morning Chronicle*; and again I must say that I do not like that your sentiments or mine should be anticipated upon these great subjects by the general language of the party.

“ I met Lord Holland for one day at Trentham, and found him adverse to Government on the Copenhagen question, which he disapproved, he says, no less than de did that of Lisbon! Surely he did not, as I recollect, express at the time the disapprobation that he alludes to. I have a long letter from Lauderdale inviting discussion from me on the political events of the day. He states his alarm at the necessity which will arise out of the growing cry for peace, and his fear of negotiation in the hands of this Ministry; I have told him that I cannot easily bring myself to believe in peace or in Bonaparte's desire for peace under the present circumstances. If to the acquisition of Denmark and Lisbon he can add the friendship and assistance of Petersburgh, as I have no doubt he will, he then stands possessed of all the means and materials which the whole world can ever afford to him for an attack upon England and Ireland; and I can never conceive that he will let slip so favourable an opportunity, for the mere purpose of previously building more ships at Antwerp and at Copenhagen under a new treaty of peace with Great Britain. I feel quite persuaded that, if Russia is with him, he will attack us in Ireland; on which subject I agree with him in the strong conviction that he expresses that we had better keep back as much as possible the agitation of the Catholic question. He says Lord Howick is for keeping back, but Lord Ponsonby is vehement for bringing it forward. It is an undoubted fact that the Primate has made strong remonstrances to Government on the necessity of doing something about tithes; will that stop his promotion to York, or hasten it, to get him away from Ireland? Wellesley has made a treaty offensive and defensive with Lord Melville, whom he was going to visit in Scotland, but has put off his journey on account of his new hopes of succeeding to the Duke of Portland. According to Lord Holland and Lauderdale, Canning takes the lead, and Lord Chatham is to be the Premier. It is frightful for anybody who believes as much as I do that we shall fight this year for England, to reflect upon the insufficient means which our present baby Ministers can supply. Lauderdale means to write to you on the Scotch Judicature; let me know whenever you leave Boconnoc for Dropmore.

“ Lord Wellesley has, a fortnight ago, in an underhand way (by Dardis) desired Lord Buckingham to be informed

that there is question of himself under the present circumstances ; and that, as soon as it is decided, he shall write to Lord Buckingham and to you !!! What a strange communication, and in how strange a channel ? Lord Buckingham, of course, has said nothing in answer."

THE EARL OF CASSILLIS TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, November 15. Cullean Castle.—“Will you do me the kindness to give me as much previous notice as you can, of about what time I had better be in town. In a long political document from Erskine last night he says, ‘be here a week before the meeting of Parliament at *your peril*’ ; from which he concludes, I presume, that offensive operations are to commence the moment Parliament does meet. I think we are generally rather defective in the notices to our friends. If they are correctly warned, and in sufficient time, of when it’s intended to bring on the great questions, Ministers must be overwhelmed. I can’t conceive that they will receive efficient support from any quarter. At Lord Wellesley I am astonished ; but even his abilities at a time and in a contest like the present, cannot avail them. Lord Hardwick writes me the Parliament will meet about the Queen’s birthday for business. The conclusion of his long letter on the state of things shows that the House of Yorke, at least, are against them. Of his brother, I had long doubts ; but our mutual friend Nicholson Calvert, member for Hertford, in all his letters to me is so clear against them, and even violent, that I conclude Yorke is the same. Calvert has a great deal to say with him.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1807, November 17. Eden Farm.—“The proclamations which I mentioned to you some time ago have made their appearance this morning, and will of course be puffed to the public as proofs of energy and efficiency beyond the reach and capacity of the late Government.

“With that view our proclamation of January last prohibiting the trade from enemies’ ports to enemies’ ports is stated as having been found insufficient (though, by the bye, it was defended in Parliament by the King’s Advocate as the right and proper measure). The step taken rests evidently on the declaration signed by Lord Holland and by me. In other respects, as in the Danish proclamation, it industriously brings into view ‘the damnable doctrine and position’ that it is lawful to take any measure of hostility which the enemy shall have taken. In applying that principle we commit direct unqualified infractions of the treaties subsisting with Russia and with Sweden. We do not even leave to those powers, or to America, the power of trading with the Danish, Dutch, French, Spanish and Italian ports



for articles even of necessary consumption. We leave open only a direct trade with the hostile colonies for those articles. My private belief is that, so far as our manufactures are interested, the whole of this measure will operate to diminish still further the diminished export; and that, so far as our West Indian embarrassments are concerned, they must be aggravated by a system which tends to lessen the consumption and to increase the accumulation of foreign sugars. It is, however, difficult to write with any precision on the first hasty perusal of a measure of such extent in its probable operations. I think it not unlikely to bring forward an explosion of hostility both from Russia and from America.

“I do not yet believe the story of Mr. Bond’s resignation, (he signed the declaration against Denmark). Lord Buckinghamshire and Mr. Vansittart were here yesterday, and had no idea of such a resignation. I understand that Lord Sidmouth is loudly of opinion that there was no existing necessity sufficient to justify our Danish expedition.”

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

[1807,] November 18. Stowe.—“I have been obliged to make a civil visit of 107 miles, and as many back again, to my French colony at Gosfield, whom I have left very grateful and very happy in the exchange of that place instead of Holyrood House. Nothing could equal Lord Hawkesbury’s ignorance and brutality towards them. Canning has been very civil, but the whole of the correspondence on both sides appears to be very ill-conducted, and to have made many very unnecessary difficulties. I am, however, very happy in having seized the opportunity of doing a handsome thing, and those whom I meant to oblige appear truly sensible of it and thankful.

“I was sorry to find that they thought very unfavourably of any good understanding between England and Russia, though they seemed to imagine that Sweden might be induced by its mercantile interests to keep up for us that depôt or transit (if such a thing is to exist) for our goods. I was equally sorry to find that they thought the state of Russia very alarming, and the French mischief very eagerly at work.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1807, November 19. Stowe.—“The long expected blow is struck, and you will see in the papers that Lord Grey is dead. Under these circumstances Lord Buckingham agrees with me in recommending to you to write to Lord Howick inviting him to consider of the best means of bringing George Ponsonby forward, as the person, upon the whole, the best qualified to succeed to the lead which Lord Howick had taken in the House of Commons. If you continue to agree now in this opinion as much as you formerly did, you cannot but

see that the expression of that opinion from you may very much relieve the difficulty which Lord Howick might feel respecting his sister's husband ; and the difficulty of resisting *his*, Whitbread's, possible expectations of this succession, may be much lessened in the eyes of Lord Howick if Lord Howick is desired to recommend his wife's uncle, instead of his sister's husband. I had a little conversation on this subject with Lord Holland, who seemed disposed to think that the case must find it's own solution between W[hitbread] and Lord Henry Petty in the House of Commons. I confess, however, that I can conceive no inconvenience so great as that of the Parliament meeting without a declared successor to Lord Howick. Then again I have no belief in this sort of arrangement *making itself* ; and, thirdly, I am strongly of opinion that Ponsonby is the person upon the whole infinitely more desirable, and likely to be more acceptable, than either of the other two. My last letters from London describe an increasing intercourse between Carlton House and the present Ministers ; but I know not to what extent this goes.

“ Lord Buckingham has just dropped in conversation his notion of a possible visit from Louis XVIII to Stowe, in the course of 8 or 10 days ; I shall therefore probably go to town in 4 or 5 days time, as I am not one of the courtiers of that Court. I have asked my brother no questions on that subject, as he perhaps knows more of it than he may wish to tell ; all that I want is to keep clear of it all, which I shall do by a seasonable flight to Cleveland Square.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, November 22. Stowe.—“ Whenever I hear again from Lauderdale, you shall know what is the result of the observations which I made to him upon the language of the *Morning Chronicle* respecting the Copenhagen expedition. I am aware that you distinguish this case from that of Lisbon with some thing more of nicety than I have as yet seen how to follow, but the general abuse has been upon the principle, as it is called ; and I confess I see no great ground of distinction as to principle, although the prudence and even morality of the application of it must in each case depend upon the circumstances which are alleged to justify so strong and unusual a step. The great inducement with me for speaking rather more strongly than your letter to Lord Essex, arose from my hearing in so many instances of the unqualified language held on this subject by so large a part of those with whom we have lately acted ; a language to which we might be deemed to have given our assent, if we did not put a little activity into the objections which we have felt upon this subject. The death of Lord Grey will infinitely add to the difficulties which will prevail upon this and perhaps upon other topics in the House of Commons ; and although I continue

to think the suggestion of my last letter to be the best measure that can now be taken, I am far from entertaining any very sanguine hope even in that case, but I have almost persuaded myself that any other shape will be found quite impracticable. One consequence of the adoption of my suggestion will be probably attended with the inconvenience of Whitbread feeling so much disappointment as to separate himself from the mass of the party; and this will be no small inconvenience; but yet I must fairly say I think the unpopularity and impracticability of the man to be such as would, on the other hand, render it quite impossible to act with him.

“Upon the subject of the tithe question, if I hesitate more than you do as to the prudence of bringing it forward, it is because it always appeared to me that you attributed more to the possible success of the measure than I do. I doubt much whether if we had been able to carry it, we should have found any great benefit from it beyond that of having manifested a conciliatory disposition; and at a time when we all saw there was no hope of carrying the measure of emancipation—which is the only measure of real substance—it was worth our while, and a part of our duty perhaps, to endeavour at all risks to do whatever might be deemed to be within our reach. We have now no such duty to perform except as individual members of Parliament; and for us to bring forward this measure in Parliament now, would be gratuitously to incur all the hostility of the church and the friends of the crown without any the remotest chance of our carrying the measure, with no great advantage, as I believe, if it could be carried, and with the additional suspicion thrown upon our motives in bringing that forward with all the hopelessness of opposition, which in government we could hardly have been strong enough to carry. This is the general impression of my mind as to the more or less of prudence in our now bringing the measure forward; but I do not pretend to have any well-informed and concluded opinion upon it; and I rather expect that our discussions upon this topic will arise from some half measure to be proposed by these Ministers, in consequence of the primate’s new representations on this subject.

“I hear to-day that Vernon is to be Archbishop, to make room at Carlisle for Lord Lonsdale’s Dr. Zouch, with the prebend of Durham for Dr. Dowdeswell. By the same authority I learn that Canning and Perceval are very ill together, and Lord Melville dissatisfied with them all. I suppose Hood and Beresford go to Madeira, and Sir Sydney to Lisbon; and all the world agree that Keates’s twelve sail are to attack the Russians; yet the last letters from Petersburg of the 10th October announce to my friends at Trentham an expectation of continued residence at Petersburg, quite incompatible with such an act of hostility. I believe in no peace as I before told you, and rejoice in your writing to

Lord F[itzWilliam] your approbation of his son's manly language in Yorkshire.

"I am told by my brother that his friend at Inglefield Green knows of a situation to be had at St. Stephen's for 4,000*l.* and wants a candidate. I know of none except Giles, who would, I suppose, embrace the offer if made.

"I go, Tuesday, to Lord Carrington's, and, Thursday, to Cashiobury in my way to town."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, November 23. Stowe.—"Just as I am stepping into my carriage for Lord Carrington's, it occurs to me to propose to Lord Stafford the seat which I mentioned to you in my last, for Lord Gower, or rather for Henderson, which might place Lord Gower at Brackley, where his place could easily be supplied if Lord Granville asks a peerage for his Russian services, and opens the county to Lord Gower. I have written to Lord Stafford to ask him if he wishes me to pursue this; if he approves, it would be the best possible use to make of this windfall whenever it may be, of which I know nothing.

"Louis XVIII with seven Princes, Duc Castries, Coigny, Serrant, and Grammont, with viscounts and barons in proportion are expected here in a week."

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1807, November 23. Eden Farm.—"If there be any analogy between the Cornish and Kentish climates you are now confined to your fire-side by incessant rains and cold winds; such a change will help to reconcile you to a movement towards Dropmore and Camelford House."

*Private.*—"A military officer in full confidence, and without any of the pedantry and reserves sometimes incident to such situations, came to this place yesterday and left us to-day. I collected from him that Whitelock was put under arrest on Friday; that he is to be tried at Chelsea by a court-martial as soon as the proceedings can be ready; and that Mr. Richard Ryder, the new Judge-Advocate, is to conduct the prosecution. The actual impression seems to be that Whitelocke's conduct, both in the mode of attack, in the want of concert and co-operation during the attack, in his own personal absence from all share and co-operation in the business, and, above all, in the article for giving up Monte Video, was extravagantly incapable and criminal. It seems probable that the last-mentioned point will be made a capital charge, grounded on one of the articles of war. It is supposed that the evidence both of Auchmuty and Craufurd will bear strongly against Whitelocke. You probably know with certainty on what interest or opinion Whitelocke was appointed to the command; it is now

understood that he was named solely at the instance of Mr. Windham.

"I have seen some curious and authentic details of our position at Monte Video, and of the disposition of the inhabitants towards us; and it can hardly be doubted that, with common sense and little exertion, we might have maintained and extended our conquest to a degree incalculably important.

"The militia operation has produced nearly 20,000 to the line; the number required was 2,800.

"I have seen a curious account of the Tilsit dinner from a person in the place at the time. The King of Prussia had some very neat gaiters buttoned with a multiplicity of small buttons from his waist to his heel; Buonaparte asked him if he buttoned them with his own hands; and whether he began at the top or at the bottom.

"In one of Buonaparte's last *levées* at Paris, he said to the Austrian ambassador, 'tell your master to recollect that there are but two emperors.' The ambiguity was left for meditation."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1807, November 24. Eden Farm.—"I forgot to mention yesterday that it is again the language of ministerial people that the Prince of Brazils will yet go to South America, the Portuguese declaration against us having been made before it was known at Lisbon that M. de Lima had been ordered so harshly from Paris. It is inferred that the embarkation from Portugal will no longer be a matter of choice but of necessity.

"It is supposed that some measures are taking to gain some provisional hold of parts of the Russian fleets.

"A correspondent writes to me 'this neck or nothing system is rather tremendous.'"

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1807, November 25. Eden Farm.—"Mr. Eden returned to-day from town. He yesterday called on Mr. Pinkney, who complains of the allegation in the Order in Council that neutral powers had tacitly acquiesced in the Berlin decree; 'it being notorious that Mr. Amstrong represented strongly against us [it] and was answered by the French government that it was not meant to affect the American trade on the high seas, but only to prohibit the admission of British and British Colonial produce into French ports.' That answer was, I believe, published and printed in the American States, and reprinted here. Mr. Pinkney was low, and seemingly in a state of agitation. He said that America was also on bad terms with France; that he had no doubt the non-importation [act] would be immediately enforced against England.

“It is (I believe) true that Starhemberg has received despatches hostile to us.

“The revival of the history of Don Carlos in Spain is the prologue to the fall of another dynasty; and the House of Braganza seems to have fallen also.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, November 26. Eden Farm.—“I understood that the authenticity of the Spanish proclamation (parts of which though shocking are eloquent) is confirmed by other accounts received by Government from Paris; and no doubt was entertained there that the Prince of Asturias would share the fate of Don Carlos. His trial was expected to commence on the 2nd of this month.

“It is a co-incidence that Don Carlos also was 23 years of age. Brantome said of him ‘*L'on disoit qu'il avoit voulu faire mourir son père; car cela se disoit pour lors en notre cour de France: mais c'étoit en risée.*’

“I do not know whether you have the paper called the *Statesman*? In the enclosed paragraph there are some forcible reasonings.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1807, November 28. Eden Farm.—“This will be my last bulletin to Boconnoc. I happen to know that official advices are received that the Russian squadron, seven ships of the line, is in the Tagus: a frigate of ours was fired upon from the batteries. The Portuguese have nine ships of the line. Sir Sydney Smith is sent with twelve ships, but there was uneasiness approaching to consternation in the Cabinet on learning that the Russian squadron had got in; and in truth the measures of ‘the vigorous Government’ have in this affair been inexplicably late.

“It is not yet known how the Russians contrived to make a move so well-timed for themselves, or whether it was the effect of mere accident. It is apprehended that a French threat of military execution will prevent any of the Portuguese ships from being permitted to come away, even if the Prince should have the courage to wish to go to the Brazils.

“As late as yesterday evening people were as puzzled in London whether to believe or disbelieve the Spanish story. If it be an English humbug, or a French mystification, it has at least the merit of being well invented.

“It seems to be settled that Parliament is to meet on the 21st January. I think that we shall resettle here till that day, after an excursion of ten or twelve days which we must make at the end of next week.

“*Florus L. 3. c. b., Bellum Piraticum. ‘Interim dum populus Romanus per diversa terrarum distractus est, Cilices invaserant maria, sublatisque commerciis, rupto fœdere generis*

*humani, sic maria bello quasi tempestate præcluserant.* I hope that we are not typified by the Cilicians.

"You mentioned the danger of teaching the Continent to provide its own manufactures. The *Moniteur* of the 25th September, 1806, says, '*La prohibition des marchandises étrangères de cotes que vient d'ordonner le Gouvernement ne contribuera pas peu à nous faire obtenir le resultat si désirable de fabriquer nous-mêmes la totalité des articles dont nous avons besoin.*' We certainly seem to be acting in unison with our enemy on the whole of this commercial question.

"Mr. Broderic is to go to the Treasury in the place of Mr. Ryder; and Lord Glenbervie gets the sole possession of his old office, but with the salary reduced to one-half.

"Souza told Lord Henley that he had not received any communication of the intentions of the Prince of Brazil."

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1807, December 1. Eden Farm.—"The Cornish bag arrived so late on Saturday that I did not receive yours of Thursday till Sunday. The fine weather of which you boast must have suffered a great change. Here at least we have had snow 'and skating.'

"The very unfavourable turn of affairs on the Continent is going from bad to worse. I am told that accounts are received of a treaty signed by the three Imperial Courts for the partition of Turkey; and that those courts are now engaged to each other by articles of defensive and offensive alliance."

*Private.*—"Mr. Vansittart writes to me 'that the ministry is under uneasiness respecting Ireland, though Sir Arthur Wellesley writes that the south is more quiet than it was some time ago.'

"The orders in Council, for our co-operation with our enemy in the system of general blockade, multiply so rapidly that I cannot yet find time to consider them; and I only know that the acknowledged necessity of so many explanations proves, at least, that the first measure was ill-considered.

"I have reason to believe that Lord Minto is not only encouraged but solicited by the Directors to remain in India.

"I am told that the Duke of Portland's complaint has returned, and that the necessity of another operation is feared.

"Lord Sidmouth is still unable to bear any exertion.

"Mr. Bond's friends assure me that his resignation was occasioned solely by an extreme nervousness, which once before affected his mind.

"I have a letter from a person not ill-disposed towards the present ministry, and yet he concludes with the following odd phrase. 'Perhaps, after all, if a Cabinet from St. Luke's Hospital would be mad enough to take charge of public affairs, they might be better directed.'"

## THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, December 1. Cleveland Square.—“The post of to-day has brought me the enclosed letter from G. Ponsonby; my first observation upon which is that it is not correct to refer to my *wish* for him to *take the lead* in the House of Commons, You will recollect that I told you of my having pressed upon his consideration at a dinner at Lord Howick’s, the importance of *his having a seat in Parliament*, which was the only thing then in question; most undoubtedly I did also state to him as an inducement to his coming then into Parliament, that his being a member and accustoming the House to see him take an active part, would facilitate the giving him the lead in case of Lord Grey’s death; and I told him that in my opinion he would in such a case be the properest man. I still retain the same opinion, and so does Elliot, though we both admit that there would be some difficulties; but this mode, difficult as it may be, still seems to me the best solution, as any other course, or the total abandonment of any choice, would in my mind operate a complete dissolution of Opposition. Elliot tells me—but *quite in confidence*—that the Duke of B[edford] will offer the seat first to Lord R. Spencer, but that it is almost certain Lord R. will decline, and that G. Ponsonby will then be chosen. I shall not write to G. Ponsonby till I hear from you. My idea would be that I should say that it would undoubtedly give me great pleasure to see that the mass of Opposition and of our friends should concur in wishing him to take the lead, and that I had stated to you his readiness to do whatever was desired; but that the opinion which I had expressed was only that of a single individual, and that a very general concurrence must be had before any decisive measure could be adopted on so important a subject. Be so good as to tell me what you think of this answer, and return me his letter.

“As to tithes you mistake me if you suppose me to have any wish of shrinking from the question, if it is brought on; but I have no great expectation of any real good short of the entire conciliation of the Catholics, and I do not believe any thing less will save Ireland; if therefore we *brought forward* any motion, though we can carry none, I had rather bring forward the whole than what I think an insufficient part; but I speak, as you know, as one of the spectators, and not as one of the actors, and I have no doubt that your decision will be the best upon the occasion, whatever it be.

“Great rumours of the King making up to Lord Sidmouth; if so, surely the Primate or Canning or both have pressed the subject of Ireland, and have fretted him by so doing. Lord Stafford does not buy for Lord Gower.”

*Postscript.*—“Elliot says Lord Holland has written to beg Lord Howick to come up; and Tierney has sent the letter you wrote to him to Lord Howick—he will hardly come before the meeting.”



## LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1807, December 5. Roehampton.—“We are just setting off for Blenheim, and shall return to this place on Saturday next, and on Tuesday, 15th, resettle at Eden Farm.

“Great events arrive so rapidly that I cannot attempt to write about them. They seem to be regarded by the mass of our countrymen with an indifference approaching to stupor ; and the only point of anxiety on the Russian declaration is the party question ; whether, on the other hand, it bears with crimination on the late Government for not having given (which was impossible) a continental diversion after the battle of Jena ; or whether, on the one hand, it bears heavily on the Danish expedition as unprovoked, unprincipled, unnecessary, and eventually productive both of the Russian war, and (which will infallibly happen) of rendering Zealand in the result a greater thorn and annoyance to us than it could have been if we had pursued a different conduct. We shall be told, however, that this revival of the armed neutrality was settled at Tilsit, that Sweden and Copenhagen must have been drawn into it, and therefore that the Danish measure was right.

“I think, however, there are symptoms of a rising opinion in the country that ‘all the vigour’ makes a dangerous Government ; and that ‘all the talents’ are beginning to be again wanted.

“In the meantime, I hear from the manufacturing parts of Yorkshire that great distress is showing itself.

“I understand from good authority that the King of Sweden is nearly mad.

“The *memoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Vendée* (by the Comte de Vauban) are very curious and worth your reading.”

## THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1807, December 5. Cleveland Square.—“If you thought ill of the state of things, the Russian declaration of war, and the daily expectation of a similar decision from Austria will not have made the prospect more cheerful. The hopes of our foreign negotiations are now confined to Sardinia, to which place Hill is gone as minister, and Moore is said to have carried thither all the troops from Sicily except 7,000 men, who are however ultimately to evacuate it. The alleged reason for this is that the Sicilians will not endure us because of our support of their King whom they mean to get rid of ; so with these difficulties we abandon the concern altogether, though I know not that either Sardinia or Malta can be fed except from Sicily or England, as the French always out-negotiate us with the Barbary powers. It is supposed that the declaration of the Prince Regent of Portugal was issued to conciliate Bonaparte ; but since the last *Moniteur* that hope is gone from the Regent, and our ministers expect him to sail

under Sir Sydney's protection for the Brazils; still, if Sir Sydney is in the Tagus, and the fear of France surrenders the batteries to French engineers, I do not know how he is to get out again; though undoubtedly he may batter Lisbon, which Bonaparte will probably endure with great philosophy. Before Hood sailed, he landed his flat-bottomed boats again; is he gone to reinforce Sir Sydney, or where is he gone? the naval people say it is not Madeira.

"There has been an assurance from Anstruther that Lord Wellesley has, according to his belief, no intention of coming in at present; and I hear there is a question of Lord Gambier to succeed Mulgrave in case Lord Chatham succeeds to the Duke, who, however, still hangs back from the unpalatable surrender of office.

"I have had a long conversation with Tierney and Holland, and I remain of opinion that the mischief of making *no* choice in the House of Commons is the greatest mischief, and that any choice is better than none. I think Tierney as well as H[olland] would acquiesce in Lord H. P[etty]; and I suppose Ponsonby is, I should almost say must be, out of the question. I am confident the Orders in Council are wrong. Is it not madness, when Bonaparte locks the door, for us to bolt it?"

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, December 8. Cleveland Square.—"I have this moment received your letter, and am in no degree surprised at the additional pressure which you feel is thrown upon the situation of the country by the Russian war. If I am in any respect surprised by your letter, it is that I observe that you give me credit for a much more cheerful view of the general condition of things, and for a much more active disposition to mix my friends and myself in them, than I am any ways entitled to. If any exertion is to be made in Parliament, undoubtedly I feel that no time is to be lost in the important choice of a leader in the House of Commons; and I cannot but conclude that to defer or to delay such a choice will, of course, annul the means of any opposition to government in the House of Commons. As far as I am personally concerned this is no object to me who have no intention, in any possible case, of giving an attendance which I have not strength or inclination to pursue; my eagerness therefore on these topics rests entirely upon the interest which I take in public affairs while you are connected with them, and on the deep sense that I have of the immeasurable dangers with which the country is surrounded. You put the question whether any good can be done by embarking in Parliamentary warfare; I am by no means prepared to answer that question in the affirmative; I have great doubts whether, in the present state of the country and of the different political parties in it, much good can be accomplished by those who have bodily strength and eagerness enough to attend Parliament; I have more

doubts than ever upon this subject since I daily see new difficulties, not only in the choice of a leader for the House of Commons, but difficulties as to matters of opinion upon great and important points. Lord Howick has written a letter to Tierney in which he refers Tierney to Whitbread himself for an account of his, Whitbread's, sentiments; Tierney does not show me the letter, but gives me to understand that Whitbread is determined to make a motion for peace, contrary to Lord Howick's opinions, who speaks with praise of Lord Milton's language in Yorkshire; but though Lord Howick seems to agree with us on this point, Lord Holland is very strongly inclined to some measure in Parliament for peace, and however conciliatory he will be found in practice, his opinions in this respect come nearer to Whitbread than to Lord Howick. Lord Howick's letter, as I hear, proceeds to state that, under the disagreeable impression of a difference of sentiment between Whitbread and himself, he should naturally not mix much, unless for the purpose and in the case of Ponsonby's taking the lead in the House of Commons. Tierney and Lord Holland very naturally consider this as a strong reason for preferring Ponsonby, and yet they had both expressed so much hesitation—before they had heard from Lord Howick—that in my last letter to you I concluded from their language that it must be Lord Henry, and could not be Ponsonby. Lord Henry and Tierney had both of them taken up the notion of *our* wishing for Ponsonby; I was obliged therefore to state quite distinctly to them that neither you nor I nor Lord Buckingham had any knowledge of Ponsonby or acquaintance with him; and that my chief motive for naming him at all was in the idea that the Foxites were likely to wish for him, that Lord Howick was immediately connected with him, and that he seemed to have a handiness in the House for the daily business of it; but I said if any such choice was made, it was one that we might acquiesce in, but could not possibly originate, having no knowledge of Ponsonby's general opinions and principles, sufficient to warrant out proposing him; and that, if he should be chosen, there must be much to learn and to arrange for any common consent and participation. I shall repeat this again at Holland House to-day to the Duke of Bedford and Tierney, who are to dine there. Tierney's language is fair enough; he says if the thing can be held together, he will give what help he can, but if it is to be new-moulded, and if there are great differences of opinion, he is too old to begin anew, and will in that ease go out of Parliament. I shall not write to Ponsonby till to-morrow, and then only very generally; for I by no means wish you too hastily to decide upon the degree to which it may be worth your while to take an active part. I think that a matter of considerable doubt for you; and if you have seen in me any disposition to make our friends active in some immediate choice, it is only because

without that the whole will crumble away, and leave you no decision to make. If things were not so bad I should lean much to your abstaining system; but my apprehensions for the country are so deeply-rooted, that I know not how to reconcile it to my mind to think it can be right to leave these ministers and these measures to themselves, if it is possible to give the country any help by Parliamentary attendance. Then comes your question as to the good that it is possible to do by any attendance, and I must needs say that I do not think it easy to point out what that good can be, other than the great good of keeping together a large party in Parliament which may be ready to take the chance of any better hopes than the actual moment can supply to us.

“D[urdis] has seen the same friend of Lord W[ellesley]’s that he had seen before, and he assures D. that Lord W. had nothing at present to do with them, and that he would decline everything *unless he can do real good by taking the lead*; this is likely enough to be true. Cook says the Duke of Portland is quite alert again, and that Lord Castlereagh is better.

“Lord Vincent says that less than 15 or 20,000 men cannot give security to Sardinia, which is very vulnerable from the Corsican coast.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1807, December 9. Blenheim.—“I this morning received yours of the 5th, on my return from an early walk to see and admire the waterfall, the venerable oaks, and the cedars, amidst the picturesque effects of icicles, a deep and surrounding snow, and a clear sunshine. I receive at the same time the explanatory analysis of the various and voluminous Orders in Council. The analysis resembles the interpreter in Sheridan’s comedy, and is ‘the hardest to be understood of the two.’ In the meantime Mr. Jefferson’s message to the Congress is not calculated to smooth the difficulties to which the execution of those Orders must lead. In the present temper of the United States it seems probable that they will enter into this struggle of ‘self-privation,’ and will suspend the commerce which we profess to interrupt. Upon the whole we must make up our minds to meet a distressed and discontented body of exporters and manufacturers; and I regret it more particularly, because I am sure that much of this mischief might have been avoided by a system of more sense and less vigour. I really see no reasonable chance of emerging with honour or even with safety from the situation into which we are plunged.

“The Emperor Alexander must be silly and shortsighted. I am told that he issued an order for receiving Caulincourt with every possible mark of honour. You of course recollect that Caulincourt was the prominent agent in the murder of the Duc d’Enghien.

"It is true that Lord Pembroke marries Mademoiselle Woronzoff: it has been announced to this family, and is to be declared in a few days.

"I am told that Whitelocke and his immediate friends are under great anxiety on the subject of the court-martial."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1807, December 9. Cleveland Square.—"Stahremberg dined at Holland House yesterday, so that we had a little conversation on public matters; the ambassador expects almost daily to join his wife at Brussels, and he has invited a negotiation with France and demanded reparation for Copenhagen, to both of which demands he has received a negative from us; but as we have said that we see no present hopes of obtaining the desirable object of peace, S[tahremberg] has written to Paris to ask if they have any to suggest, but he does not expect to receive any.

"The Duke of Bedford told Tierney that P[onsonby] was unpopular in Ireland, and that his brother Lord W[illiam] had said that P[onsonby] would not do here; Anstruther attacked Tierney on the same subject and said 'the man is a perfect stranger.' If these objections spread it will become impossible.

"Lord Holland told Tierney that he, Lord Holland, would concede as far as not to incite petitions for peace, but if they came, as he was sure they would, he must support them. Tierney agrees with me that this is a very false and imperfect view of the subject, for, if it is right, why should he not encourage it; if it is as wrong as I think it, and as Lord Howick, Lord Milton and you think it, why should it be supported? T[ierney] suspects Lord Henry Petty will go with Lord Holland on this point. Lord Henry Petty is going to marry Lord Ilchester's sister. I have written a mere general letter to Ponsonby in which I refer to the necessity of general concurrence, state to him that my opinion, though favourable to him, is not entitled to much regard as I cannot attend the business of the House; and thank him in your name as well as mine for the favourable opinion that his letter expresses of us. The Spanish news of the Prince of Asturias being named general of a combined army by Bonaparte, is believed."

MARQUIS WELLESLEY to THE SAME.

1807, December 23.—"Camelford House will be completely evacuated for your use on the 1st of January; I expect that we shall have entirely removed all that belongs to us on Saturday next (26th December). And I should be glad if you would send one of your upper servants to town, for the purpose of looking over the house, and of informing me of anything that may be wanting. I shall apply to Frogatt respecting the time and manner of putting you in possession of the house; I suppose that he will receive your directions.

“I hope you and Lady Grenville are arrived from Cornwall in good health.”

SIR J. C. HIPPISELY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 1. Mells Park.—“The enclosed letter I received yesterday, from Mr. Clinch, an Irish barrister, some of whose correspondence I have before communicated to your lordship.

“Having met Mr. Dillon, at the funeral of his relation, Colonel Strode, in this neighbourhood, and he having mentioned to me that he should visit your lordship on his way to town on Monday, I shall take this opportunity of conveying to you some papers and a *brochure*.

“You probably may have heard that Lord H. Petty is shortly to be married to Lady Louisa Strangways. Lord Ilchester writes Lady Hipplesley that the marriage is to take place immediately after Lord Ilchester’s coming of age, which will be on the 28th February.”

*Postscript*.—“I send on also a copy of a letter of Lord Hawkesbury on the subject of Madame D’Albany.”

*Enclosing.*

(1) JAMES BERNARD CLINCH to SIR J. C. HIPPISELY.

1807, December 22. Usher’s Quay, Dublin.—“I ask it as a favour that you will allow me to postpone, until I have collected the items of my defence, the question of my long silence since I received your letter, in which you expressed a desire to be informed of the transaction at Naas. As to this latter particular I can only say that I applied to the best source of intelligence, as I imagined, to no purpose. I had heard the same story from Mr. Edward Hay some weeks before I had yours. I encouraged him to hold his tongue and to investigate the fact, both which things he promised faithfully to accomplish. I have not seen him from that time, except to hear his bitter complaints against myself for having allowed myself to be imposed upon by his *enemies* in writing those *remarks* which were sent to you under cover to Mr. Freeling, and shamefully disfigured round the edges with a blunt instrument.

“I am just returned from a dining party at Keogh’s, and I am impatient to acquaint you with a recent business of which I know not a probable solution.\* [About four weeks since a letter was dropped at Keogh’s signed——Neville. The writer stated himself to be only two days landed from Liverpool, that he was born in Dublin, was removed to France at six years of age, had regularly passed through the Paris University course, and lastly served under the last King as captain of dragoons. Being a loyalist, he emigrated during the Revolution, and settled in London, entered into marriage and supported his family by

\* Extract sent to Lord Hawkesbury, January 4, 1808. (Signed) Grenville.

writing. His earnings he lent to a speculator in the late Buenos Ayres imposition, his friend of course failed, and the creditors of his friend seized upon his all. The object of his application was to entreat Keogh to interfere with some private family or respectable school for his admission as a tutor or assistant. To this letter Keogh answered by an invitation to dinner. The man appeared about sixty years old, of perfectly finished manners; and as far as Keogh, who disclaims all pretensions to literary acquirements, could judge from general observation, of an educated turn. During the time of dinner Keogh detected some contradiction in his narrative which induced him to detain another witness to the conversation. Next morning Neville returned to breakfast and questioned Keogh as to the reputable Catholic schools in and near the city. He returned never more; but in two days from his parting visit, he sent to Keogh a second letter of the following import: 'that he had not stated any thing of truth in his former letter and subsequent conversations except in the single point of his embarrassed circumstances; that understanding, from the late *Insurrection Acts*, that Ireland was placed in an *attitude of warfare*, he had come over to serve the cause, and needed not to dwell on the great advantages to be derived by the people from the instructions of an experienced officer.' Keogh immediately sent his son and a friend with a written message, to be delivered also by word of mouth, and insisting upon all further communication between the parties being cut short, with a strong recommendation to quit this place without delay. The visitors were introduced into the room of the females, and when *he* heard the words of the message, he seemed to feel such sorrow and expressed his feeling so humbly, that young Keogh, though convinced his father's life was at stake, could with difficulty repress his tears. It has since been discovered that this same Neville has memorialled the Duke of [Portland] for remuneration as a captain in Hompesch's regiment, and for having distinguished himself in the Irish battles of 1798. I advised Keogh to show the letters and disclose the whole to Curran, who is his intimate and a privy councillor. It is better that Doctor Troy should not be made acquainted with this fact, it may terrify him into some act of dabbennaggine. I think it possible that a distressed adventurer might seek by all methods to raise money, but Keogh still presses the question, how could any man possibly commit himself in writing on such a subject, unless he had some hopes that he was secured from the usual consequences of such a discovery? In short he sets down Neville for a demi-official villain, who comes to gather *ex-post-facto* proof of the existence of a French party in Ireland. If such has been his mission, his employers would deserve such punishment as ought not to be named.

"I also understood this evening that Mr. James Ryan, the *protégé* of Mr. R. McDonell, is now projecting a new

Catholic petition, from which all Keogh's party is to be excluded. This idiot, on the eve of the last Catholic meeting, advised Lord Fingal not to oppose him, as he would be left in a shameful minority. He entertained, for many days previous, a dozen of subordinate blockheads at his table, and amongst the rest a Catholic barrister of no mean degree for impudence and fatuity. On the day of engagement this superlative James Ryan, this admirable Crichton of politicians (who had had the courage to correspond with Mr. Fox as secretary to a Catholic committee supposed to exist here in Dublin) was left in the very small minority of his legal friend, on the first question; and, on the second, he deserted the barrister, who was forced to cry *no* with his head under the table. I was not in Ireland to enjoy this Catalani solo.

“Doctor Troy informed me some weeks ago that certain letters had appeared in the *Antijacobin*, in which I was abused; the author, Doctor Hales, of Trinity College. My bishop seemed willing to hear something like a promise from me of an answer to those letters. Were I living in a country like yours, I might be tempted to greet Dr. Hales; but here it is not so much against Hales as against martial law and Major Sirr I should be compelled to maintain the controversy. Shall I not be confuted by Hadrian, who has sixteen legions? was an answer worthy of the best times of Greece. A Trinity College *emeritus* in Dublin maintains the point, as your Champion at the Coronation. He first propounds, then invites the arch-traitor to contradict him, (the place being well filled with soldiers) and lastly drinks and bears off the gilt bowl. Westminster Hall, on that day, is not the most suitable hall for disputing the nature of a King's pedigree. Sir Martin Wright or old Rymer would feel the bayonets to be sore points.

“I am persuaded that your Ministry are casting about them for a peace to obtain themselves to be recognised by the new kings. In all conscience you have enjoyed them long enough, but I fancy they will not go off without an epilogue. It is a cardinal point, in all stories of dispossession, that the devil considers it a great affront to be asked to go up the chimney without doing mischief. Unless he is allowed to claw the exorcist, he insists upon his approved and immemorial privilege of disappearing perpendicularly and blowing off the roof and chimnies. I have written this after midnight lest an afterthought of etiquette, or the arrear of excuses delayed should prevent me on cool reflection. If there is indiscretion let my zeal excuse it; if not, let my confidence in you. By zeal I mean a very great desire to please you by worthy means.”

*Postscript.*—“December 23. I wrote the account which is the principal matter of the foregoing, without giving Keogh to understand that I would disclose it to any person. Perhaps I have acted erroneously in mentioning it. At all events



it is more probable that the man Neville was not insane when he made his proposal ; and, madness set aside, the very best construction to be put on such a letter would be this, that Neville sought by it to put Keogh in his own power, that he might extort money from him at his pleasure. Still the question returns as before. Supposing that Keogh, a mere stranger, should reject his offer and give up Neville, is it not a most necessary presumption that Neville must have prepared some defence as strong, as his own handwriting would be to convict him ? ”

(2) LORD HAWKESBURY to SIR J. C. HIPPISELY.

1807, October 22. Whitehall.—“ I have had the honour of laying before the King the letter of the Countess of Albany to his Majesty, together with a letter which I received from you at the same time, and upon the same subject.

“ I have great satisfaction in informing you that I have received his Majesty’s command to acquaint the Countess of Albany, through you, that his Majesty will give directions that the sum of sixteen hundred pounds a year should be paid to her, to commence from the period of the death of the late Cardinal of York, and to be paid in the same manner as the pension to the Cardinal was paid.

“ His Majesty has, at the same time, commanded me to express his regret that the demands unavoidably made upon him in consequence of the distressing and calamitous situation of so many of the sovereign houses of Europe so nearly connected with his Majesty, should preclude his Majesty from extending the allowance solicited by the Countess of Albany beyond the sum above stated.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 1. Eden Farm.—“ If you adhere to your intention of going to town on the 14th, you will be fully occupied that evening and the two following days by the first bustles of resettling, and by the various conferences which you must necessarily hold with principal individuals attached to your public line. I shall (most reluctantly) move my colony to Palace Yard on the 16th, and unless I should hear from you that you prefer any other day or hour, I will wait on you upon Sunday the 17th at two o’clock (I presume at Camelford House).

“ I have grounds for suspicion that Sir John Moore’s arrival with his troops has been occasioned either by some mistake in the orders sent to him, or by his misconstruction of them. The safety of Sicily seems to be risked ; and if Sicily should be lost, it would be difficult to maintain and retain Malta. This at least is the opinion of Mr. Elliot, whose information as to both islands is the best and most immediate that can be got. It is true that a plan is pursuing to take Ceuta ; which place

is supposed to be feebly guarded by the Spaniards and, it is thought, material for Gibraltar.

“If any inference can be drawn from Randolph’s speech, which is a warlike speech made by an *anti-Gallican*, it may be inferred that, in addition to all our other accumulating embarrassments and perils, we shall have the United States in a predicament of extreme ill-humour, if not of actual hostility. It is a silly supposition on the part of those who persuade themselves that a country will not go to war because it is evidently contrary to her interests to go to war. I have not the smallest doubt, and shall some day have occasion to explain such a position, that if your Government had not been undermined and broken down, we should at this hour have been on terms of cordial union with America ; of common cause with Danish Zealand, and of no decided hostility with Russia.”

*Postscript.*—“Lady Grenville’s botanical essay, announced to Lady Auckland, has not made its appearance, and we are really anxious to save to her the trouble of setting pen to paper on the small business of our pleasure-walks. If in digging the Dropmore borders, and in clearing off-sets, there should be any superfluity of kelmies and rhododendrons, we have ample space for exhibiting them to good advantage ; and I would send for them any where, and form them into a Dropmore border. But we have already made a beginning in that line, and my gardener is industrious enough to extend it. We can therefore well wait ; and, in the meantime, I have provided some consolation by making a rose-hedge by the side of a very handsome walk of about a quarter of a mile.”

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 3. Stowe.—“I have deferred answering your last letter, not having felt quite prepared to decide as clearly as you appeared to have done, on the subject of the Order in Council ; for although I saw clearly the grounds on which you had formed your opinion, yet it was not quite so clear to me but that the orders issued by Bonaparte were like many others of the same description, a menace, which might be disconcerted by a modified exercise (and modified it has been towards Portugal and Russia) of that proclamation. On that measure therefore my mind was not made up, and I wanted the information on which I might be able to judge. The rejoinder, however, of Bonaparte dated from Milan has removed every doubt ; for it is now beyond a doubt the intention of Bonaparte to close by force all the Continental ports against us, and from that moment, it is certainly our policy to facilitate, as far as is possible for us to do with safety, the intercourse of neutrals for the purpose of keeping up our exports ; and most certainly his project could not be complete, but for our co-operation in blocking by sea what he blocks by land.

“But even this measure, great and important as I admit it to be, sinks in comparison with what in my mind presses

so immediately ; I mean the state of Ireland. I am too much struck with that subject to look to any other, and my reluctance to attend Parliament increases in proportion to my sense, that no good is to be done there ; though at the same time I fear that you carry much too far upon your own principles, and certainly too far for mine, the non-resistance to passive obedience of leaving the blind King and his blinder Ministers to all the fanatic bigotry, and all the imbecility that has brought us to the verge of ruin. I most certainly wish a change of Government, and think it a duty to use every means to *force* it out of the hands of these Ministers ; whether that can be done by Parliament I do not so clearly know, but I am sure it is a duty to expose and condemn measures so mischievous. If you ask me whether I wish you replaced in Government, I answer as distinctly, that I cannot wish you so ill, for in my conscience I believe the game *irreparably* and *irrecoverably ruined* both in our exterior objects, and in our more immediate, and most interior points of Government.

“ I speak from information, when I tell you that I am satisfied that a most extensive, perhaps a general explosion may hourly be expected in Ireland ; and that nothing now will prevent it but concession, much beyond that proposed last year, and perhaps going further than even I could easily be brought to entertain. I am equally confident that the half measures now in contemplation will (even if they are not ultimately abandoned by the K[ing's] servants as I believe they will) be more mischievous, than the attempt to coerce by force immediately ; but every hour increases the disaffection, and the strength of those who are endeavouring to urge, and to arm, every peasant against us, while the real Government of Ireland (I do not speak of the D[uke] of Richmond and of Arthur Wellesley) are inflaming and stinging them to madness.

“ It is *certain* that Junot and his army were expected in the south-west of Ireland about Christmas Day ; and it is only to Providence that we are indebted for that deliverance. Our Ministers and Lord Strangford had given up all hopes of the Portugese emigration, which took place without the least knowledge on his L[ordship's] part, of that intention. But had the P[rince] of Brazil from any motive deferred that resolution, Junot would have found the means from the Brazil ships, all victualled and watered, to have embarked 25,000 French and Spanish troops under the protection of the Portugese 9, and the Russian 7 ships forming a force of 16 sail, sufficient to have forced Sir S. Smith's 9 ships from their blockade ; and in that case we should have heard of that event, and of Junot's appearance in Bantry Bay, at the same moment. He might then have burnt the fleet, for which he would not have cared a farthing ; and if the peasants had risen, as I am persuaded they are ready to do, all our

power would not have driven him out. So much for the foresight of our Government, which is still further illustrated by the arrival at Gibraltar of General Moore's army on the 6th December, being seven days after Junot's force was in Lisbon.

"D[ector] Moylan writes to me to complain bitterly of the articles inserted in the Government papers of a visit of two days to Bulstrode, and of a correspondence with the D[uke] of Portland on a Papal Bill, all which are utterly void of any foundation; and are inserted for the purpose of making him an object of suspicion, and of reviving in Ireland the cry of 'no popery' as against the Catholic bishops, and of reviving it in England as against the body at large, as acting under the Papal and French influence. He has not seen or written to the D[uke] of P[ortland] for above two years.

"With these impressions of immediate and inevitable ruin, I am but little tempted to attend Parliament except for the object which you deprecate, of raising the indignation of the country against such insanity, and such profligate neglect. I shall, however, be in town in the course of ten days, after my French party leaves me (on the 16th) and I shall then be better able to judge whether it is worth my while to cross the pavement into the House of Lords for the discussions that will then be going on."

LORD GRENVILLE to SIR J. C. HIPPISELY.

1808, January 4. Dropmore.—"I do not know what your correspondent's object could be in mentioning to you the facts contained in the letter which you have sent to me, and which I received yesterday; but it appeared to me that I could not, consistently with my duty, be in possession of those facts without communicating them to the Government.

"I have therefore this day sent to Lord Hawkesbury the letter and extract of which I herewith enclose you copies.

"It is always unpleasant to be mixed at all in such matters; and you will I am sure excuse my saying freely that I cannot help wishing that you had yourself taken the step to which the communication you have made to me has compelled me; nor can one avoid observing that, if Mr. Keogh entertained any suspicion that the business was connected with any plan to entrap him, the most obvious mode of defeating any such purpose was that of an immediate communication of the whole to the Government of Ireland." *Copy.*

*Private.* FRANCIS MAGAN to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 5. Usher's Island, Dublin.—"The same motive which led me to write to your lordship but a few days ago, induces me again to trouble you before I have had the honour of receiving an answer to my letter, to mention the circumstances that have since occurred.

“Lord Fingall within the last two days, although the requisition had not been sent in, intimated a desire to meet and converse with a certain description of Catholics in town this day. Some of the most respectable of the body, about thirty in number, assembled accordingly, when his lordship stated his object in calling them together to be, to hear their sentiments upon the propriety of presenting a petition to Parliament the ensuing session, on behalf of the Roman Catholics in Ireland.

“But one sentiment prevailed; they were unanimously of opinion that a petition should be laid upon the table, as early in the session as possible. It was thrown out however, and seemed to be acquiesced in very generally, I might perhaps say unanimously, that being laid upon the table, it might be left to our friends to move to have it taken into consideration, at their discretion. It was asked whether your lordship’s opinion was known upon the subject; the answer was of course that it was not, and from the indelicacy there would be in soliciting that opinion under the circumstances, it was not to be expected that it could be known.

“They conceived that petition should be presented, a copy of which was transmitted to Mr. Grattan last year, unless the usage of Parliament should make it necessary to frame a new one, from the circumstance of its having been printed and published; which, it was suggested, was contrary to the rules of the House. The idea certainly was mentioned of having a petition from each of the counties; but from the situation of some parts of the country, it was thought it might be more practical that there should be but one from the whole kingdom. However, that will be again taken into consideration and finally decided on at the general meeting which is fixed for Wednesday, the 20th instant.

“I have thus hastily sketched the proceedings of this day, under the impression that in the present state of things, it is of considerable moment that your lordship should know what has been done as soon as possible, which I trust will be my apology for trespassing upon your time. I should otherwise have requested Mr. Wickham to make the communication to your lordship.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 6th. [London.]—“I have just heard (in a way that I can entirely rely upon it, although I must not describe it by letter) that a proposition for peace did arrive; has been entertained by the Cabinet, and will probably lead to the conclusion of peace. This is very opportune for the Ministers, as I hear that nothing can describe their general state of panic and confusion; but what will you say when I tell you that Sicily *is now* evacuated before this proposition came; and what will you say when I

tell you that I suspect it is in contemplation to give up Gibraltar?

“Lord Chatham is said to have refused the reversion of the Duke of Portland’s office, and I have reason to think that Lord Hawkesbury has likewise declined it.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 8. Eden Farm.—“Mr. Fisher will probably have sent to you a state of the surplus for the 5th January quarter—24,000*l.* I understand that the ‘complement’ to the Lady-Day Quarter ought to be about 1,600,000*l.* and I do not think it likely to produce above half of that amount, although it is a quarter exempt from many of the principal charges.

“I have some reason to believe that a sort of *pourparler* on the subject of pacification is going forwards; that the Emperor of Austria, unwilling to quarrel with us, offered a mediation; that we answered that we previously wished to know the general basis; that, in communication with France, he replied that plenipotentiaries should first be named.

“I should have mentioned that, in his first communication, there were expressions relative to the freedom of the seas.

“You probably know that the Queen of Etruria is to become Queen of Portugal; and that Etruria is to be annexed to Italy.

“I have received from the Council Office a printed copy of the Orders of the 11th November, with the explanatory orders, instructions, further instructions, analysis, tables, in the form of a pamphlet.

“Surely there is something both impudent and foolish in the attempt to originate at Glasgow the machinery of addresses on our brilliant and successful energy, at the close of a year unexampled in its course of public calamities.

“We have sent a cart to Palace Yard to-day for the rhododendrons; and Lady Auckland was quite shocked to hear that the cargo was so bounteous. She will write to express her obligations as soon as the packages shall have arrived.

“Lady Grenville seldom goes too near to the fire. Two children in cottages within a mile of this place have been burnt to death this week, and merely by sparks flying from the fire.

“Mr. Vansittart, who is here, tells me that Lord Sidmouth is so imperfectly recovered from the effects of his fall, that he is still unable to bear any kind of exertion.”

SIR J. C. HIPPISEY TO THE SAME.

1808, January 8. Stow Easton House.—“I regret extremely that the communication of Mr. Clinch’s letter should have occasioned so much dissatisfaction in your mind. Wishing to apprise you at the moment, of my intention to forward the packet by Mr. Dillon, without much consideration I

put Mr. Clinch's letter in the envelope, merely as intimating an occurrence of some singularity at least, though Mr. Clinch had himself hesitated whether he was correct in making the communication to me. Your observation respecting Mr. Keogh is certainly very just; but I fear my correspondent may be implicated in a personal quarrel with him, in which I may come in for my share. I had written to Mr. Clinch to make enquiry concerning a proceeding at Naas, which I had before communicated to you on the authority of Dr. Milner when in Ireland, namely, that of "two magistrates [*illegible*] swearing the [*illegible*] of Naas not to confederate with the Prince of Wales against the Duke of York. Dr. Moylan made me a visit from Bath some time afterwards, and assured me that he was at Naas, with Dr. Milner, when this circumstance was stated on authority which they both credited. It was my intention, if I had received further confirmation of the fact, to have communicated it to Government.

"With respect to the contents of my last communication to you I fear some further apology is but too necessary, as nothing is more foreign from my intention than to be officiously troublesome. You may think I have attached too much importance to the objects therein stated, yet I am persuaded that every enquiry will but too much justify the apprehensions I had entertained for the security of our Oriental territories.

"Two days since I dined with Lord Pembroke at Bath, with whom I had formerly been much on the Continent, and who, I knew, had much valuable information connected with these objects. He observed that it would be improper, consistently with his late mission, to disclose to me all he knew on that subject, but he had no hesitation in saying that my apprehensions were well founded; and, *at this moment*, that Napoleon was acting in the spirit of them. He did not think, indeed he said he was confident, that it was *not* Napoleon's intentions to take the Russians with him across the Indus, but to leave them in Turkey; and that though the provinces near the mouth of the Danube were to have been wholly evacuated by the troops in a given time after the last treaty, he observed that these had accumulated since to *three times this number*, as when the treaty was signed.

"I cannot forbear mentioning to you this part of our conversation, though perhaps I am incorrect in using Lord Pembroke's name on this occasion. The fact however appears too important not to mention in corroboration of what I had before stated.

"I will not trouble you further than to repeat my regrets, and to assure you this [that] if you have felt embarrassment on the occasion, I have suffered a greater degree of painful sensation than I can express."

*Enclosing.*

H. MOYLAN, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, to SIR J. C. HIPPISELY, M.P.

1808, January 1. Cork.—“ You must, I am confident, be very much surprised to read in the *Sun* of the 21st last month and other London papers, that I had submitted to the Duke of Portland documents concerning a Papal Bull addressed to the Roman Catholics prelates of this kingdom, engaging them to use their influence with the people of their persuasion in favour of Bonaparte’s views and objects ; and that said Bull was accompanied by another paper from the French ruler, holding out as a motive for their compliance, the ascendancy of the Catholic religion in their country. As soon as I read this notorious abominable falsehood, I thought it incumbent on me to have it contradicted as soon as possible ; and therefore on the 27th of the month, I enclosed a paper of that purport to the Marquis of Buckingham, and requested his lordship would have the goodness to have it inserted in the *Sun* and other London papers ; and I got it inserted in all the newspapers of this city. Whoever fabricated this falsehood had certainly in view the publishing it ; when not long since, they had it inserted in the said newspapers that I had been at Bulstrode on Catholic affairs with the Duke of Portland at the time I was here in Cork ; nor have I had the honour of seeing his Grace, or any communication whatever with him, these five years past. If this be a ministerial manœuvre to continue *the cry of no popery*, as there is great grounds to apprehend it is, what must we think of such Ministers who resort to such infamous means to impose on his Majesty and on the public, and to foment rancorous divisions among his Majesty’s subjects in those kingdoms ?

“ If these falsehoods were not published under the sanction of Ministers, would it not be right in them to have them contradicted ? ”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 9th. Cleveland Square.—“ I return you your letter from Lord Grey which is in general pretty much what I expected him to say, except that his language about Copenhagen is more hostile to the measure than we had heard that he was ; I attribute this chiefly to the strong determination which Tierney tells me that Whitbread has taken to make immediate war upon Ministers on that subject. Sheridan has passed a week with Whitbread, and what I hear from that quarter does not seem very promising, but the best must be made of it that can. In the meantime I do not see or admit the inconsistency which Lord Grey describes in a moderated and rare attendance in the Lords and Commons, after so much earnestness to find a leader in the Commons. The answer to this is that, if no such leader had been named, there would



have been no party whose movements could have been either restrained or accelerated ; but in truth Lord Grey's expressions on this subject must be taken as marking only the reluctance which he has annually expressed to leave his fire-side and family, and which becomes still more inconvenient to him on account of the inadequacy of his present income to support his present rank.

"I have heard nothing more of peace, but I continue to depend upon the accuracy of the information which I have given you, although it has not yet reached the knowledge of the public. Ministers are still out of humour about Moore's return, although they dare not attack him as he had their order for doing so ; their expedition under Spencer is still in great part subject to the uncertainty of the winds, though near 30 transports have been heard of. The P[rin]ce lives entirely alone, and some of his nearest friends are beginning to be unaffectedly solicitous about the general state in which he appears to be both in body and mind.

"Lady Chatham is much disordered in her senses, and that circumstance is said to have confirmed Lord Chatham in his determination not to succeed to Duke of Portland ; Lord Hawkesbury likewise declining, it is now thought that for their common interest the best thing is for the Duke of Portland to keep it ; and I am thoroughly persuaded he never meant to resign it.

"The Stowe invasion begins on Monday, and does not end till Saturday. The house of Bourbon are each of them to plant, with their own French paws, trees that are to grow round the Round House in the park, to eternise the fame of their visit."

#### LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1808, January 10. Eden Farm.—"I have had occasion to see an Exchequer paper, by the help of which we may have some general and conjectural notion of the financial circumstances of the current year.

"The surplus of the Christmas quarter will be stated at 115,000*l.* and not at 24,000*l.* as at first supposed—still I believe that a surplus of 1,600,000*l.* is wanted for the Lady Day quarter.

"The war taxes, property tax, and customs and excise war taxes for the several years ending January 5th, produced as follows :—

|       | <i>War taxes.</i>    | <i>Property tax.</i> | <i>Customs and<br/>Excise<br/>War taxes.</i> |
|-------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 1806. | 13,171,000 <i>l.</i> | 4,406,000 <i>l.</i>  | 8,765,000 <i>l.</i>                          |
| 1807. | 14,821,000 <i>l.</i> | 5,983,000 <i>l.</i>  | 8,838,000 <i>l.</i>                          |
| 1808. | 18,827,000 <i>l.</i> | 9,850,000 <i>l.</i>  | 8,977,000 <i>l.</i>                          |

"With respect to the war taxes you will recollect that in the last year's budget, they were taken for the year ending 5th April next at 21,000,000*l.*

“The present quarter of the property tax will probably be higher (about a million) than the correspondent quarter of 1807. But upon the whole I do not believe that the war taxes deficiency will remain less than 1,200,000*l.* Nor do I think that the deficiency of the consolidated surplus will be less than 800,000*l.* \*Add for the Danish prize money, which the public purse will be required to pay, at least 1,000,000*l.* Add the diminution of revenue occasioned by the last year’s loan of 12 millions at 10 per cent., 1,200,000*l.* Add, at a most moderate computation, the charge of all these expensive expeditions, and the transport service, 2,800,000*l.* Add arrears of subsidies, unforeseen exigences, 1,000,000*l.* Add the twelve millions, on the scale which formed the foundation of your finance plan. The total to be raised will be 20,000,000*l.* I am told (and on no bad authority) that it is in contemplation to recur to the old mode, and to raise the whole, whatever it may be, more or less, by loans and [taxes].”

“11th; on revising the above, I think that the sums stated in the sentence\* underlined were provided for by your plan. But on the other hand a considerable change is likely to be incurred by the increased expenses of the army; and Mr. Vansittart, who is here, and with whom I have talked on the several points of my statement, agrees with me that the estimate may ‘fairly’ be taken at 20 millions; besides unforeseen emergencies, such as the enormous expense which would attend a quarrel with America; the defalcation of revenue by the suspension of commerce and manufactures, which must eventually affect excise, customs, stamps, incidents, war and other taxes.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 11. Eden Farm.—“After a long search I have found the list which I took on the occasion of our last and greatest division. Have the goodness not to mislay it, as I have not copied it, and it may be as well to destroy the other list which I received yesterday and return. You will see on looking into it that it has many *errata*, and some which would be very awkward.

“There is so much to be done upon this list, that I fear the result will fall short merely from the want of time. I should like to go through it with you, and we can perhaps find half an hour in the evening of Monday; unless I hear to the contrary I will suppose that you dine that day at six. I have just written to Lord Grey that I will call upon him on Monday.

“Lord Albemarle, Lord King, and Lord St. John could severally have been of use as to the lists. Your secretary can dispose, in the course of to-morrow, of several of the details which are matters of course. Mr. Fremantle, if in town, can assist as to others; or Mr. Charles Wynne; Mr. Eden

also is in Palace Yard or between Westminster and Roehampton, and with very little instruction could materially assist; and there are many names which must be referred to Lord Grey. I again fear that we are running too near as to time."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1808, January 18.] Palace Yard.—"I have sent for the pamphlet respecting the Orders in Council. It would be material if we could find some proper mode of bringing that business to a full and earnest discussion. It branches into all the more important interests external and internal; and we have many advantages in it. I heard accidentally that in the House of Commons it is meant to-day to give way to Mr. Horner's motion; I do not know what that motion is.

"I have the pleasure to learn from all sides and descriptions that Mr. Eden did solidly well in an incidental statement of the American intercourse question. It is a curious question. Heretofore we were taunted with our concessions to America, and now, in reply to their late measure of non-importation and non-exportation, we are giving to them the renewed exercise of all the privileges of their late treaty. It is absurd too, and will perhaps be glaringly so before the bill can pass. Lord Liverpool, on whom I called to-day, strongly recommended to me an American pamphlet reprinted here, entitled *Letters from a Farmer of Boston*. I have sent for it.

"Mr. Perceval was unlucky yesterday in calling the Danish business a 'heartrending service.' Lord Castlereagh was not less unlucky in stating that the King's consent to the expedition was obtained on the 19th July. That date evinces the anachronism stated by my son, and will give force to the Duke of Norfolk's motion.

"Lord Liverpool seemed to fear, and probably from authority, that the King of Sweden may be intimidated into the confederacy.

"I am assured that Buonaparte has actually ordered the destruction of the Portuguese vineyards in favour of Bourdeaux."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1808, January 24. Palace Yard.—"I feel disposed, if you think it proper, to give notice on Wednesday, that I mean to submit to the House on a very early day some considerations respecting the Orders in Council, as essentially affecting the commercial and political interests of the empire. I think that I have more to say against both the principles and expediency of those orders than can easily be answered; and they are so inseparably connected with the great objects of our American negotiation which I am desirous to explain,

and also with the order of the 7th January, 1806, in the issuing of which I had some share of responsibility, that I feel myself personally called upon. The whole subject is most urgent as well as most important ; and with your aid and concurrence, we cannot fail to show to the public, if not to the Ministers, that the new orders were ill-conceived, and have a most dangerous and calamitous tendency.

“ If you should see the matter in this point of view, I should wish to wait on you, when you may find it convenient, for a quiet conversation.”

JAMES MCLAURIN to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, January 25. Glasgow.—“ The Catholics of Glasgow, though precluded by their humble situation from interfering with politics, yet feeling themselves deeply interested in the welfare of their country, have deputed me to express to you lordship how sincerely they lament, in conjunction with many of their fellow subjects, that his Majesty’s government in these awful times is deprived of the great abilities and experience of your lordship and of your late colleagues in administration. It is with the warmest sentiments of gratitude and admiration, that they reflect on the grand and salutary measures which were devised under your lordship’s administration for the prosperity of the empire, and pursued with the greatest uprightness and economy. They cannot forbear particularly specifying not only the abolition of the slave trade, which alone reflects immortal honour on the Ministry who accomplished it ; but also the noble attempt made by your lordship’s administration to remove every odious distinction on the score of religion, and to unite his Majesty’s subjects of all persuasions in one firm patriotic band, calculated to ensure the prosperity of the empire, and to repel the presumptuous foe who might dare to invade these happy isles. As men they must feel, when their principles are so frequently calumniated ; but as Christians they cheerfully sacrifice their feelings to the welfare of their country.

“ Attached by gratitude as well as by principle to the best of sovereigns and to the best of constitutions, whether within or, in some respects, without the pale of that constitution, they are equally ready to contribute their aid, and to shed their blood in defence of their King and country.

“ These, my lord, are the sentiments which animate his Majesty’s Catholic subjects in Glasgow, and which they have appointed me to convey to your lordship along with a silver cup, which the right honourable Lord Archibald Hamilton is to be so obliging as to deliver to your lordship, and of which they hope your lordship will do them the honour to accept in testimony of their respect for your lordship’s abilities, and of their gratitude to your lordship’s exertions towards the security and welfare of the empire.”

## MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1808, January 27. Stowe.—“I have been writing all the morning and must therefore be very short on the subject of Westmeath. I should think it highly inexpedient to offer George at any time for that county, for which he could not permanently sit; and it would be idle to be talking now of what might be fit to be done when he is of age. I wish you therefore to answer Mr. Magan civilly, but vaguely.

“I have been endeavouring to keep Westmeath out of the hands of Government. Lord Longford has written to me, and I have declined any assistance to his brother. Lord Delvin has not writ to me though he is canvassing, which satisfies me that he stands upon Government *politics*, though Pakenham is to have the Government *interest*. I have therefore writ to Lord Delvin to recommend to him to continue to support his father's political views, and to express my regret that I cannot support him on those grounds. A letter from Mr. Sterne Tighe (who was put forward by the Catholics last year) to Newport, has given me the means of writing to him a distinct declaration of my wishes that the county may elect a gentleman who may support the Catholic claims, as set forth in their petition, and my persuasion that this measure is essential to the salvation of the empire, and to the local tranquillity and prosperity of Ireland; and that I have reason to think that my tenantry are disposed to support any independent gentleman on those grounds. I have likewise put other irons in the fire, and I hope, at all events, that if we do not find ourselves strong enough to carry a friend, we may at least gain time by persuading Smith to keep his seat. Lord Moira should write to Lord Granard to keep him disengaged; but I do not like to write to him as he would require me to promise always to support him in the county Longford, for which (though I supported Lord Forbes) I wish to be free.

“I should be very glad that Tighe could be elected, and would assist him in every way; for he would belong to *Newport and to us*: I have therefore directed Box to communicate with him, and if Newport would advise him to stand (supposing always that he has a reasonable chance), I think he might be induced to offer himself. I have written to various Nugents to keep them disengaged.

“I have no idea that the Rochfort squadron is gone to Lisbon; their course, when last left, evidently points to the West Indies, and probably to America. If to the Leeward Islands, Cochrane will have in addition to his two 74's, the three ships from Madeira, namely two 74's and one 64. If to the Chesapeake, Warren has on that station three 74's and one 50. Cochrane might therefore make a battle; but Warren could not. Hood has two 74's at Madeira who might join any of these stations, if he has timely notice; but my idea is, that the French will run to Guadeloupe, land their troops, and

then run for the Chesapeak to bring home their one remaining ship and their two frigates.

“I shall be in town at the end of next week; perfectly agreeing with you that nothing is to be done, but very indignant at the ground taken by Government respecting Copenhagen.”

*Postscript.*—“Your correspondent has interest in Westmeath, and you may urge him to support (as I do) the independence of the county against the present Government and the supporters of their opinions.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, February 9. Palace Yard.—“As you are not likely to be at the House to-morrow, I propose (if I do not hear to the contrary) to call on you about eleven o'clock on *Thursday* morning; five minutes conversation may be very material, both on the Danish business and on the Orders in Council. With respect to the latter it may perhaps be desirable to give notices on Thursday (with some little detail) for additional papers to be moved for on Friday.

*Question*; as to improving the idea of an address to the King, stating what ought to be the feelings of the country and of Parliament on the obscure, mutilated, and varying documents respecting the Copenhagen bombardment; and requesting his Majesty to take the proper measures for restoring the relations of peace and amity with Denmark. This would be less objectionable than the proposed vote of censure, which will be rejected by a very increasing majority.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1808, February 15. Palace Yard.]—“The time fixed for proceeding to-day with the evidence is three o'clock; and it is agreed that we are not to sit later than nine.”

*Private.*—“I submit to you that it will be material in attending to the examinations to keep in view the expediency of grounding on them an address to the King to rescind the Orders in Council; such an address to be moved on the first open day after the recess; to be stated very fully so as to make the whole consideration generally intelligible; and to be supported by the assemblage of our whole strength; and the same in the House of Commons. That measure will nearly close my Parliamentary campaign, and I shall be glad to retire to my lawn and library and think as little as possible of the public calamities, which must have their course to a certain extent.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1808, February 16. Palace Yard.—“It is no compliment to you to say that your most powerful speech of last night was a complete exposure of the illegality, injustice, inexpediency, and rashness of the Orders in Council; but the measure,

however culpable and absurd, will be kept alive, if we do not redouble our attacks on it.

“I incline to think (but I submit it entirely to your better judgment) that I might with propriety, and with effect, remind the House that I had stated many apparent illegalities subsisting in the different orders; that I had stated doubts how far the courts of Admiralty are bound to obey such orders (I understand that Sir William Scott answers that question in the affirmative); that I desire to be answered how far the evidence of those several illegalities is admitted or denied; and that, if I am not answered, I will on Thursday se’night make a motion on the subject.

“I cannot recollect whether an order can be moved, as a matter of course, for the attendance of the judges on a particular debate.

“If the illegalities be not denied, there must be bills of indemnity, and also bills to legalise the provisions of the orders; and the latter must pass before the House of Commons bill imposing the duties can go forwards. I take for granted that you have got the printed copy of that bill; it contains many most attackable clauses.

“Lord Sidmouth has called on me to show the draft of his proposed motion. It is an address to represent—that it is important to the dignity and character of the country that no measure should be taken that may have the effect of preventing or putting to hazard the eventual possibility of making restitution of the Danish ships, conformably to the spirit of the declarations,’ and so forth.

“Lord St. Vincent is to speak on the impropriety of employing those ships in preference to better vessels of our own.”

*Postscript.*—“I was accurate yesterday when I mentioned to you that the acquiescence is falsely asserted in the orders; you will find it in the clause about certificates of origin.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1808, February 12.] Palace Yard.—“I hear through the Post Office that a Gottenburg mail is arrived; that a person is come from the King of Sweden to press for men, money, and arms; that the Russians continue to advance in Finland where there has been a battle with great loss on both sides; that French troops are crossing the Belts into Zealand, and expected to proceed into Sweden; and the King of Denmark died on the 13th.

“The ministerial language of the day as to America is that on the whole the last accounts are good, and that there will not be any war. But it is not denied that the intercourse must remain suspended; and consequently that the merchants and manufacturers must suffer, and consequently the revenue.

“It is very material that we should have some adjusted

plan of proceeding. If we pursue the examinations well and attentively their result would probably lead to an address to the King so worded, on authenticated statements, as to tend to draw the public attention very materially."

*Private.*—"Mr. Eden has seen Mr. Pinkney, who privately thinks that the discussions must end in war; and has no account in any of his letters of the instruction which Mr. Monroe is to bring to him.

"You will see in the papers the President's message on the Orders in Council."

5 o'clock p.m.—"I return your papers with thanks, and will hope to be at Camelford House at half-past two to-morrow.

"I have been told that the ministers will avail themselves of the obscure and contradictory expressions in the orders, to give a more favourable construction respecting the American trade than some of the expressions imply.

"The *cotton* clauses are so perplexed and involved that I really have lost my understanding in them.

"With respect to the sugar question I conceive that Mr. Brougham is right. Foreign colonial produce cannot come or be imported here on pain of forfeiture except in vessels of the country producing them, or in British ships (to be reported for exportation as the case may be).

"By the 43 George III c. 26, *goods specified in an Order of Council* may be brought in neutral ships from *any port or place not in amity with His Majesty*.

"But by the Order in Council the goods in question can be brought only from places which *are in amity with His Majesty*.

"With respect to the close of the Order of the 18th, it certainly cannot authorise or protect an illegal importation.

"The documents required by our laws which most resemble certificates of origin are the certificates of the produce of colonial goods required to exempt them from paying the foreign duty.

"I have discovered a curious and most positive illegality by the 7 George III ch., 45, s. 10. The Isle of Man is restricted from the exportations which the Orders in Council legalize.

"I understand too that Guernsey and Jersey cannot legally export tobacco, sugar, or other articles the produce of Asia, Africa, or America.

"I had marked that inaccuracy in Baring's book as to Sweden, in order to mention it to him; but I do not know with certainty whether America is to be permitted to carry colonial produce to the Swedish ports."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, February 20. Palace Yard.—"I yesterday moved the printing of the American Intercourse Bill, and the second reading was fixed for Tuesday next, prior to the other debate.



“ I have ascertained the accuracy of the Isle of Man objection beyond all doubt ; and there is another clear illegality on the same subject in the 26 George III c. 37, s. 3. I submit to you that it would be desirable to resolve that breach of a statute ; and also, as a second resolution, the breach of the Law of Nations in warning ‘ *and directing* the ships so warned to proceed to England ’ ; that outrage has nothing to do with the pretended doctrine of retaliation.

“ On these two illegalities so established (and I have reason to believe that the first will be acknowledged) you could ground a third resolution respecting the bad exercise of an assumed prorogation, and the true extent of that prorogation.

“ The Tax Bill is already in distress. Mr. Perceval admits several of the objections started on Thursday night, and means to new-model the Bill, and to introduce some new provisions which (from what I have heard of them) will not mend the matter.”

*Private.*—“ I saw Mr. Pinkney to-day. I could not with propriety enter into many particulars with him. He seems to expect to be ordered to go to some mission on the Continent, and believe that there will be a war, or something very nearly approaching to it.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1808, February 19. Palace Yard.]—“ I called twice on you to-day, wishing for five minutes conversation on many points, and particularly on the American message for which Mr. Eden moved yesterday. He established clearly, and I believe it is no longer disputed, that the expression in the speech as to the refusal to ratify is utterly incorrect ; and in fact that the treaty is in a course of ratification by the senate, if other obstacles should not interfere. The very material considerations resulting from that circumstance are such, that it would be very desirable to remove the discussion into our House. Lord Holland is very well disposed to move it ; but it would come with more force and effect if you would think proper to take it up. The point is, ‘ the ratification being still dependent, the Orders in Council were issued without notice ; and those Orders are direct and violent infractions of the 8th, 9th and 10th articles of our depending treaty.’ This point may be stated to the fullest conviction ; and I have private and confidential reasons for believing that the Ministers who issued the Orders had never taken the precaution to examine or even to look into the treaty. The consequence of their being so inconsiderate may eventually make the whole difference between peace and war.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1808, February 22. Palace Yard.—“ I received yours, and have put your draft of resolutions into the hands of

Lord Carlisle. He is very earnest, but perhaps in the actual state of his constitution, the enterprise is somewhat more than his strength can cope with.

“I send four Bills, merely to take the chance of their accompanying you in your chaise. I moved to-day that the Bill for continuing your treaty shall be read a second time to-morrow, when I hope to be able to point out some results strongly calculated to increase the difficulties which are pressing on the Orders in Council.

“Lord Hawkesbury did not appear to-day, and we remain without any papers to show that the decrees ‘were enforced with increased vigour.’ He is to bring those and the other papers to-morrow at half before five.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, February 24. Palace Yard.—“Assuming that you will receive your post letters before you set off from Dropmore to-morrow, I have given directions to the Parliament Office to forward the papers presented yesterday by Lord Hawkesbury, and I have also sent to you a curious account for which I moved some time ago relative to the supplies of the West India Islands.

“I have given Lord Clanricarde’s proxy to Lord Carrington’s name; he seemed to be unexceptionable for it, and heartily disposed to take it. I already had two proxies.

“Mr. Tierney came to me for an hour this morning, and fully comprehends all the difficulties arising out of the American treaty act. So far as rice and tobacco are in question, those difficulties are removed by the amended Bill; but the principal point remains, and others have been added, particularly by the clause relative to St. Domingo. The course now adopted in the House of Commons must divide the Bill and obviate one objection which we had foreseen; but the progress will be so much slower; and in truth this very precipitate measure wants only time and a little wholesome delay to be understood and exploded.

“One short way of describing the Bill is that it is a Bill to induce all neutral nations to withdraw all trade whatever from our ports, and to transfer it to Sweden, Sardinia, and Sicily, which are open, and do not oppose any vexations or taxes.

“Your Algiers ease, which I return, is quite perfect, and most strictly fair. The Chancellor means to argue that the certificates of origin are to be construed *quo animo*? but that is not the tenor or purport of the decree.

“The Prince has given Lord Lake’s office to Mr. Sheridan, and with a very handsome letter.

“Exclusive of the illiberal idea of depriving a nation of medicine (bark), it is a curious circumstance that this same *cortex peruvianus* can come to us only from the port of an enemy.

"I have just found in my portfolio the half of a letter which I wrote to you some time about the illegalities; (in your former visit to Dropmore). I suppose that I sent the other half, which must have seemed odd.

"There is a curious incident which will come to light to-morrow before the debate. When Lord Hawkesbury yesterday brought the papers relative to 'the enforcing increased rigour,' he privately requested Lord Grey and me not to move the printing, lest it should expose the sources of intelligence. Lord Lauderdale has discovered them *verbatim* in newspapers of October. You should come to-morrow, if you can, *before five*."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1808, March 1-6. Palace Yard.]—"I will not fail to look into the entries mentioned in your letter, and will make a proper extract for your use. My son George, who is a good assistant in such matters, is at present in Dorsetshire at Lord Ilchester's.

"We were aware of the clause at the end of the Bill, and think it likely to come forward to us, if (which I incline to doubt) the Bill itself should come forward. William has found some precedents which make it difficult to refuse a hearing to the merchants; and, in the mean time, some accounts will arrive from America such as either to knock down the whole foolish fabric of the Orders, or to give a pretext for taking it down.

"I will look into the order book, and also into the proceeding which gave rise to the special order respecting tacks.

"I believe that there is to be some conversation to-day on the absurdity of the whole system as now operating on Sweden and Sicily. The Chancellor, whom I saw on Saturday night, seemed to be in a fidget about the legal discussion. I fear that Lord Erskine will draw it into too much length.

"I do not know any news. The royal family will be at the Queen's house to-day till Friday. Lord and Lady Pembroke and Lady Di Herbert are to be presented on Thursday; and at the same time Lord and Lady Craven (*ci-devant* Miss Brunton). I have not heard that Mrs. Heathcot (the ex-columbine) is also coming into the circle; but the Queen says that her drawing-room must now be called the green room."

*Postscript*.—"You have not genial weather for your excursion; the wind here is full of sharp sand and pins and needles. Lord Melville arrived on Friday, and is talked of for the Admiralty.

"There are accounts that the Rochfort, Toulon, and Carthage fleets are all afloat for some combined movements in the Mediterranean. It is possible that this may produce some new naval victory to us. It is, I believe, certain that we are to send a large force to Sweden."

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1808, March 14. Palace Yard.]—"I send the Tax Bill under a separate cover. I have not had time to bestow more than five or ten minutes upon it. You will find it in many respects vulnerable, even the title seems to be of the 'Tack family.' As to the provisions of such a Bill, the evident absurdity is hardly credible. It is a Bill for imposing a tax on the ships of the United States at a period when they are not permitted to quit their own ports, and when, if they could quit their port, they would of course prefer the ports of Sweden, Sicily, and other countries free from the vexations which we hold out.

"There is to be another petition from Liverpool to-day, but I understand that it is open to the yesterday's objections, which however gave great and visible embarrassment to the Treasury bench.

"The Prince of Wales, whom I met this morning in the streets, told me that Lord Melville is sent for; and Sir Walter Farquhar, who has just called here, tells me that Lord Melville is certainly coming, but that he leaves Lady Melville at Dunira and professes not to intend to stay."

## THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

[1808, March 15.] Cleveland Square.—"I enclose to you Garlike's correspondence with Canning, which you will return to me when you have read it. It appears that as many as 12 or 13 despatches from Garlike (of a later date than any now produced by Canning) had been received by Lord Grey before he quitted office. I should therefore propose that as soon as Canning has produced and printed his garbled selection, Lord Grey should complain in the House of Lords of the mutilating his correspondence, and should move for the substance and extracts of it down to the period of his quitting office. This debate will afford him the means of speaking likewise from Garlike's authority of the injury which he complains of, if (upon consideration), it is thought advisable to add Garlike's complaint to the case."

*Enclosing 7 letters.*

## (1) BENJAMIN GARLIKE to GEORGE CANNING.

1808, February 28. Pall Mall.—"The more I compare the copies and extracts of the despatches from Copenhagen which it is now intended to make public, with those transmitted to Mr. Fox, Lord Grey, and yourself, particularly from October, 1806, to July, 1807, the more have I reason to be alarmed at the extraordinary light in which I shall not fail to appear after that limited publication; not as with respect to any opinion of mine on the inefficiency of the system pursued by the Danish Government; or on the impracticability under it of affording timely assistance to Denmark

in a sudden and pressing emergency, on the risks of which improvident system every despatch I could desire to see published furnishes fresh and ample illustration; but with respect to the assurances and explanations given to me by His Danish Majesty's confidential servants, and reported by me to those of the King.

"On this account, and with the same respectful motives towards you which, on the reading of some of those papers in the House of Commons, first induced me to express how far I thought myself aggrieved, I now take the liberty of renewing the representations I had the honour of making to you yesterday to the same effect; and of urging my most earnest hope, that it may yet be thought expedient to lay the whole of the despatches, between the above mentioned periods, before the House of Commons.

"I deprecate the publicity given to Ministerial papers. It has already had the effect of checking the communications and confidence of foreign Cabinets to His Majesty's Ministers on the Continent; and that at a moment when the usual legitimate sources of information have been nearly altogether withdrawn. It has been amongst the foremost of the causes alleged by the Court of Copenhagen itself, for refusing the eventual concert it was so desirable to establish; and in the present instance will tend to make the personal character of His Majesty's foreign Ministers matter of circumspection and distrust. But I have reason to deprecate still more the object of your motion in the House of Commons on Friday night, because the production of the papers so limited, yet so essentially connected with papers which have not been produced, will as to me, who have thought a fair interpretation of the sentiments of the persons in the Government to which I was sent, improvident and dangerous as their system was, to be a proper part of my duty; and who have claimed as the King's Minister the consideration due to that honourable line of conduct, will, as to me, have the effect of placing me in a dishonourable predicament from which it must be my first endeavour to be extricated. I entertain no unhandsome surmises; I am sure it will be repugnant to your feelings to see me in that predicament. I believe in your wishes to relieve me from it; but this is the predicament to which I have gradually, though unintentionally, been brought; and I do indulge the hope that this application from me, circumstanced as I have been during the last twenty years, and now am, will itself be judged a sufficient reason for granting my request.

"The *Morning Chronicle* having explained your motion to be for the period of November and December, 1806, and of January, 1807, I took with me to Downing Street the numbers of those months only; and extension of dates will of course increase the numbers." *Copy.*

## (2) GEORGE CANNING to BENJAMIN GARLIKE.

1808, February 29. Foreign Office.—“I am extremely sorry that you should feel yourself under any difficulty in consequence of the publication to which I have been most reluctantly driven, of those despatches of your’s to which I referred on the night of the debate upon Copenhagen. When that reference was first made by me, it did not enter into my contemplation that there could be anything in it in the smallest degree painful or disadvantageous to you; nor do I now find in any thing that you have said or written to me upon the subject, that you complain of any misrepresentation; as assuredly there was none to complain of. But though you do not make this complaint, others have made it so loudly on your behalf, that I should do both you and myself injustice if I did not meet it directly in the only way in which it is to be met.

“This cannot be unexpected to you, for, when I had the honour of seeing you in Bruton Street more than a fortnight ago, I told you that if the assertions of misrepresentation were repeated, and repeated on your behalf, I should be compelled to justify myself by producing the papers which I had quoted. That they have been so repeated, I need not inform you.

“About a week ago I sent you a more distinct intimation that I was afraid the necessity of resorting to publication would become inevitable; but that I would, of course, communicate to you whatever I proposed to publish; and would omit any thing that you might wish to be omitted from any personal feeling or convenience of your own. If you felt at that time the objection to any such publication as strongly as you now state it, I have to lament that you did not, in the interval between [then, and the] notice in the House of Commons on Tuesday, take an opportunity of making that representation to me, which you have now made when it is too late to attend to it.

“With respect to augmenting the mass of papers, by adding all the rest of your correspondence, though I perfectly agree with you that such a disclosure would, as you stated in your letter to me of yesterday, furnish fresh and ample illustration of the improvidence and inefficiency of the system pursued by the Court of Denmark, and of the impracticability, under it, of affording timely aid to Denmark, when any sudden and pressing emergency should arise; and that it would (as I understand you stated to Mr. Bagot to-day) make out the case of the British Government still more strongly; yet after that admission you must allow me to remind you that the course of the Government has been already decided; that the Government desires no stronger case than it has; that this publication is purely to meet a personal calumny; and to set right, not any misrepresentation of your’s (for you impute none), but the mistaken idea that you had been misrepresented.

“The only two points to which I spoke from your authority were (1st) the want of any settled system of defence for Holstein; and (2nd) the danger to be apprehended from the state of some of the departments of government at Copenhagen. To these two points the despatches comprised within the order are full and perfect. Nor have I been able to find anything in your preceding or subsequent correspondence that bears directly upon them; certainly nothing that in any degree contradicts or weakens the impressions those despatches so clearly convey. At the same time you cannot but be aware that they are sufficiently full of the reports of assurances from the Danish Minister, and of expressions of your own reliance upon these assurances, to do away all fear of your not having appeared both to have received such assurances, and to have faithfully transmitted them home.

“I ought perhaps to add that your No. 12 of last year, which you pointed out to me on Saturday as containing an answer to Lord Howick’s No. 1, is to make part of the collection.” *Copy.*

(3) BENJAMIN GARLIKE to GEORGE CANNING.

1808, March 1st. Pall Mall.—“I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday’s date, and it is with the sincerest concern I have still to apprehend, after a long period of public service in which I have watched the public disasters with an anxiety inferior to that of no one, and in stations where personal character has come so much to my assistance, that I shall now be committed in a manner from which, if there is no relief, I must appear unworthy of the high posts with which I have been honoured. For this apprehension goes to the difference between the impression which will be given by the publication of the despatches in question, and that impression which would follow, not the constructive reading, but the positive information they contain as far as concerns the disposition of the court of Copenhagen during my residence there.

“I made no earlier remonstrance on the subject, for after I heard from Mr. Bagot on the 16th ultimo (it was in answer to a pointed question Mr. Bagot informed me of your resolution to publish *the whole* of the correspondence), I did not pursue that answer into the reserve in which I now understand it was held. I learnt on the 17th that it was supposed something had ‘occurred to alter your intention or induce you to postpone the measure’; and, in the meantime, if any ground of complaint had suggested itself to me, I should naturally have followed the handsome course of waiting till I could enter on the business with you at the interview in expectation.

“I should now trust that the inclination to rely on the effect of that interview rather than begin a remonstrance before further explanation had been given, would not be considered as a reason for with-holding your good offices.

I should trust that the circumstances in which I have described myself, would alone fully support a motion for the production of further papers ; and on grounds still more easy than those to which you reverted on Friday night. Your letter does not however afford much encouragement for this notion ; for I see with pain your reluctance to produce even those papers, which the notice already given enables you to bring forward ; or those of the month of January which, till I was in Downing Street on Saturday, I had believed to be included in that notice.

“ I am not much disposed to enter on some points of inferior moment which arose in the intercourse of yesterday ; but it is not unnecessary that they should be adverted to.

“ In my letter of Saturday I had it particularly in view to clear the purpose of that application from the more general question with which it is connected. If I had meant to give an opinion on the impracticability of timely succour to Denmark, I should have distinguished between Holstein always open to attack, and Zealand, where the attack must have been delayed by the preparations.

“ In my conversation with Mr. Bagot, and on his adverting to the question of an extensive selection of papers, I stated the propriety of my request to that effect, by showing that the reports I had made of the good disposition of the Court of Copenhagen do not belong to any particular discussion respecting those dispositions, but had been attached to the incidental points of business which had occurred ; and that while all those points showed the irritability of the Danish Ministers on neutral questions, they also showed the uniformity of their declarations to resist aggression. But I did not mean the making out of a stronger case for Government. When the turns and permission of conversation have inadvertently drawn from me an opinion of this nature, that opinion has always been that an advantage would be found in a fuller admission than I have yet heard of the reality of those sentiments of the Danish Government (the Danish Government certainly believe in their reality) which I have so often reported ; although those sentiments were not of sufficient weight to prevail against measures adopted for the defence of the interests of Great Britain.

“ There is one further point to which I am anxious to solicit your attention. I know nothing, till I see them printed, of the complaints to which you allude as having been made on my behalf. I am acquainted with only one of the persons who made them, and the conversation to which he alluded, which was most accidental, was spent on my part in insisting against the intention I discovered of using my name in the House of Commons ; or of urging any opinion of mine. I advert to this point not so much with regard to what has been said, as to what may yet be said on the subject. I have no disposition to go about complaining. I think the necessity



of making this representation to you one of the greatest misfortunes that could have happened to me. It is from you that I should hope for redress, and in urging my wishes to that effect, I should be sorry if I had either gone beyond the necessity of the case, or overlooked what is due to His Majesty's Government." *Copy.*

(4) BENJAMIN GARLIKE to GEORGE CANNING.

1808, March 2. Pall Mall.—“I have not received any answer to the letter I had the honour of addressing to you yesterday. But I understood from you in our short conversation of yesterday that it was not your intention to produce any more papers, except Nos. 12 and 13 as answers to Lord Howick's No. 1 of last year. The object of this letter is not to make any new request for that purpose; for I am not aware that I can add anything to the strength of the considerations personal to myself which I still think should induce you to consent to the publication to the extent which I have already explained. But I therefore conceive it to be the more necessary, both from regard to those considerations, and to the position in which I am left, that no misunderstanding should belong to the case as it now remains.

“On comparing the tendency of all these papers which it is now your intention to lay on the table of the House of Commons, with those which are not printing, I am still of opinion that I shall appear in the dishonourable light of which I have complained. I repeat this opinion with the less reluctance, because it occurs to me, on again looking at your letter of the 29th ultimo, that the readiness with which I have been most willing to suppose you would enter into my feelings on the occasion may have taken from that full and plain expression of them which it was certainly my intention to convey, and which I can in no case renounce.

“It was from yourself I learnt, when I had the honour of seeing you at your own house, what passages had been omitted in the quotation made in the House of Commons. I understand that those passages, which are most important in my view of them, will be restored to the publication now to be made. I really should not come back to this circumstance, but for your remark that I have myself made no complaint of misrepresentation. When those passages are restored, my complaint will remain what it has always been, namely; that that partial production of papers, for whatever purpose they were produced, has given to my representations from Copenhagen a character which, as to the assurances of the Danish Government respecting the possible projects of France in Denmark against Great Britain, does not belong to those representations.

“It is painful to me to trouble you with this letter; but I owe it so much to myself that no misconception should attach to the actual state of this unfortunate business, that I

cannot persuade myself I ought not to lay it before you.”  
*Copy.*

(5) GEORGE CANNING to BENJAMIN GARLIKE.

1808, March 3. Foreign Office.—“I have received with no little surprise your letter of yesterday. Having had the pleasure of seeing and conversing with you (in the presence of Mr. Bagot) since the receipt of your letter of Tuesday, and having complied with your request by adding to the papers your *second* answer to Lord Howick’s despatch of January, it really did not occur to me that you could, by any possibility, expect a written acknowledgment of the same letter.

“I have nothing to add to what I have already repeatedly stated to you; nor can I alter the course upon which I have been obliged to determine in laying your despatches before the House of Commons, unless I should learn from you that you are prepared to give to the two following questions answers very different from any that you have yet given.

1st. “Do you mean now to retract what is stated in those despatches respecting the danger which would, in your apprehension, arise on any sudden emergency from the want of timely preparation on the part of Denmark, and from the dispositions of certain parts of the Danish Government at Copenhagen.

Or, 2ndly, “Do you mean to state that the causes of that danger were subsequently altogether removed; and that there are despatches of yours which describe their removal.

“These are the points to which I have spoken from your authority, and to which that authority appears to me to be clear, decisive, and uncontradicted.” *Copy.*

(6) BENJAMIN GARLIKE to GEORGE CANNING.

1808, March 4. Pall Mall.—“I have had the honour to receive your letter of yesterday’s date. It was only a few moments before I learnt in Mr. Bagot’s room your desire to speak with me, that Mr. Bagot informed me he had sent to Bruton Street the letter I took with me to the Foreign Office. I was perhaps wrong when I afterwards questioned your having received it before you left your house. The principal reason I had for again taking the liberty of writing to you was lest, as I did not then insist on what I had just stated on paper, it might appear that I had acquiesced in the production of No. 13, as affording the degree of satisfaction I had felt it necessary to solicit; a precaution which appeared rather more advisable after some other misconceptions to which I had possibly contributed, I mean those which you have already given me the opportunity of enabling you to correct.

“I shall answer both your questions in the course of this letter, but I beg leave to offer some previous observations.

“I am not prepared to say that the notions transmitted by a Foreign Minister for the mature reflexion of His Court, always make up a precise statement of so much undoubted information to the date of the current despatch. I presume that no Minister writing with the common anxieties of his station can settle in this manner, and from one conveyance to the next, the amount of all that presses on his apprehension from the scene before him. I say this generally and without insisting on it's force. It seems more obvious and more important to add that there are no points of information, collected from despatches of seven or eight months antecedent date, which can claim to be considered without reference to other very leading statements.

“Subject to these remarks, I answer your first question by saying that I do not mean to retract anything that is advanced in the despatches which it is your intention to lay before the House of Commons. The whole case, I apprehend, will stand thus. I have dealt on the danger to which Denmark would be exposed ‘in the case of the French being already in Holstein,’ and if Denmark, unconnected with other powers, neglected the means of resisting further attack; and I supported the idea of danger by the notorious bias of persons in inferior departments of the Government (not the Government itself) who, if France were allowed to take possession of Holstein, might perplex the leading members, and favour an accommodation with France to the prejudice of Great Britain.

“But on the other hand I have also reported the assurances of the Danish Government to maintain their neutrality, to accept no dishonourable proposition, and to repel aggression from whatever quarter it came. These were not accidental assurances; they were brought to St. Petersburg, and formally made known to me by the Danish Minister there, previous to my setting out from thence for Copenhagen. They were communicated to me at the same time by Prince Czartoryski, as would appear by reference to the despatches I wrote from St. Petersburg. They were repeated on my arrival at Copenhagen; they were made applicable to the supposition of forcible measures from Prussia or France to shut the Holstein ports, and as such reported to Mr. Fox April 17, 1806. They were repeated in the most solemn manner by the Duke of Augustenburgh, in my No. 27, May, 1806. They are contained in a written assurance from Count Bernstorff to me, No. 28, 7th May; and on my alluding in that same despatch to a former expression of Count Bernstorff of the weak means of Denmark to resist those powers in Holstein, I was informed that I had not done justice to his remark; that it was not ‘*que le Dannemarc pourrait être engagé à céder à une force supérieure; mais que rien ne l’y engagerait; rien que la conquête entière du Dannemarc,*’ No. 28, 7 May, 1806.

“ Even if Holstein should yield, I gave it as an opinion that under no menae from France would Denmark narrow still further the free access of British ships to the ports of the islands.—No. 66, 25 October.

“ And it is proper to remark that, whatever doubts I cautiously expressed in my No. 92, respecting the abandonment of Holstein to France, they are accompanied with most *important and essential* explanations in No. 99, December 30, beginning with the words ‘ I have to remark that in the despatch ’ and ending with the words ‘ that such a supposition will not be admitted.’ Yet unfortunately that explanation so belonging to my own doubts, is not to be produced ; although within the reach of the motion made in the House of Commons, being in December. It is true that this despatch is written in reference to a communication from the Swedish Minister ; but it could commit no one though published *in extenso*, His Swedish Majesty having directed that communication to be made to me.

“ Similar assurances to resist the proposals of France to shut the ports were transmitted in No. 9, January 24 ; and in No. 15 of the same month Count Bernstorff adds, ‘ *Quant à nos intentions vous les possediez entièrement. Je dois presque dire que nous n’avions pas de secrets pour vous. Si vous pouviez voir les lettres entre le Prince Royal et moi, et entre mon frère et moi, vous n’auriez guères plus appris que par la confiance que je vous ai montrée.* And this in the heat of an unpleasant discussion on the Order of Council of January 7th.

“ I will not cite the same assurances of resistance, as given on the question so often brought forward of removing the station for the packets ; nor the pointed expression of them in despatches I had the honour of addressing to you, in No. 76, July 4th ; and No. 93, July 28. But I would here appeal to any mind like your’s, whether, on comparing the despatches on which you rely so much, respecting certain dispositions in Denmark, and the danger of retarded, unconnected preparation (I mean unconnected with any other power) with the assurances I have quoted, as given *by the Danish Government* in the most solemn manner in every temper of discussion, and on every important transaction, whether, on judging of the impression already made by the former communication to the public, and merely bearing in mind the declarations of Denmark to accept no terms from France contrary to the engagements of Great Britain and Denmark, whether, after these comparisons, I have not every reason to complain of the predicament in which I stand, or can be too earnest in my applications to you to relieve me from it.

“ I beg leave to repeat that I do not offer this comparison in support of any opinion of mine, in the present state of things. I refer to opinions, and hopes, and fears, and positive declarations of my own, and of the Danish ministers, not as of equal value in parts, but as helps to his Majesty’s Government

who are alone competent to the decision. I wish only to appear a faithful reporter. If my authority is resorted to, I cannot overlook the essential declarations I have received in the manner I have described, from the Danish ministers themselves.

“I would take the liberty of asking you this; whether for the same reasons which determined you against a charge of misrepresentation to produce the papers in question to the public, you can be surprised at my importunity to prevent the charge which must be incurred of having deceived the Danish Government in the expectation given to them that I had faithfully stated their representations, given through a long period of business, and in circumstances so trying, as to leave no doubt as to the nature of those representations?”

“With regard to your second question I have certainly to state that the positive assurance of Denmark to resist the aggression of France in Holstein, that is of an attack meant to bear against Holstein, and to arm against the further progress of France from that province, which assurances were given after the date of the despatches of November and December, do bear as a resolution of that Government against the impression conveyed by the extracts and copies of the correspondence of those months as referred to in your communication to the House of Commons. But I have so fully adverted to every chance connected with the state of the war down to the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, that I think I should injure the general sense of my despatches by a particular reference to any. I retract nothing. I conceive the parts to derive their just value from the whole, and I am considering nothing but as to the fact of my appearing to act as fairly by the Danish Government as they conceived I was doing during my residence in the country.

“I sincerely apologise for the length of this letter; if there should be anything in it which the number and fatigue of your avocations may have kept from your attention, I shall be most happy to know it. I had no thought of engaging in this discussion on my arrival in England; am now impelled by those personal considerations only which I once more take the liberty of recommending to the desire you have already expressed to meet my wishes.” *Copy.*

(7) BENJAMIN GARLIKE to GEORGE CANNING.

1808, March 9. Pall Mall.—“I wish to express my thanks to you in as far as the proposal made to me this evening through Mr. Bagot was conceived for the purpose of diminishing my apprehensions on the subject of the papers to be laid before the House of Commons. I understand the proposal to be that you should communicate those papers in manuscript, and not consent to the printing of them, unless a motion to that effect were persevered in by those who might differ with you in opinion as to the expediency of that particular point.

“Mr. Bagot will have informed you of my difficulty in expressing any opinion on the occasion. My ignorance of Parliamentary usages would naturally prescribe to me that reserve. I entertain besides increasing doubts as to the possibility, the nature of a debate considered, of giving effect to your intentions; and, as I informed Mr. Bagot, the impression I wish to counteract has unfortunately been already given by the first statement read from certain despatches in the House of Commons. It is in support of that statement the present selection of papers has been made, and my complaint has consequently been equally directed to that selection.

“I should undoubtedly be desirous to prevent the production of papers so essentially connected with the papers withheld. But with my distrust as to the possibility of confining the communication to the House of Commons; and still more so as to that of qualifying the effect produced by the first verbal quotations in any manner short of a fuller reference to the Danish correspondence; I have also to fear that by lending myself to the proposal I should contribute to give to the House of Commons itself the same undue impression of which I complain. Would it not be on my part, if any act of mine were possible in the case, the tendering to the House of Commons a statement of opinions against which I have not ceased to protest? My fears increase as I write. Would not the secrecy enjoined in the communication favour and strengthen that very supposition of fullness and sufficiency in the present selection of papers which, in truth and honour, I cannot acknowledge as belonging to them.

“You will judge of the weight these observations acquire from the information I received this morning from Mr. Bagot, that the despatches Nos. 12 and 13 of January, 1807, which are answers to Lord Howick’s No. 1, are withdrawn from the selection to be laid before the House of Commons, on the ground of their referring to the state of the Danish navy as reported by me in the course of the last year. I have felt as much surprise as sorrow at this information. I have not indeed been able to reconcile it either with the expectation you gave me in your letters of February 29, and of March 3, that those numbers would be produced; or with the explanation you gave me in Downing Street as to the facility of producing them; or with the alleged ground of withholding them; as in truth any such objection must equally bear against the production of any of the papers in question (for I understand that a motion for the production of all these papers was also negatived); or with the tendency of the objection itself as to the whole of Nos. 12 and 13, those despatches containing (besides the explanations of the state of the Danish navy) the assurances of the Danish Government to maintain their neutrality; and their protestations of having entered into no engagements with France.’” *Copy.*

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1808, February–March.] Palace Yard.—“You will hear that Lord St. John puts off his motion, and I am sorry for it, though the reason is good enough; but we shall have at least an hour’s discussion of the most useful kind upon the American treaty bill. I am very solicitous, if it be possible that you should come to the House at half-past four, as I wish before I rise on the American treaty bill to explain some particulars to you.

“I do not say it lightly, but on the fullest consideration, when I add that we can to-day give a new shape to the whole silly and mischievous system of the Orders in Council, ‘such as must lead to their entire abandonment, with great disgrace to the authors, and, I am sorry to add, with great calamity to the country.’”

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1808, February–March. Palace Yard.]—“I return this moment from the House; your absence was a great grievance to me, more especially as your note did not arrive. It was necessary to have the second reading of the American treaty bill; I stated on it (what the ministers certainly were not aware of) that the 7th section as to tobacco, the 7th as to rice, the 9th as to exportation to the United States on the same terms as to our own colonies and islands, are all utterly at war with the clauses of Mr. Perceval’s *amended* Bill, which Mr. Eden will forward to you by this post. The objection is certainly accurate; Lord Bathurst only attempted to answer it by saying that the American treaty Bill may be amended or altered. In short they gave no answer, and the matter remains for the reflection of the House of Commons.

“The Brazil bill on Thursday. The motions of Lord Carlisle continue for Thursday, and Lord St. John is then to fix another day.

“I have not yet had time to read your letter and enclosures.”

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1808, March 24. Palace Yard.]—“What I stated in the House on Tuesday relative to the counteraction between the bill continuing your treaty and the bill now before the House of Commons was fully admitted last night in the debate. The third reading of the treaty bill is to-day, and certainly must not pass without a strong animadversion. I will readily restate my objections, and if enforced with the strength that you can give to them the dilemma will be complete.

“I shall go to the House about half-past four, but if you should come about that time perhaps you would call on me in your way.

“What passed in the House last night showed extreme embarrassment.”

## CHARLES BUTLER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, March 30. Lincoln's Inn.—“The attention I before experienced from your Lordship, when I troubled you on the Roman Catholic affairs, induces me to trouble your Lordship further on them. There is a general wish among the Roman Catholics to petition for the removal of their remaining disabilities: and it seems to be the wish of the Irish Catholics that they should petition. A meeting of Sir John Throckmorton and a very few of the leading men amongst them will take place on Sunday.

“Any recommendation from your Lordship will, I am sure, have the utmost weight with those gentlemen, and may be safely trusted to them. The drawing up the petition will probably be committed to me, and I should esteem it a great favour if your Lordship will permit me to wait upon you to receive your sentiments upon the measure.

“I should not take this liberty, if I were not perfectly satisfied of the importance of something's being done to quiet the minds of the Catholics in Ireland and England.

“The Attorney and Solicitor General have given their opinion that Roman Catholics are equally liable with other subjects to serve in the militia. Of this I never doubted, and I am much concerned that the question is agitated.”

## LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1808, April 2. Palace Yard.—“At the meeting to-day of the commissioners for Westminster improvements we received answers from all the Exchequer offices except yours; which is in some degree requisite to the completion of a report on our past and future proceedings.

“I collected from the Speaker that the adjournment is likely to be from Wednesday, the 13th April, to Monday, the 25th. Could we not therefore close our campaign between the 2nd and the 9th May? I am anxious to see whether after Mr. Brougham's speech next Wednesday, Lord Hawkesbury will propose to call evidence in support of the Orders in Council. Mr. Perceval has taken that course in the House of Commons, and (as I conceive) unadvisedly; for he will not be able to prove much, and whatever remains disproved will stand established and strengthened.

“Our measure of an address will be highly material in all points of view, and it is also very desirable to settle as to who shall move a similar address in the House of Commons, one or two days subsequent to ours. The intemperate and offensive address of the Common Council is an odd incident. Nothing can be more hostile to Government; and yet it was voted at the same assembly which carried the address last Wednesday to the King.

“The Mediterranean news seems to-day to be discredited; if it should not be confirmed, I expect soon to learn the loss of Sicily.



“About a fortnight ago, when Mr. Whitbread was speaking of collateral mischiefs resulting from the Danish expedition, Mr. Eden handed a note to him to say that our exports to the Danish dominions had been during three or four years above 4 millions per year. Mr. Rose most warmly and positively asserted in answer that this was an extravagant misstatement, and that the amount was not a *tenth part* of the sum supposed. On the following day the account was called for, and is now delivered. It appears therein that the annual average of the exports to the Danish dominions in Europe was very nearly five millions !”

JOHN POWER, D.D., Roman Catholic Bishop of Waterford,  
to [SIR JOHN NEWPORT].

1808, April 18. Waterford.—“Though I were not honoured with your acquaintance, permit me to say friendship, still perhaps I should make no apology for submitting the following observation to the honest and able representative of my native city and his own, to the tried friend of his country, whose time, health, and talents are all devoted to its prosperity and happiness.

“In all appearance, matters regarding the Catholics of Ireland, and among the rest the question on the grant to Maynooth will soon come before the Imperial Parliament. Of your zeal in their just cause that body has the fullest conviction; and you are well acquainted with the nature of our ecclesiastical ministry and its circumstances so far as may be necessary for the fair discussion of the question shortly to be brought forward. But I beg leave to observe that, as yet, it remains for some friend of ours in the House to put in its full light the injustice of charging our people with ignorance, and our priesthood with wilful and studious neglect of instructing them, whilst, on one hand, the common people of Ireland have been, and are still for the most part, deprived of the opportunity of learning even to read; and on the other, the ministers of our Church are so few in proportion to the multitudes committed to their care. On reading some of the publications daily issuing from the press, whenever the state of Ireland is the main or incidental subject, I am equally astonished and concerned to find in several of them, great illiberality, much falsehood, and gross ignorance of Irish affairs. Some of them, under the appearance of friendship, speak of us as a race of sturdy beggars, who indeed don't deserve what we ask, but still should be indulged, lest we may conspire and take off all by force. Others affect to lament our want of knowledge, and to ascribe all the misfortunes of our unfortunate country to a wicked priesthood, who from principle, keep the people blind-folded to lead them where they will. These men, no doubt, know the homely saying, that ‘there is many a way of killing a dog beside hanging him.’ Perhaps they are afraid lest the Legislature should

think of remedying the evils complained of by an increase of Catholic priests, and therefore they endeavour to show them as unworthy of being trusted with the people's instruction, and that a greater number of such would only make bad worse. This may take in England, where it seems the worst things of the kind take amazingly ; but you know how to appreciate it, and, and what is more to our purpose, you know how to refute it. It is a fact (to prove the injustice of the allegation against us) that in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, there is scarcely a parish, I mean a district under one pastor, where there are not from three to five thousand souls, Catholics, having but two clergymen to officiate for them. The town of Clonmel, with near ten thousand Catholics, has but two clergymen, with the occasional assistance of two regulars or friars, who reside there, to go through the incredible labour and hardship of administering a very ritual religion to such a multitude.

“Carriek and Dungarvan are nearly in the same predicament, and there is actually near Dungarvan a parish with at least four thousand souls where we have only one clergyman. It will be asked why these parishes are not better served ? because we have not clergymen for them. Undoubtedly those poor people cannot be well instructed, but must the pastor be charged with indolence or any thing worse, because he cannot miraculously feed the four thousand ? or they be charged with ignorance when they have not the means or opportunity of instruction ? Let justice be done, and fair play given to the Irish people and to their priests ; let there be schools for the poor on a fair plan, and the necessary aid and encouragement given to the candidates for Catholic priesthood, so as to secure a number sufficient for the exigency of the country.

“The majority of our priests are the sons of honest farmers ; and though generally of the better sort of farmers (whose walk in life is perhaps of all others least exposed to the growing depravity of modern times) they very seldom can afford a son thirty or forty pounds *per annum* at a good school, and afterwards continue it for a number of years at the higher studies of philosophy and theology. The consequence is, that when aid is not to be had from foreign universities as heretofore, or from the legislature at home, their education will be in the first instance stunted, and inadequate to the people's useful instruction ; and, in the second, their numbers will be insufficient for the purpose ; a people, however, who will not become Protestant for the sake of instruction, and who only can be made good men and good subjects, by being made good Catholics. Indeed, we are much wronged when we are charged with keeping the people in the dark for bad and interested purposes. We see no benefit to be derived from it, but a deal of mischief. Whatever others make think of our religion, we have of it ourselves so good an opinion that we never fear the light to shine upon it. We apprehend

nothing deformed in it. We are not ashamed or afraid to avow its principles (would to God, we were so confident of our practice), and as we think it founded on unerring truth, so we are easy as to its duration, and satisfied at least that it does not want, but scorns, the support of error, falsehood, or imposture. From anything I have said, it is not to be inferred that I admit the Irish Catholics to be absolutely ignorant, or even comparatively so; for I am warranted by the Protestant bishop of London to believe that he has in his district Protestants in a state of ignorance little short of Pagan; an imputation that I defy to attach to any part of Catholic Ireland that I know. But I say, if the Legislature acts wisely and fairly towards the Irish people, clergy and laity, the population of this country will become as good Christians and as good subjects as Europe can boast. They will become a tower of strength to the empire; jealousy, fear, and discord will cease to divide us; and surrounding nations will behold an enviable spectacle in renovated Ireland."

THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, May 2. London.—“Your brother mentioned to me that you was likely to be in town to-morrow. I have thought it however right to submit to you what follows, as reasons for delaying the Catholic question, in hopes that you will get the letter before leaving Dropmore, that you may turn it in your mind in your way up.

“I suppose Lord Grey has stated to you the impossibility of his leaving Howick at the present moment; indeed Lady Grey's being unwell, and the childrens' governess having unexpectedly left them, are circumstances that make it quite impossible to press his coming up, till after she has lain in. As soon as that has happened, I know he will come up for a week. He has himself such a desire to take part on that occasion that, if it was not to be attended with material inconvenience, I should on that account wish a delay of ten days or a fortnight, which, from what his mother tells me, would give us almost a certainty of his attendance. But this is not the principal ground on which I am disposed to urge it. The Duke of Bedford informs me that there is a disposition among the Roman Catholics of Ireland to think that Grey is lukewarm in their cause, and that he is much afraid his absence could not be explained in such a manner as to prevent their being confirmed in the opinion that has been spread abroad.

“Under these circumstances, I think, if the delay is not very objectionable indeed, it becomes desirable to a degree, not only in justice to Lord Grey, but for the sake of the cause; as I can conceive nothing more disagreeable than its being supposed that there is the smallest shade of difference betwixt him and you upon this question.

“Will you have the goodness to let me know, whenever you come to town, what your intentions are on the subject. The Duke of Bedford, Lord Ponsonby, and several others with whom I have talked, seem all to be equally anxious for the question’s being put off.

“I cannot conclude this without saying that it is not my fault that you have not had the model of the machine which I mentioned. I tried to make it myself; but finding that I could not succeed to my wish, I wrote to Scotland to make it from the original, and they have been searching for it (as they write to me) in vain. When I see you however, I think with the aid of what I formed on my first attempt, I can explain it to you in such a way, that you will be able to give directions that will make your carpenter in the country understand it.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1808, May 3. Palace Yard.]—“In the hope of promoting your private wish and convenience I have proposed to the Chancellor to put off the debate on the Scotch Judicature to Wednesday se’nnight. He says that there is some possible difficulty on account of some gentlemen of the Scotch bar who are waiting here for the result; but that he will decide to-night, and inform me to-morrow, that you may know by to-morrow night’s post. I think that it will stand for Wednesday sénnight, and though I go with my family to settle at Eden Farm on Monday next, it will not be very inconvenient to me to meet you in this House on the Wednesday, as Lady Auckland and I mean to go to the drawing-room on the following day ‘to take leave.’

“I understand from Lord Lauderdale that a proposition will be made to you to put off your Catholic question *for a fortnight*, that Lord Grey may be present, and also, I believe, that you may be more in concert as to time with the House of Commons.

“I quite agree with you, from a sense of self-conviction as well as of self-convenience, that no good is to be done by a further attendance in this session. But it appears to me essential both in consistency and decorum, and indeed also from a due regard to your numerous friends and followers, to consider well the manner of closing our campaign; and surely it ought not to be closed by an abrupt and unexplained retreat. Besides, from a due regard to the merchants and manufacturers who came so handsomely forward on the subject of the Orders in Council, we ought to have a solemn and efficient debate. We are on excellent grounds in that business, and *I know* that the Ministers are embarrassed by it. They would have got rid of it if America had gone to war, at present they are in a dilemma; they must either retract an absurd measure in the maintenance of which they are committed; or they must risk its operation with increasing

distresses to the trade, manufacturers, and revenue, to a degree which will at last awaken the whole empire from a stupid apathy.

"I conceive that it would be desirable also, if you postpone the Catholic question for Lord Grey's return, to postpone your motion of address for the same assigned reason, to a day or two after that question; and surely 'it would be most desirable on your moving for the address to secure a special and strong attendance of all our friends for that day.' I urge all this in so long a paragraph, because I understand that among many of our friends there is (particularly among the Commons) a current language of surprise and dissatisfaction that we 'are letting down' the whole of an opposition which was on solid grounds and well supported. Tierney yesterday told Mr. Eden that he wished to move a committee of trade, and to make other motions; but that those who ought to lead seemed so lukewarm that he felt discouraged. I hope that you will turn all this in your mind, and let me know what you think of it.

"If the Chancellor would take the Scotch debate on the 11th, Lord Sidmouth's question might be on the 12th; and the Catholic question and the Orders in Council address might be put over to the 25th and 27th, or to the 30th of May and 1st June; before that time we are likely to have material intelligence from the United States.

"If you make this postponement relative to the Orders in Council, I think that we should do it with some incidental conversation upon it in the House, previous to the Scotch debate.

"At last we have an opening of spring after six months of unbroken winter from the 1st November to the 1st May.

"I do not like the Bill for the better residence of curates as to that part of it which authorises the bishops to give, in all cases, one-fifth of the income of livings to the curates. It is an interference as to freehold property in possession beyond what has ever been attempted, and of dangerous innovation and example."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1808, May 4-7. Palace Yard.]—"Thinking it *possible* that you may have been disposed to remain at Dropmore till Monday or Tuesday next, I write three or four lines within the sound of the last post bell.

"At the House to-day it was settled to proceed with the Roxburgh cause *de die in diem*, and I presume that it may occupy about six days more. Lord Sidmouth gave notice that on Tuesday he will move relative to the Danish ships, with a view to two points; (1) That ships which had been wrongfully brought in, and which had been adjudged to be restored, ought now to be restored; (2) That the proceeds

of the other ships detained and condemned ought to be set apart. Lord Sidmouth desired me to mention this to you.

“The Chancellor did not give a notice, but he means to bring forward the debate on the Scotch judicature upon Thursday next. Lord Melville is gone back to Dunira.

“As to other matters I postpone them till your return. I was asked by many on what day you were likely to make the motion about the Orders in Council; I presume not till after the 23th, and consequently not till Monday or Tuesday fortnight.

“I mean to settle on the 9th or 10th, and with a pious resolution not to revisit Westminster in the year 1808 after the debate on the Orders in Council.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, May 18. Eden Farm.—“It will be some convenience to me to be apprized of your final arrangements for the two proposed debates. I presume that the Irish question will take place on the 27th or 30th instant; and that the address on the Orders in Council will stand over to the 3rd or 7th June. I shall be sorry to be forced to town on any of those days; but I apprehend that we cannot, with due regard to our own consistency, suffer the session to close, without exhibiting so strong a case as the merchants have established. More especially as I have reason (from the best authority) to believe, that the hope of any early accommodation with the United States, which was for a moment entertained, has quite disappeared.

“Lord Sidmouth did me the honour to communicate to me the draft of his Danish Resolutions, and also apprise me by letter of the days fixed. But I declined attending, and I understand that you did the same. He will not be pleased.

“We are enjoying our farm, shrubberies, fruit garden, and flower garden more (if possible) than ever; and we wish that we had better hopes of being able to induce Lady Grenville and you to look at our small sceneries, before you go to the gigantic domains of Boconnoc.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1808, May 23. Eden Farm.—“I do not know that it will materially help your decision as to the propriety of bringing forward a motion on Monday next on the subject of the Orders in Council, but I transcribe the following paragraph from a note received two days ago from the American Minister.”

*Private.*—“I am aware that your lordship’s motive for not calling before you left town was equally delicate and friendly. I should have been glad however to show my respect and confidence in every way in my power. In truth the arrival of the *Osaga* has not enabled me to do anything in the way of communication; but a short time will I hope render

American affairs more explicit and intelligible ; and I join sincerely in your lordship's wishes that the result may be favourable to the peace and friendship of our two countries.'

"He adds that he means to go very soon to Worthing. All this is enigmatical enough ; but I infer from it, and from some words which Lord Hawkesbury dropped when I last saw him, that there is not any specific proposition on either part. Still I quite agree with you that, under the apparent circumstances of the two countries, we cannot debate the subject to advantage ; and yet, having had so many preliminary discussions with confessed advantage in argument and in truth, and having called to our bar so many respectable individuals who have established a case of great strength against the Orders in Council, I certainly feel that we ought to avoid every possible imputation of *deserting* so good a cause. If you can suggest any decorous and consistent mode of getting out of this dilemma, I shall personally be most glad to take my final leave of the session next Friday. The King's ministers are certainly desirous to avoid the proposed debate ; and I have reason to know that several of them are desirous to withdraw the Orders in Council, which have notoriously destroyed all foreign trade, and are creating a public distress that must soon express itself very unequivocally.

"Any line from you either by the Tuesday or Wednesday night's post from Beaconsfield, will find me here on the following mornings.

"Do not take the trouble to return the enclosed scrawl. I infer from it that the proposition for the relief of the West Indians will not be carried, and would be of no avail if it were carried. It is clear in every instance that Government has a loose and half-faced support ; but, on the other hand, the ranks of Opposition fight without system or concert, and consequently without effect."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1808, May 25. Palace Yard.—"It would not be difficult to call for further accounts relative to the utter interruption of our commerce with the United States and with the continent of Europe : the great (if not decisive) objection is that it would oblige us to return to town on Monday.

"Might not our object be attained with due decorum before the debate on Friday next by my taking notice that the accounts of the *5th April*, for which I heretofore moved, have not yet been given ; I could then move them again in a form to obviate the pretended cause of delay ; and I could throw out a few remarks which might lead you to postpone, for the present, the intended motion for an address, on the fair presumption that the Ministers are endeavouring by negotiation or otherwise to get rid of measures so obviously ruinous to trade and revenue.

“Still, if you think that the magnitude of the business, and a sense of the consistency, makes it material to have a special conversation on the whole question in the House, I would only give a notice on Friday for whatever day you like best, and would cheerfully swallow the bitter pill of another journey to London.

“If you should send your decision in half a line by to-morrow night’s post, directed to Palace Yard, I shall receive it on Friday morning.

“If you decide for Monday, I shall drive to the House after a two o’clock dinner, and drive down again on Tuesday early; and we may in that case have a debate of four or five hours.”

*Postscript.*—“Possibly, after all, you will be of opinion that you can within a short compass say every thing that may be necessary in postponing your motion for an address; and in that case that you could get rid of all trouble on Friday. I shall be quite contented, any way.”

Most Reverend DR. MILNER, Vicar Apostolic, to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, May 26. London.—“Dr. Milner who is regularly appointed to be the Agent of the Catholic prelates of Ireland, though he has not had time to consult his principals upon the momentous question of the Crown’s interference in the appointment of Catholic bishops, yet has every reason to believe that they will cheerfully consent to its exercising a *negative power* in this business. That is to say, the Catholic prelates, when they have made choice of a proper person to succeed to the vacant see, will send up the name to his Majesty’s Ministers, and, if it is objected to, will send up another and another in succession to a reasonable number till one of them is approved of. Should the Pope refuse (which is not likely ever to be the case) to confer the essential spiritual powers on the persons so named and approved of, they will consult together again, and present other names till one shall occur against which neither the Crown nor the Apostolic See have any objection. Such is the decided opinion of the above mentioned Episcopal Agent.”

*Endorsed by Lord Grenville.*

*Delivered to me by Dr. Milner, May 27, 1808.*

LORD HOLLAND to THE SAME.

1808 [May 29. Holland House.]—“I write lest the convivial talents of our noble chairman yesterday should have made you forget the protest, to remind you that those best acquainted with Ireland as well as all our most zealous friends are persuaded that the entering one may be attended with great advantage, and the *want* of one remarked by the jealous and suspicious among them.

“I have not heard from them the topics they most wish to be insisted upon, but a short and vague general reason



for the first, and a second in favour *of the time*, for the purpose of introducing our persuasion that it will ultimately be carried, seem to me to be most calculated to secure many signatures, and to produce the effect we, and even our opponents, must wish in Ireland."

*The Protest.\**

Dissentient.

1. "Because we are fully satisfied that the removal of unmerited and degrading exclusions, affecting a most numerous and valuable part of the community, and the communicating to the whole people of this united Kingdom all the privileges and duties of the British constitution, would be a measure of unquestionable justice and wisdom.
2. "We conceive that this determination would in itself afford the best security for our civil and religious constitution. But the proposal of considering this subject in a committee of the whole House afforded the opportunity of establishing by the authority and wisdom of Parliament, and with the cordial concurrence of all parties, such additional safeguards as must tranquilize the apprehensions of the most fearful, and allay the jealousies of the most suspicious.
3. "From the increased support and diminished resistance which this proposal has now experienced in both Houses of Parliament, and from the manner in which it has been discussed even by its opponents, we look with perfect confidence to its approaching and entire accomplishment. But we are of opinion that by delay many of its happiest effects are endangered. And we are confident that there never was in the history of the world a moment in which a measure in itself desirable was more imperiously called for by circumstances of uncontrollable necessity. The uniting and knitting together by a system of liberality and confidence the hands and hearts of all His Majesty's subjects, in defence of the invaluable blessings of security, liberty, and national independence, is at this perilous crisis the first duty which we owe to ourselves and our posterity; and the only mode by which we can reasonably hope, under the protection of Providence, to maintain and transmit those blessings amidst the misery, conquest, and desolation of so many surrounding nations." *Written by Lord Grenville.*

DOCTOR EDWARD DILLON, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, to THE SAME.

1808, June 1. Tuam.—"Holding the place of an Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church of Tuam, I deem it a duty to address you these lines, thanking you for the irresistible, and at the same time, wise, and temperate manner

\* Against maintaining religious disabilities of Catholics.

in which you supported the Catholic petition. Indeed it is but an act of justice by speaking in such high terms of the loyalty of the Catholic prelates, who look up only to the Legislature of their country for relief.

“I can assure you that the bishops will take the very first opportunity to discuss the means by which the Legislature and the public may be assured, that none but loyal and peaceful subjects, and such as shall be so acknowledged, will be promoted to the important station of Catholic bishops. I must observe that some communications on this very subject have heretofore taken place.”

Doctor J. T. TROY, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, to  
LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, June 10. Maynooth College.—“The able and irresistible, and at the same time wise and temperate manner in which your lordship has supported the Catholic petition in Parliament, justly claims the gratitude of all Irish Catholics, and particularly that of the Catholic prelacy.

“Permit me then as a member of this prelacy, and on the part of Doctor Caulfield of Ferns, Doctor Ryan his coadjutor, Doctor Delany of Kildare and Leighlin, Doctor Lanigan of Ossory, the only Catholic prelates of this ecclesiastical province, to thus convey our heartfelt acknowledgments and grateful thanks for your splendid exertions on the occasion, and especially for the justice your lordship has been pleased to do to the loyalty of the Catholic prelates in general, who, be assured, look up to the Legislature of their country only, for relief. They will take the first opportunity to discuss the means by which the Legislature and the public may be certain that none but loyal and peaceable subjects, and acknowledged as such, will be appointed to the important station of Catholic bishops; and flatter themselves these means will be discovered, some communications on the subject having been made to the Irish Government soon after the Union Act had passed.”

LORD GRENVILLE to ARCHBISHOP TROY.

1808, June 16. Camelford House.—“I have the honour to acknowledge your very obliging and flattering letter, and I have great pleasure in thinking that the manner in which I have endeavoured to do justice to the great cause entrusted to me, has been satisfactory to so distinguished a part of those interested in it. I never have been engaged in the discussion of any subject in Parliament which I have considered as more important to the honour and welfare of my country.

“I am thoroughly persuaded that the Catholic prelates of Ireland will continue to inculcate to those who look up to them for religious instruction those great duties of loyalty

to their sovereign and attachment to the laws and government of their country, which are held in common by every profession of Christians. Nor can it, I trust, in the awful times in which we live, escape the attention of the great body of our Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland, that the religious freedom which they enjoy, though still imperfect, is far superior to that which is at this hour enjoyed either in France or in any of the countries subjugated by her power ; and is infinitely preferable to any situation in which they could be placed by any internal convulsion, or any foreign invasion of their country.

“ Although I have not a distinct recollection of all the details of what passed at the time of the Union, on the part of the Irish Roman Catholic Prelates, respecting the future appointment to those situations in the event of that complete removal of civil disqualifications on account of religious belief which was then intended, yet the general impression on my mind was that of a complete conviction that all security on that head that could be reasonably desired by Government would cheerfully be acceded to by all who were interested in that great work. And I was too well acquainted with what had been done on the subject in other cases nearly similar, to entertain the smallest doubt that, with such dispositions, that matter might with the utmost facility be adjusted to the entire satisfaction even of the most scrupulous and jealous persons. But the declaration on that point which I was lately authorised to make has evidently produced considerable impression on the public mind in this country, and has in that respect been attended with the most beneficial consequences.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, June 20. Eden Farm.—“ I hope not to see the House of Lords any more this year ; but I understand that you are likely to be there on Wednesday next. In that case I submit to you that it might be useful, previously to going to other business, if you would recall to the observation of the House that on the 30th May we moved for returns of imports, exports, duties, bounties, from London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Greenock, Bristol and Hull ; and if you would move ‘ that those returns be made forthwith.’

“ In truth I have reason to believe that the little policy of official manœuvre is playing off by the present Government beyond all example. The Inspector-General wrote a tampering letter to me about a fortnight ago, alleging a slight ground of delay, which I immediately removed ; but I see symptoms of similar juggling in many other matters respecting the management of Bills and papers in both Houses ; the statements of the consolidated surplus and so forth. This is bad political artillery, and will soon recoil ; but it has an effect from day to day ; and those who use it look more to the present pressure than to any general system.

“With respect to those same Orders in Council, a few words from you on Wednesday next would be well bestowed; every day’s experience confirms all that we said and predicted respecting the pernicious absurdity and folly of that measure, which is absolutely ruining our manufacturers, merchants, navigation, and revenue. And also is destroying all our foreign interests, as may be seen in the late accounts from America (which accounts, by the by, have been suppressed in most of the newspapers). And what is worst, I do not see at present any decent pretext that the Ministers can find for rescinding the orders.

“Some curious embarrassments are created by Palmer’s job: Lord Hawkesbury professes a stout intention to set it aside, and to risk a quarrel with the Speaker (who violently supports the job) and the House of Commons. But I fear that *his* courage will fail.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, June 24. Roehampton.—“I felt particularly disappointed that you did not move for the return of the accounts ‘forthwith’; because such a motion cannot be made so properly by any other person. I was not mistaken respecting the result of those accounts, as the enclosed letter will show. We must consider it *quite as a private letter*, and cannot make any reference to its contents, if we mention the subject to any other person. Perhaps therefore you will have the goodness to return it to me. Irving shows little wisdom respecting either his own interests, or those of the public, or indeed those of the Ministers, in conceiving that he has any discretionary judgment respecting the orders of Parliament. And this conduct may at last bring him to the bar of one of the Houses. In the mean time I would not wish to be supposed to know that there is any hesitation; and, if it were in my power to go to the House, I would move as a matter of course for the return ‘forthwith.’ Would you have any objection to writing a line to Lord Holland to make that motion, unless it should occur to you that there is any other person more proper? It would not be necessary to state to Lord Holland that we are apprized of the managements and tricks which are going forwards.

“The prosperity of the whole kingdom is likely to be destroyed by that mad measure of the Orders in Council; but nobody cares about it, and we have discharged a thankless duty.”

*Enclosing.*

N. VANSITTART to LORD AUCKLAND.

1808, House of Commons, Thursday night.—“I forgot this afternoon to mention to you that I had heard from Irving in the morning. He said that the accounts you moved for

were made up to the 5th of April, and nearly ready to be presented to Parliament; but that as the returns from the outports had a *very unfavourable appearance*, he doubted whether in point of prudence it would be thought right to make them public; and therefore desired to know whether I did not think he might properly delay bringing them forward for some time. I answered that I thought the question of prudence, with respect to the production of any accounts, rested entirely with Parliament; and that it was his business to make up, and present all that might be ordered, as speedily as circumstances admitted; and that by doing otherwise in any instance, he would expose himself to serious censure. He afterwards mentioned that, for some weeks past, trade had begun to be more brisk than it had been; and that in particular very large shipments were making to America, by old and established houses. He however believed they cleared out for Nova Scotia, and not for the United States; which circumstance confirms what we have seen in the American papers respecting the great smuggling in the Bay of Fundy.

"I got to town in time to hear great part of Percival's opening. It was clear and well reasoned, but not very satisfactory in supporting the consistency of the present motion with the former proceedings of the House of Commons. Palmer followed in a short, timid, and embarrassed speech. We have since had Windham; Sir T. Turton, violent, frothy, and bitterly personal to Percival; Johnstone in support of the motion; and Tierney in a most acute and logical argument against it, with a good deal of personal severity." *3 o'clock Friday morning.*

"Percival is making his reply. The speakers since Tierney have been Bankes, Rose, Burton, and Canning for the motion; and Ponsonby, Fuller, Sir Francis Burdett (who wears a pepper-and-salt coat exactly like George's) and Whitbread against it; the last as usual forcible, but coarse and biting."

#### MARTIN DEVLIN TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, July 1. Templehill, Newry.—"The grateful acknowledgments of the Catholics of Newry, which I have the honour of presenting you, as one of their illustrious advocates, are not the less due, or less felt by them, that your unequalled exertions in their favour have not been crowned with success. It is in my mind an additional motive of our gratitude that you ventured to stand forth in our cause, when the tide of popular prejudice, promoted by ministerial influence, ran so impetuously against us, that you must have foreseen you had to encounter all the obloquy of party prejudice and bigotry, in becoming the advocate of an injured, insulted, calumniated, *murdered* people.

"You may be surprised I make use of the word *murdered*, but in this unhappy country it has too frequently been the case, with respect to us, these last fifteen years. Such

treatment of the Catholics had begun to abate during the last three administrations in this country; but the recent rejection of our petition has so revived the persecuting and insulting spirit of Orangemen, that on the evening of the 23rd ultimo, when a number of Roman Catholic men, women and children had assembled at a bonfire in the vicinity of Newry (which has been a festive practice time immemorial in this country) [they] were assaulted, bayoneted, and shot, unarmed and unoffending as they were, by a party of armed Orangemen.

“It is impossible that *men* treated as we are can be so zealous and enthusiastic in defence of their country, and its liberties, as the situation of the empire seems at present to require. I fear very much the envied, the boasted, the invaluable blessings of the British constitution, are doomed to perish in our own day, and that your ashes will be moistened with the tears of those who survive the liberties of their country, in bitter anguish for having rejected the salutary advice of you, and those worthy characters who acted with you, on the question of our emancipation.

“*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*, is an old proverb; *Solamen miseris, socios habere doloris* is another. That the former may not be verified with respect to the British empire is my fervent prayer; if it should, it will be poor consolation for the Catholics to be involved in the common ruin.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, July. 12. Eden Farm.—“You will of course have heard that the last quarter gave a deficiency of about 400,000*l.* It is always a bad quarter. In the last year the deficiency was 149,000*l.* In this instance however it is below the most desponding calculations. The current quarter may possibly give a good surplus; but I do not believe that the three remaining quarters will produce 3,900,000*l.* the surplus required, or even  $\frac{2}{3}$  of that sum. I understand that the commercial returns to the property tax have greatly fallen off, and there must evidently be a sinking in the customs, excise, stamps, and other imposts.

“The details of the Portuguese and Spanish explosions are regularly sent to me by some old official friends, who are sanguine enough at this hour to believe that Junot is ‘*aux abois*’; that Dupont has been killed and his army defeated; and that Murat’s army will be taken at Madrid. In short they give full credit to all the extravagant tales told in what they call the *Oviedo gazettes*; and yet I have seen from a confidential department of the military branch of government some particulars which incline me to apprehend that, at this hour, Dupont may be in possession of Seville, and possibly of Cadiz; that French armies are pouring into Spain in all directions; and that a patriot army of 17,000 men had actually been defeated and dispersed; and lastly that Junot is in such strength at Lisbon that General Spencer did not

think it safe to land, or expedient to remain with his troops off the Tagus. A few *Moniteurs* and Bayonne bulletins may be expected, and will throw much light on the state of things. In the mean time it is certainly a great advantage to have so far diminished the naval force of the enemy, and to have such a diversion to his energies.

“The Swedish business is curious. Sir John Moore had a long conference on the 22nd and 23rd of June with the King of Sweden, who made some proposals extravagantly ridiculous. They parted seemingly on good terms. At night the Swedish Adjutant-General came to his room, and told him that he was not to go away without the special permission of the King. Sir John Moore ordered his staff privately to embark; and, on the 27th, escaped in the chariot of the secretary of Legation and got to Gottenburg. I shall not be surprised if this mad King should now join the French confederacy. The anecdote attaches a sort of ridicule on us.

“It is true Lord Chatham is to command. Query, where?”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1808, July 19. Eden Farm.—“Lord Liverpool was so good as to send a messenger to me at eleven o’clock last night with the account of Lord Collingwood, which will be printed in to-day’s papers; but neither he nor others who have sent bulletins make any allusion to a despatch from Sir Henry [Hew?] Dalrymple, dated 24th, which I have seen through a *private* friend, and which positively states that on the 21st, and not before, the first division of Castanos’ army marched from Utrera (south-west of Seville) towards Cordova; that Dupont was then pretty far advanced beyond Cordova; and that Monecy, with 10,000 French, had marched towards La Mancha from Madrid on the 4th of June. Still, if Lord Collingwood’s intelligence be direct and authentic, we may infer that Dupont will surrender; but hitherto every account received by Government has only proved the falsehood of the preceding account.

“If matters be as represented, I cannot comprehend why Spencer has not landed with his force; or even why a part of the Gibraltar force did not march to join the Spaniards.”

#### *Private.* THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1808, July 20. Eden Farm.—“We are just returned from Roehampton. Lord Bristol and Lord Westmoreland met us there, and the cheerfulness of the latter seemed to be unabated, although Lord Burghersh had set off yesterday morning for Portugal; and an account had been received that Lady Westmoreland is going to the Brazils; and the jury was actually sitting on Lady Boringdon’s history, to prepare its details for the eye and comments of the public.

“It was evident that the news received yesterday by the *Confounder* had fallen far short of the galloping expectations of Ministers. The date at Cadiz was as late as the 2nd instant, and there was nothing new in the contents of the letters except a general report that Dupont still remained at Andujar. By the bye, I do not believe that report, if it be true that a French army had marched from Madrid towards La Mancha with supplies on the 4th June. But Lord Westmoreland had evidently not heard of that operation, and appeared to know nothing of Sir Henry [Hew ?] Dalrymple’s despatch ; nor had that despatch nor any extract from it been communicated to Lord Liverpool, and yet I know that it exists.

“Sir John Moore was to have dined with us, but was obliged to set off to embark with the additional force, (I believe about 12,000) which is sailing, and is to proceed to be put under the command of Sir H. Dalrymple. Burchard [Burrard ?] is the senior officer in that embarkation. It is supposed that it is again in doubt whether Lord Chatham shall not go to command in Portugal, and that one motive (hardly adequate) is to get the ordnance for Lord Mulgrave ; in order to get the Admiralty for Lord Wellesley or Lord Melville.

“It occurred incidentally that some operation on the side of Italy by Sir John Stuart is expected ; that Sir John Moore’s management in Sweden is not relished ; and that the Swedish subsidy continues to be paid.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, August 4. Eden Farm.—“You will understand that some of the particulars which I am going to mention would only be mentioned by me to you, and that I would not mention them any where, so as to be cited for them. Though my opinions on the Portuguese and Spanish speculations have been flatly and avowedly contradictory from the beginning to all that has been professed and circulated by Government, two or three private friends connected with the War Office have good-humouredly continued to make full communications to me ; and yesterday I had in my possession for an hour the correspondence of General Spencer, Castanos, and Sir Henry [Hew.] Dalrymple of the 2nd, 3rd, and 7th July ; and that of the confidential officers accompanying Sir Arthur Wellesley dated off Lisbon 25th July. The general impression and purport of those papers can so little be reconciled to what is circulating by the ministerial news-writers, that the system of deceit seems to me to surpass even the days of Austerlitz. In one word, the true state of our prospects is far gloomier than the gloomiest of our speculations and predictions ; and yet the country and the whole world is assured through the court newspaper, that we are going forwards with brilliant and uninterrupted success.

“First as to Portugal—Sir A. Wellesley found that he had little assistance to hope for from any military aid on the part



of the patriots. He expresses therefore an earnest anxiety for the arrival of the troops under General Spencer. He meant to proceed immediately from the mouth of the Tagus to Mondego Bay, and to land there, and to take post at or near Coimbra. He had received accounts by deserters and through other channels that Marshal Bessières, two or three days after the defeat of Cuesta, had marched to Benevento, and was actually pushing forwards towards Almeida with 10 to 12,000 men, in order to proceed to join Junot. If that report should be confirmed, (and those who send it incline to credit it) it would imply great confidence in the strength and positions of the French armies in the line of post from Bayonne to La Mancha and Andujar; and a prospect of much more difficulty and risk in Portugal than we had expected to encounter. And indeed if the French successes in Spain should be rapid, I should expect soon to see a French army of 50 or 60,000 men in Portugal.

“Next as to Spain.—Castanos, in a letter of 2nd July, writes to General Spencer that by the treachery or misconduct of a large body of Aragon volunteers, which had been entrusted with a pass in the Sierra Morena, called Puente del Rey, an army of 10 or 12,000 French had got possession, and would thereby be enabled to effectuate their junction with Dupont. Castanos marched on the 3rd from Cordova to take a position on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, nearly opposite to Andujar; and he writes that he must attempt to force the bridge of Andujar, or to pass the river higher up; and, at all events, that in obedience to the positive order of the Junta of Seville, he will try the event of a battle. Still under all the circumstances he requests most earnestly that General Spencer may be allowed to advance to Xeres to be ready to help, and to cover his possible retreat towards Cadiz, and to enter eventually that city in order to enable the ships to get out with persons and property, and to escape to South America. Much unpleasant correspondence had arisen on this proposition, and also on a demand for money to pay the Spanish sailors; and much difference of opinion prevailed among the individuals who have the responsibility. Sir H. Dalrymple had flatly and strongly expressed his disapprobation of General Spencer’s conduct in having landed. No battle had taken place on the 12th or 15th, and the French re-enforcement must have joined before that time.

“Under all these circumstances our credulous countrymen are made drunk with joy and triumph by official paragraphs and bulletins; and this leads me to remark, that Lord Louvaine, a Lord of the Treasury, not a soldier, the guardian and head of his family during his father’s imprisonment in France, with a young wife in a state of pregnancy, and with three young children, is actually gone as a volunteer with General Stuart (Lord Castlereagh’s brother).

“ I give credit to our friend Lord Temple for more judgment than I should do, if I did not believe that he is only yielding to the impulse of his regiment, and did not give that impulse. But these are small matters to be brought into view as connected with the particulars above stated ; and really it is impossible not to look forward to the ultimate result (whatever partial and possible successes on our part may intervene) without serious concern and apprehension.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, August 7. Eden Farm.—“ As an Irish peer I have received Lord Clancarty’s circular for my vote on the occasion of Lord Clanricarde’s vacancy. I believe that I mentioned to you some weeks ago, quite as a *private* communication, that it had been proposed to Mr. Vansittart to be one of three Commissioners (Lord Clancarty being the first) to go to Bengal with very extensive power of enquiry. Vansittart declined without hesitation, and continued to do so when further pressed. Possibly the whole project, which was evidently an indirect mode of transferring the government from Lord Minto to Lord Clancarty, has since been laid aside.

“ Accounts of the more interesting kind are hourly expected from Spain and Portugal. But, as yet, I have nothing to add to the discouraging circumstances mentioned in my last. If Marshal Bessières’ march from Benevento shall have commenced on the 21st July (which Mr. Charles Stuart, now at Corunna, seems to think was the case) he may be sufficiently advanced in Portugal to embarrass Sir Arthur Wellesley, who is supposed to have been near Coimbra (about 130 miles from Lisbon on the 28th). Benevento is about 320 miles from Lisbon.

“ The Spanish bulletins are beginning to be duly depreciated ; and Mr. Canning is reported to have exclaimed

‘ They beat us all at Oviedo,

They bounce and lie still more than we do.’

“ The delusion however still prevails among the young people ; Mr. Lemon, I believe, is going to Spain ; Lord Louvaine is actually set out, a lord of the Treasury, not a military man, with three children, and Lady Louvaine in an increasing way ; and he representing here all the interest of his family, his father being in a French prison and likely to be injured by this foolish step. And Captain Herbert has just deserted from his family, and is come to town, to go also as a land-volunteer.

“ I have reason from very good female authority to believe that Lady Melville is most impatient to restore her lord to office, and is tampering by letters to Windsor for that purpose.”

*Postscript.*—“ Three millions of dollars have already been sent to Spain ; and the expenses of the expedition, including transports, stores, arms for insurgents, is enormous.

“It is said that the bishop of Durham is giving 70,000*l.* (the result of a late law-suit) as a fund to raise the small livings in his diocese.”

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1808, August 13. Eden Farm.—“I gave a very accurate account of the despatches from Cadiz and Gibraltar to the 15th July; and certainly it was reasonable to infer either that Castanos would not attack, or that if he should risk an attack, he would be defeated; least of all was it to be expected that, in the course of five days, Dupont and his army and re-inforcements would be prisoners of war. The impression made upon my mind was accordingly such that when the first account of the Seville *gazette* arrived on Monday last, I firmly believed the whole to be a Corunna forgery; and I continued to think so even till yesterday, when I first saw the letters said to be written by Castanos on the 18th and 19th August [July]. I cannot resist the weight of those letters: they seem to me to be genuine. Still, however, where the events in themselves are so incredible, and at the same time of such incalculable importance to us all, I should be extremely glad to have a little scrap of direct confirmation from Lord Collingwood.

“I have not been singular in my scepticism during the whole of this week. Much doubt and anxiety has prevailed even in the minds of some official people. Do not take the trouble to return the enclosed letter, but be so good as to destroy it.

“It is now to be presumed that Sir A. Wellesley will have had a safe and easy task in Portugal. Junot will have been more than half discomfited by the news from Andujar, and by the counter-march of Bessières from Benevento.

“The results which these extraordinary circumstances may create in the north as well as in the south of Europe, added to the extraordinary profusion of expense which has taken place, will probably oblige the Ministers to have recourse to Parliament in November.”

SIR J. C. HIPPISEY TO THE SAME.

1808, August 31. Stow Easton House.—“As the 14th of September has been appointed for the assembly of the Roman Catholic prelates in Dublin, I am very anxious to have the aid of your lordship’s opinion and advice whether anything further can be advantageously urged to them to promote the object which I trusted would not have been encompassed with so many difficulties.

“I enclose extracts of two letters I wrote to Dr. Troy, early in the discussion; I kept no copies of those I afterwards addressed to him and Dr. Moylan. One of Dr. Troy’s letters enclosing the resolutions of 1799, I transmitted before to your lordship, but the *resolutions* themselves were not returned

with the letter. I should be greatly obliged to you to favour me with it, when you can conveniently put your hand upon it.

“I enclose a letter of Cardinal Zondadari (which I sent to Dr. Troy and has been returned by him) to prove what the practice was in the United Provinces, where the civil power *confirmed* the election of every *priest*. There are no bishops in the United Provinces.

“The letters of Cardinal Antonelli, when at the head of the Propaganda, will show the readiness of Rome to assent to any proposition for the advantage of our Government, provided it does not clash with canonical discipline; and most assuredly the *negative* in the mode proposed is of that description.

“The letter of Cardinal Borgia, who succeeded Cardinal Antonelli as Prefect of Propaganda, is a proof that Rome did not object to a provision made by our government for the Roman Catholic clergy; though Dr. Troy had originally expressed great doubts of the assent of the See of Rome.

“The enclosed copy of letter of Sir H. Dalrymple I will thank you to return to me as soon as you have perused it; it was confided to me under circumstances of some delicacy, but I do not scruple to communicate it to you.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, September 16. Eden Farm.—“I have reason to believe on the authority of an official friend (whom I must not name in a letter) that the despatches from Sir Hew Dalrymple have been perused by the King’s ministers with expressions of ‘the most painful surprise and dissatisfaction.’ It appears however from several circumstances that this intelligence had been expected. We happened to dine yesterday with the Duchess of Brunswick at three o’clock, and that the Duke of Kent, who with a *brusquerie* that electrified us all, stated in some detail that he expected nothing but disappointment and disgrace from the proceedings of our army in Portugal, subsequent to the victory of the 21st. The news arrived about three hours afterwards.

“Till we see the despatches, or at least till we know more details than I have yet learnt, it certainly is difficult to comprehend the capitulation of the 30th, after the victory of the 21st, and the subsequent arrival of large re-enforcements to our army. It must be confessed that the Ministers had sent a force amply adequate to their purpose; but so far as our Continental interests are in question, the effect of what has been done will be worse than nothing. We give the impression to the world that we could not venture to renew our battles; though we had double the force of the enemy, and every collateral advantage; and we stipulated to send the French army to the very place where Buonaparte will wish to have them in furtherance of the great attempt which he is now making to conquer Spain. If he should succeed

in that attempt, Portugal must of course be enveloped in the fate of the Spaniards.

“Exclusively of such considerations, the Ministers are now greatly embarrassed as to the other plans which they were pursuing. I have understood that Baird’s expedition was intended to land in the north of Spain, in the hope of helping the insurgents to recover the essential district between the Ebro and the Pyrenees [Pyrenees].

“The considerations which further present themselves are so large and so complicated that I will not attempt to pursue the subject further at present. But I confess that I begin to fear that both Spain and Portugal will fall; and to think it within possibility that our armies may be exposed either to capture, or to disgrace, or to both.

“It seems to be believed that Parliament will meet in November, but the Speaker has not yet had any intimation.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1808, September 18.] Eden Farm.—“I am just returned from a Greenwich Board where Lord Hood showed me the particulars from Sir S. Hood, of his having taken a Russian ship of the line. The others, which escaped into Baltic Bay, (westward of Revel) are in an open place at anchor; but under some land batteries which the Russians are extending and strengthening. Sir Samuel Hood was expecting to be joined immediately by the Swedish ships, and very soon by Sir James Saumarez; and it seems probable that further captures of a part or the whole may be made.

“Be so good as to destroy the enclosed. The sense of dissatisfaction described in it is very strong and general. In truth the necessity of such a convention is very difficult to be reconciled to Sir Arthur Wellesley’s expression of ‘a complete victory gained by a part of his army over the whole force of the French in Portugal.’”

*Postscript.*—“I have just seen the convention, and it is a new surprise to me to see the name of Sir Arthur Wellesley signed to such a convention on the 22nd, with an army which he had completely defeated on the 21st.”

#### *Private.* THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1808, September 20. Eden Farm.—“The opinions of our countrymen on what has recently happened are so universally the same that I find it difficult to say any thing on the subject that is not anticipated in every newspaper. I have just received the two enclosed notes, and send them as specimens, and from intelligent sources; as these notes are from the nature of the transaction somewhat personal, I beg the favour of you to re-enclose them to me.

“I have had occasion to learn, and from immediate authority, what are the feelings at Windsor. On the 4th instant Souza received from the Bishop of Oporto a letter of the 24th August

transmitting a copy of the provisional articles, drawn up with a French column and a blank column. The Bishop remarked that the 1st column was copied from Kellerman's handwriting, and that the blank column had been left for any contra-project; but that the French propositions had been received without objection, and signed by Sir Arthur Wellesley. Souza carried this note to Canning who received it with indignation, and with expressions that it was *impossible* to be true. It was forwarded to Windsor, and treated in the same manner; but still believed by all concerned to be true. Still there were hopes that something might occur to prevent the conclusion. At present the King is exceedingly angry, and it is settled that Dalrymple, Burrard, and Wellesley shall all be recalled, and that the command shall remain provisionally with Sir John Moore (who, by the bye, showed himself at Stockholm not to be remarkably right-headed). In the meantime the dishonourable employment assigned to our frigates and transports may occupy them many weeks, and interrupt and confound all the operations which were in view.

"An old friend of yours and mine feels all this most poignantly; in truth from the 2nd (when the news of the 'complete victory' arrived) to the 4th when Souza's communication was made, that person was under the persuasion that the whole political and military influence of the United Kingdom would be in his hands, and in those of his three brothers.

"There is a puzzle about the bishopric. Lord Liverpool and Lord Hawkesbury are urgent for Hall, who has only a small living to give up. The King inclines to Legge, who can only spare the living of Lewisham. And the Duke of Portland is for Walter King who would give up two good benefices."

#### SPANISH AFFAIRS.

##### *Report on the composition of the Central Junta.*

1808, September 28. Aranjuez.—"I have had several opportunities of being in company with the Duke of Infandado. You know how attractive his manners are, and the revolution has made him one of the most interesting characters in Madrid. I despair of seeing much of the Count Florida Blanca and Janellanos; the first has severe duties to fulfil, for a man of his great age, as the P[resident] of the central Junta, at present scarcely formed; and the latter, I am told, is much broken by his long imprisonment, and must devote the greater part of his day to public business. The Junta are assembled in the palace here, from 9 to 1, and from 7 to 9 in the evening, the *siesta* and visits occupy the few hours that they remain at home.

"I enclose you a list of the members of the central Junta, with such of the observations upon them, as may be collected

from conversations with different people. You will be surprised not to find Saavedra among them. The truth is that the Junta of Seville was formed by the mob, who looked at their work, and did not like it, until some one proposed to give respectability to the whole by placing Saavedra at the head. This provincial Junta is not abolished by the establishment of the central one, at least at present; and the people who are accustomed to obey it, acting under the name of Saavedra, would run riot, if they found it abandoned to the *mauvais sujets*, that they originally placed there. The absence of Saavedra is thus accounted for by the people of Seville; I am afraid the hasty formation of many of the provincial Juntas may be felt in the central one. In some parts of Spain the Juntas are named by a Captain General, in others selected in haste by a mob from the persons among them, and in very few were the deputies the choice of the people. It is natural therefore that complaints should be heard against many persons sent to the central Junta, sometimes for incapacity, sometimes for want of character, and at others that they are not natives of the provinces that they represent. There has been likewise great licence in admitting a larger proportion of members from one kingdom than another, which is not yet talked of for a grievance, though deputies from large cities have been sent back, as 2 from Cadiz, and the same number from a Junta at Carthagena. I agree with you, in your opinion, that the popular assembly should be numerous, but I cannot find a Spaniard who does not think that the number of deputies in the Central Junta is already too large; these numbers are as follows, those marked thus \* were present on the 25th.

Seville.—*El Señor administrator, el arzobispo de Laodicea.\**

He is appointed to officiate as Bishop at Seville, for the Archbishop of Seville and Toledo; a good man—very warmly attached to his patron. The Archbishop of Toledo is a Bourbon, but was not acknowledged by the Court of Spain until the Prince of the Peace married his sister—his younger sister was proposed as the second wife of Ferdinand VII. The Princess of the Peace now goes by the name of the Countess of Chinion.

*El Conde de Tilli.\** The other deputy is a noted gambler, who was at the head of the populace at Seville May 26th, a man of some wit, but very slender capacity. It is said that he cannot go to Madrid on account of a criminal process against him for stealing jewellery.

Granada.—*Senor Don Rodrigo Regualme\**, a man of great talent and very likely to become a leader in the national Junta; bad heart, and suspected of dishonest intentions.

*El Canonigo Luis Gines Funes.\** An ecclesiastic who is not likely to take an active part in any business.

Cordova.—*Marquis de la Puebla.\** A plain good sort of a man.  
 Jaen.—Don Juan de Diez Rabe.\*

Don Sebastien de Toiano.\*

Don Francisco de Paula Castunado.\*

Estramadura.—*El Intendente* Don Martin Garai, a man of great talents, an high sense of honour, very likely to become a leader in the Junta, deficient in discernment and not unlikely to be misled by Rigualme.

*El Tesorero Feliz Ovalle.\** A man of excellent understanding, great acquired knowledge but ill digested—not likely to take an active part in public life. Subservient to his colleague Garai.

Asturias.—Senor Don Gaspar Melchior Janellanos.\* It would be impertinent to sketch his character, but it may be proper to add that the Spaniards believe that he will not develop his talents or take a lead, lest he should be suspected of being ambitious of holding the reins of government.

*El Conde da Campo Sagrado.\**

Leon.—*El Senor Don Antonio Valdes.* The Spaniards speak of his '*esprit de corps.*' Daniel, elected in his room by Cuesta, is not received.

Castilla la Viega.—*El Viconde de Quintanilla.*

*El Senor Don Lorenzo Boniface Quintano.\**

*Don Francisco Xavier Cove.*

Valencia.—*El Conde de Contamina.\**

El Principe Pio. Two quiet members unless they touch upon nobility. The latter is friendly to the Council of Castille.

Murcia.—El Conde Florida Blanca.\*

Marques de Villar.\* Good natural talents without acquirements.

Cataluna.—Marques de Villal.\*

Baron de Sabagona.\* A good man, of considerable knowledge of books.

Toledo.—El Vicario Don Pedro Ribero.\*

El Avogado Don Jose Manuel Garcia de la Torne, a lawyer of an intriguing disposition and mischievous temper.

Arragon.—Don Francisco Palafox.\* Brother of the general.

Senor Don Lorenzo Calvo,\* said to be very clever and very cunning.

Mallorca 7.

Islas Baleares.—Don Tomas de Vin,\* an officer in the militia of his island, man of letters, and unlikely that he will take an active part.

Marques de Togone.\*

Gallieia.—Conde Gimondi, an honest patriot of plain understanding.

Senor Avasse, who was a cipher in the Junta of Corunna.

Biscay, Navarre and Madrid are wanting.



“Deputies are arrived at the army of Palafox from Navarre, out of whom they are to be chosen; and the Conde de Attamera is said to be one of those named for Madrid. I cannot account for other provinces wanting. I understand that their first meetings were devoted to arranging the form of choosing a president, the duration of that office, *et cetera*, and the dividing themselves into committees for the despatch of business. Florida Blanca, it is supposed, will continue president for two turns, and then that the president will be chosen by lot. Marquis de Villar is appointed to be their organ of communication with the British envoy. They have been pressed upon the subject of military arrangements, since the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, who is empowered to treat about the movements of our army; and they talk of appointing immediately a council of war.

“The state of parties seems to be this. The Council of Castille and the people of Madrid talk of a Regency. The Central Junta declare that they shall exercise the power of the sovereign, and they have proposed to the Council of Castille an oath of allegiance, at which they begin to revolt. It is said that the present members of the Council of Castile are persons unworthy of their trust, mere creatures of the Prince of the Peace. However little they may merit this harsh language, it is certain that the people of the provinces detest them for having issued the edicts of the King (father) on his resumption of his crown at Bayonne; and of the Bonapartes, with the same tame submission as that of Ferdinand. The host of writers and others employed by them at Madrid give them a strong party in their favour; and those noblemen whose views are inclined to the Regency, think well of them. The Junta, however, are alive to the feelings of the people, and they have assembled at a distance from the Council of Castille; but I apprehend they will issue their edicts through that constitutional organ, though the people consider it as impure; so, much discussion must be expected. The Duke of Infantado might have been at the head of the Government; a council of Regency has been a favourite idea among the people, but it never will be so with the Junta. Should such a council be formed, the Duke would be the leading man in it. He is popular, he has been the friend and fellow-sufferer of Ferdinand, has been once named by him Regent, at the period when Charles IV disinherited Ferdinand, and the latter appointed the Duke Regent, in the event of his being prevented ascending the throne on the death of his father. It was this commission to the Duke that was the cause of the arrest at the Escorial. I cannot help thinking that the Council of Castille have the ear of the Duke of Infantado, that they wish to put him forward, but on his part we hear of nothing but joining the armies.

“The Central Junta are sometimes spoken of with contempt; it is uncertain whether that may be attributed

to the bad characters of some members, or to a jealousy of the growing influence of the people. It is sometimes represented as ridiculous the people exercising the powers of the Crown ; and the slowness of their proceedings is complained of. Don Juan Reviz de Apodaca, who is already in London, is appointed by the Central Junta their envoy. The other deputies are all recalled.

“I rather expect that everything is arranged for our army joining the Spanish forces on the frontier.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, September 29. Eden Farm.—“Having at this time a good supply of game, and a great abundance of fruits, we happened during the last three days to have had crowded tables and a variety of company, of different parties and descriptions ; and I do not recollect any instance in which the feeling of all parties were so strong and so warm as they are with respect to the French convention. It is French in all senses, and is not accompanied in the *gazette* with a translation for the benefit of the country gentlemen. I am told that Sir Arthur Wellesley’s family and friends are loud in their protestations that he utterly disapproved it, and merely gave his signature in obedience to his Commander in Chief.

“It will not, however, be easy to persuade even the weakest and most credulous minds, that either the articles of war, or the principles of military subordination require an officer to sign a convention dictated by a beaten enemy *because* his superior officer orders him to sign it ; nor indeed is there common sense in the supposition that Sir Hew Dalrymple would give such an order, and such powers, to an unwilling and resisting plenipotentiary. This line of defence, however, is to be taken ; and it remains to be seen how far the Ministers, from a desire to manage the feelings of the family and connection, will countenance this explanation. In the meantime I sincerely lament the circumstance, abstractedly from its political importance, and with a view only to its effects on the feeling and character of the individual, whom I believe to possess great military talents, and powers of mind very considerable, though I cannot account for the step which he has taken.

“In the two instruments, even if the general measure had been right, there are many particulars both in form and in substance highly objectionable ; and also some conditions on our part, especially as to Spain, which we have no power to carry into effect.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1808, October 1. Eden Farm.—“You will have seen that the last accounts from Portugal announce that the French have been induced to acquiesce in an explanatory article,

humiliating enough for them so far as it goes, and conciliating in some degree to the Portuguese so far as it may be executed. There are new reports that Sir Arthur Wellesley protested against the instrument to which he had affixed his signature. Nothing is incredible in these times ; but such reports originate probably in the indiscreet zeal of friends. In other respects nothing has occurred to explain or palliate the folly and disgrace attached to the whole transaction. The natural result must be an attempt of the several generals to shift off a part of the blame from their own shoulders to each other, and also to the King's Ministers. I have some reason to believe that it is determined in the Cabinet to send the whole to a court of enquiry, and in that mode to suspend, to a certain degree, and for a certain period, the invectives of the country and of Parliament. In the meantime new incidents may possibly arise to divert the general dissatisfaction.

“ Lord Carysfort will receive some interesting details from Lord Proby. If the writer of the answer to Mr. H. Williams had been within reach, he would have considered the nomination of Lord Proby ‘as attended with danger to the public interests, and would have felt himself under the necessity of taking measures to counteract so great an evil.’ That *little* anecdote would be offensive if it were not ridiculous. It brought immediately to my mind a remark made by Cardinal de Retz ‘*On fait quelquefois grace à l’impertinence, en faveur de l’extravagance.*’

“ The Speaker was here on Tuesday and Wednesday. He did not appear to know anything relative to the meeting of Parliament ; and he saw Mr. Perceval on Wednesday morning. So far as I can collect, means are now using to get a full statement of money matters ; and to accelerate payments into the Exchequer ; and to ascertain the surplus for the 10th instant ; and eventually not to meet Parliament till after Christmas, if such meeting can be avoided. I shall probably write again soon.”

*Postscript.*—“ We are to be told that Lord Hutchinson's capitulation with the French at Alexandria was somewhat analogous to the Cintra convention, and yet that Lord Hutchinson was made a peer.

“ I believe that Sir John Moore is marching from Portugal towards the northern frontiers of Spain.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1808, October 7. Stowe.—“ I had made a delightful progress by all the mouths of Devonshire, then up by Sherborne Castle and Knight's at Downton, to Llangedwin, when I was surprised by a letter of summons from my brother, who wrote to say that the Prince had desired to come and pass three or four days at Stowe ‘not as Prince of Wales but as his best and most sincere friend.’ The earnestness of my brother's letter left me no doubt, and Watkin and Henry very

goodhumouredly put themselves into a chaise with me and we arrived here before Tuesday, on which day the Prince and Duke of Sussex with the Downshires and Carletons came to Stowe from Ombersley.

“The Prince is perfectly well both in health and spirits, and as gracious as such a letter would lead one to expect. I have had some conversation with him, and my brother has had a great deal. He speaks very graciously of you, and it is evident that the chief object of his visit has been to talk over the speculations which he entertains of a change of government; that a change will be made I do not at all believe, nor can I find any solid grounds for that opinion, or any grounds whatever except such as belong to the embarrassments of the ministers on the subject of the convention. The Prince is however very sanguine; he talks much of the King’s extreme dissatisfaction with the present men, of his dislike and contempt of Lord H[awkesbury] and he further adds that the King frequently talks with great praise of your talents, and he the Prince is persuaded that the King would desire nothing more than to have you in the government, if the Catholic question could in any shape be kept from him. I need not repeat to you that, although I think it material to state to you these as the present speculations of the Prince, I do not myself see any reason to believe that there is any ground for them. My own expectation is that the Ministers will sacrifice Sir Hew to the public indignation, that they will pacify the enraged Wellesley who is just come home, and that Bonaparte’s army will advance into Spain and render the English command there an object of less interest and ambition than it now is; the real difficulty will be for ministers to find the means of paying the bill for these expenses, and I should not think that an enviable task for any man to accomplish. It may however be your lot to engage in it, and the Prince has been very explicit to my brother as to his own dispositions towards you, whenever he has any option on these subjects. The Prince goes to town to-morrow to see Holland before he embarks for Spain, and he goes to Windsor on Sunday.

“My brother had written to Lord Wellesley to state his wish to be of use to Sir A[rthur] as far as could be consistent with the most decided disapprobation of the convention; and Lord W[ellesley’s] answer desires to defer writing on the subject till he hears more from Sir A[rthur]; but meantime he thinks himself able to assure Lord B[uckingham] that Sir A[rthur] disapproves highly of the convention, protested against it, and will be found to stand entirely clear of all the blame that is attached to it; this is accompanied with words of violent invective against that *‘insolent upstart C.’*

“The Duke of Sussex yesterday received a letter from Princess Mary to tell him that she has never in her life seen the Duke of York so much oppressed and out of spirits as he now is; and from what I collect of the Prince’s conversation,

he is not a whit more cordial to the Duke now than he was two years ago.

"I find that they sounded the Prince about Lord Moira's going in command, that he encouraged the idea, and then they took fright and abandoned it; the report now is that they have sent for Lord Hutchinson, and the Prince thinks that they may probably mean to send the Duke of York and Lord Hutchinson with him; he does not seem to know anything of this with certainty. The whole bent of his conversation is to express a strong wish that you may not be too difficult if any proposition is made to you from the King; and it is evident to me that he wishes to promote and assist a negotiation of this sort, and feels confident that it might be made practicable. I have no faith, and have told him that I have no faith, in any considerable change, but this language from me is not popular with him, for he is evidently possessed with the notion of the King's intentions to make a change, and has made himself eager in the wish for it, and in the belief that it will happen.

"I write you this hurried scrawl while the Prince is driving with Lady Buckingham, but I suppose you will have a long letter from my brother as soon as he has leisure to write.

"Lord Stafford has met Lord Ashburton who has given him his proxy, saying that he does so supposing you to be full."

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 10. Eden Farm.—"I dined on Saturday at Lord Liverpool's, and learnt from him that the Treasury calculators think it practicable to 'go on' till after Christmas; and consequently that it is not meant to meet Parliament before the 10th, or perhaps even the 20th January.

"We shall probably see to-morrow the return of the surplus; there are hopes, which I sincerely wish may be verified, that it will not be less for the quarter than two millions; but I shall greatly doubt it till I see it.

"The East and West India importations have certainly been very great; but the warehouses are filled to the brim, and the duties therefore are not received.

"General Burrard remains in command at Lisbon. Sir John Moore goes with a large body of troops to the north of Spain. But the march through Portugal is so full of difficulties that he must re-embark and proceed by sea.

"Sir H. Dalrymple is expected in the course of this week. Sir A. Wellesley's return does not yet appear to have thrown any light on the motives of the convention. But there certainly was not any protest on his part. Some persons high in office, who wish to cultivate the Wellesley interest, argue that the commander-in-chief only is amenable in such cases; that whatever is signed by any inferior officer, and is previously known to the commander-in-chief, is absolutely the act of

the latter ; and that it is an impertinence to ask whether the inferior approved or disapproved either previously or subsequently. Thus, the whole is to be thrown on Sir Hew ; and he is to be defended by showing on the other hand that, in the opinions of the generals under him, the difficulties of the country, the French possession of all the forts, the equinox, the further measures in view, the want of provisions altogether made it his duty to adopt the convention.

“ There is certainly to be a court of enquiry, possibly to be followed by a court-martial. Much both as to this and larger matters will depend on the result of the struggle to be made towards the north-west angle of Spain.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 11. Eden Farm.—“ I have received a note this morning from a person who has daily occasions to confer with the Ministers. I infer from it that all the officers arrived from Portugal take the line of defending the convention, and disavow the fable that it had been protested against.

“ The words are, ‘ it is said that the terms were for the purpose of accelerating the evacuation of Portugal. Junot might have kept us employed in that country for six months. It is now expected that Sir J. Moore may reach the northern provinces of Spain in time to co-operate in driving Joseph beyond the Pyrenees, before the arrival of his brother’s reinforcements. Tonnage for the embarkation of 20,000 men was provided, independent of what was to be employed in carrying the French to a destination where they will be paralyzed for this campaign.

“ ‘ The French army in Portugal was more numerous than was apprehended here ; not much inferior to the whole corps of British troops sent to dislodge them ; and their positions in and about Lisbon could not have been carried without considerable loss.’ ”

#### SPANISH AFFAIRS.

1808, October 14. Aranjuez.—“ The Central Junta are still at Aranjuez and have put off to a distant day their removal to Madrid. Last night they made the following appointments :—

|                  |       |                                       |
|------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|
| Cevallos         | to be | Minister of Foreign Affairs.          |
| Hermida          | „     | Grace and Justice—or Home Department. |
| Cornell          | „     | War.                                  |
| Escaño           | „     | Marine.                               |
| Saavedra         | „     | Hacienda—or Treasury.                 |
| Bishop of Oreuse |       | Inquisitor-general.                   |

“ Florida Blanca is to continue president of the Junta with a salary of 25,000 dollars a year. He is to reside in the palace, to have the title of Highness, and to have an escort of guards when he appears in public. Garay, one of the deputies,

is appointed Secretary of the Junta. Each of the members is to have a salary of 3,000 dollars. Their persons are declared inviolable. They are to wear the dress of Counsellors of State with a crimson velvet mantle thrown over it on gala days. They are all arrived at Aranjuez, and Cuesta and Valdes are now before them waiting their decision. The Council of Castille is very submissive and obedient to their orders, and they have become very popular at Madrid.

“Since the report of the French having received reinforcements, there has been unusual activity in providing for the march of the armies. By intercepted letters it appears that the French are promised reinforcements on the 20th.

“To-day, being the birthday of Ferdinand 7th, there was a court in the palace, and the few foreigners at Aranjuez were presented to the President at the head of the Junta. No foreign minister was present except Mr. Stuart. The only members of the diplomatic corps remaining at Madrid are the Russian ambassador, Count Stroganoff, and the Chargés d’ Affaires of Austria and the United States. It is said that the Junta means to appoint Ministers to Vienna and Petersburg.”

1808, October 21. Saragossa.—“The greatest zeal and activity pervade Aragon. No province has received less assistance or made greater exertions. The defence of Saragossa is one of the most extraordinary events in modern war. The Aragonese soldiers are finely formed men for military service. There is a want of muskets here, but a supply is expected from Seville by the way of Tarragona. There is great enthusiasm in favour of the English among all ranks. Palafox and his staff wear cockades, half Spanish and half English, with Ferdinand 7th on one side and George 3rd on the other. He is a young man, of a good figure, a spirited intelligent countenance, and pleasing manners.

“There has been an action in Cataluna, in which 3,000 French have been defeated with the loss of 1,000 men by the Catalans.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 18. Eden Farm.—“Though I am much occupied in this month by planting, wood cutting, and such work, I learn partly from the newspapers and partly from accidental correspondents that there are great changes for the worse in our Continental prospects. It is now understood, that the Russian fleet cannot be captured; that the Russian and French emperors are not likely to disagree (I expect to hear that a kingdom is given or promised to Constantine); that Austria disavows any inclination to quarrel; that Napoleon is, probably at this hour, on the road towards Bayonne; and (which is justly alarming) that Marshal Ney is actually at

the head of an immense force on the northern coast of Spain and has retaken Bayonne [Bilbao?]. If those last circumstances should be true, our armies now sailing from English ports and from Portugal may arrive too late, and may soon become objects of extreme anxiety to us.

“Much doubt is entertained respecting the prudence of the King’s answer to the city address. It is evidently not the composition of Lord Hawkesbury, but its unpopularity may lie unpleasantly on his shoulders.”

*Postscript.* Palace Yard, October 18th.—“On coming into town I met an Admiralty acquaintance who told me that accounts dated the 5th instant from Corunna to the Admiralty state that, on the approach of Ney with 12,000 men towards Bilboa, the Spaniards retreated without loss or interruption; and that Cuesta, Palafox, and Romagna were forming a junction, and talked with the utmost confidence of being able to surround and take Marshal Ney’s whole force. My informant added, that our force, now meant to be assembled, would consist of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry; but that great difficulties had been started by the Spaniards, respecting the means of finding quarters, provisions, or forage. The official language admits no doubt of success.”

#### GEORGE PONSONBY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 19, Corville, Roscrea.—“I am afraid that you will think me very remiss in not having written to you before upon the subject of the Catholic proceedings in this country, but I have waited for an answer to a letter I wrote to Grattan, who was in Dublin when the bishops passed their resolutions, and who had seen some of them afterwards. I send you among other things a copy of that answer, which I have very lately received, as he had sailed for England, and my letter did not reach him before he left Ireland. When I arrived from England there seemed to be no doubt of the bishops agreeing to the plan traced out in Mr. Milner’s letter to me, and from which I stated what I said in Parliament; and Lord Fingall told me on Friday last, that neither he or Milner had the least idea of their not declaring their acquiescence in it until the day almost of their meeting. After they had passed their resolution and published it, Doctor Milner wrote to me a letter of which I send you a copy; and I cannot help observing that it required a good deal of confidence to write that letter to me, after having published in the Waterford, and, I believe, the Cork newspapers, a letter which I have cut out of one of them and now enclose to you. At the time I received his letter relative to the conduct of the bishops, I was in a part of this country distant from Dublin, and in which neither a Cork nor Waterford paper is ever circulated; and I wrote him a very civil answer expressive of my regret at the resolution of the bishops, and of my apprehensions of the injurious consequences which might



follow from it ; and I also mentioned my satisfaction at his having been continued in their agency. Some time after, Mr. Lee, the late member for the county of Waterford, came to William Frittie's, where I was, and showed me the newspaper with Dr. Milner's letter in it, which so astonished me that I determined to go to Dublin and see Lord Fingall and Doctor Milner. I went accordingly and saw Lord Fingall, but the Doctor had been some time gone to England. I asked Lord Fingall if he remembered that when the doors of the House were unlocked after the division, I saw him in the lobby, and asked him (he having been present at the debate) if I had observed my instructions, and been correct in my statement, and that he had replied 'most correct, perfectly exact.' He said he remembered perfectly both the question and the answer, and that his opinion was exactly the same still. I then showed him the publication, and Doctor Milner's letter to me upon the day before the debate, and pointed out to him the charges against those he calls 'our orators,' and the contradictions in the letters themselves. He expressed great surprise, but also great satisfaction at my having luckily kept the letter of Milner. We then proceeded to the discussion of the resolution, and after making to him the observations which the word *inexpedient* naturally suggested to me, I asked him if they would declare that they meant to apply their resolution only to the *present state of things*, and that their refusal to make any alteration in the mode of appointing their colleagues, was to be considered as commensurate only with the refusal of Parliament to consider their claims. He replied that individually several had made that declaration ; but that they had been applied to to make it collectively, and had declined to do so. He said the laity were determined not to acquiesce ; that the bishops must give way, for that otherwise their resolution would be a bar to their claims ; and he said it was in the contemplation of the laity to try and send a person to Rome, as they conceived the Pope to be favourably disposed. I could collect from him that there were great feuds and animosities among the Catholic body, and to this circumstance I am much inclined to attribute the conduct of the bishops, that is of the majority ; for he said that he understood that six of them had voted against the resolution. The conduct of their petition last year having been entrusted to Lord Fingall, and their cause appearing to be much advanced in the public opinion, it seemed to me that the party among them which is opposed to the party of the gentry, or what they term the aristocratical party, and which had suffered by its intemperance while you were in office in 1806, was determined to thwart the success even of their own general cause, rather than allow the credit of it to their adversaries ; and for that purpose joined with some of their high churchmen who do not choose that any layman, even a Catholic (much less a Protestant) should

have any interference in what they considered a church privilege. Besides, I need not point out to you how much the indigence of the catholic clergy puts them in the power of the agitating and designing part of their own community, who can easily work on the minds of the ignorant (much the most numerous) part of their flock, and upon whom they are principally dependent for their support. From all that I have been able to learn, the gentry are universally disgusted with the conduct of their clergy; but I daresay the clergy can, if they please, excite the common people against the gentry. I am the more confirmed in the truth of this conjecture by a letter which I received from the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin before I left London (and of which I enclose you a copy) in which he expresses the greatest satisfaction at what I had said relative to the disposition of their bishops; and none 'of the orators' are accused of having said anything contrary to their sentiments, or subversive of the rights or doctrine of the Catholic church. In addition to the other matter which I send you, I enclose you a letter published by Mr. Lee, and addressed to the Catholics of the city and county of Waterford, and in which you will observe certain words marked by a stroke of the pen beneath them. These words were inserted by Doctor Power, the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, and he showed me the original manuscript corrected by Doctor Power himself. Lee could not find out which way the Doctor voted. I also enclose you a copy of a letter which the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin has written to Newport upon this subject; although this is probably unnecessary, he having in all likelihood sent it to you himself.

"This country is perfectly quiet except in the counties of Kerry and Limerick. The Bishop of Limerick is now in this house, and I have had much conversation with him about the disturbances which are within his diocese. In the former county every thing is levelled against tithes, and he says the outrages far exceed those of the 'Threshers;' but no special commission has been sent, nor any effective steps taken to repress them. He says the government has been much urged to exert itself, but that they have declined, saying they *do not choose to have it thought that their administration is weak or unpopular*. Of course he does not wish this to be repeated. In the latter county there seems to be little more than an absence of all government; the magistracy does nothing, and a licentious populace indulges itself in whatever excesses it pleases. I do not believe that any politics, or rather any French agency, mixes in these disgraceful proceedings.

"If you answer this letter, pray direct to me under cover to Edward Taylor Esquire, Mountjoy Square, Dublin. I expect to be able to set out for London the first week in December."

## THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 19th. Trentham.—“I am glad to find by your letter that your wanderings to the end of the land have so much exceeded your expectation; my picturesque course has been a good deal disturbed by the forced march to Stowe of which I have already given you some account, and I know not that I have anything very material to add in respect to the royal visit, except that it lasted from Tuesday to Saturday, and that the Prince departed from Stowe with the opinions which I had described to you, and left me with some expressions of surprise at the total incredulity which I took the liberty of professing. In that incredulity I do now most entirely remain; but I must fairly own that I have found since, that the language which the Prince held has prevailed much more than I had expected, and has so much prevailed that I do not wonder at any *very* sanguine mind having been much impressed by it. I find by my friends here that being last week at Bishops-Thorp, they saw a letter written to H. G. the *master of the house*, from his *eldest* sister, in which she spoke ‘with great *dismay* of the division and confusion that prevailed among the Ministers, and more than ever congratulated her brother that in time of such storm he had got into a safe harbour.’ I have likewise just received a letter from Brighton in which the writer tells me that Tierney, who is there, gives it as his opinion that although Canning has succeeded in resisting the appointment of the Duke of York, he has so entirely quarrelled with most of his colleagues, that he will certainly quit the government. I believe no such thing, but you see from these two opposite sources of intelligence how much the reports of this nature are eurrent, and how widely they must have spread. That Canning has much inflamed the dislike which the King and the Duke had to him, and that he has mortally offended his colleagues and especially Perceval, I do not in the least doubt; but I have not the least confidence in their being stout enough to turn him out, and still less in his resigning his office as long as he can keep it. In the same manner also do I reason about the Wellesleys, whose friends have vapoured loudly as to what they and Sir A[rthur] will do, whereas I think it is easy enough to know what they will not do, and upon that probability, I see that you and I are most perfectly agreed. Your letter, however, shows me that you are inclined to give great weight to the argument of Wellesley’s supposed *protest*, and to the assertion of his having signed only in obedience to his general; such also had been the inclination of my mind, but at the house which I have last left I had, as you may guess, some opportunity of hearing what was supposed to be his language, and these expressions are of so very flabby a quality that they have in them nothing that resembles any firmness of character, or confidence in his cause. The words quoted to me as having been used by him to Ministers

are these, 'he had done *his* duty, had *no complaint* to make, but would not be *punished*'; and that these words were actually his I am the more persuaded, because the person who quoted them, spoke of them with great admiration, as an instance of the firm and manly language which he had held to Ministers. It seems that he rested his cause wholly upon the King's receiving him at Court, and claimed his right of going to the *levée* as a *Privy Councillor*. Lord Castlereagh suggested the inconvenience of Wellesley meeting the city address, but finding Wellesley persist in going, Lord Castlereagh on the Wednesday morning sent a message to *Wellesley's aide de camp* to say that he would present Sir Arthur. Not one word, however, have I heard from any good authority of *protest* either verbal or written; and if he means to assert that he signed only *in obedience*, he must have to prove that he made at the time the strongest protest verbal or written that the circumstances of the case would admit of. My own guess is that he thought every possible advantage lost in his being prevented by Burrard from pursuing the retreating army, and that he was ill-judging enough to conceive that the disgrace of the convention which he signed would fall upon Burrard's conduct in having produced it, and not upon his signature. If this however be the case, how comes he not to see that a complaint on his part against Burrard is the only possible tendency to justification of his own character in the first instance; and, secondly, that complaint against Dalrymple for forcing him to sign is the only justification of his own signature to the convention; and yet, with all this, his words—if they are true as I believe them to be—announce to Ministers that *he has no complaint*, but that he must not be punished; and I perceive that the general notion is that Government is to defend Wellesley and Burrard, and as much of the convention as they can. In the meantime, however, you will have remarked that Ministers in leaving Burrard in command of the whole army, have shown that they do not even question his conduct in his having stopped the proposed pursuit by Wellesley, and that, so far, they have actually pronounced in favour of Burrard *versus* Wellesley.

"*A propos* to protests, I must not forget to tell you of the incalculable mischief that has been produced by the protest of the Irish Catholic bishops, and by Milner's letter on that subject. Both at the houses that I have left, and at this house, and by letters, I find a most eager determination to mark the strongest dissent from this new violence on the part of Keogh and the democrat Catholics; and on this subject my own opinions would lead me to be as warm in language as my friends are, but the public calamity produced by this misconduct of these furious demagogues overwhelms with me all other considerations. If by this intemperance and dereliction of all loyal and moderate professions of former

times, they make it thus impossible for us to press, and hopeless for us to obtain from the country or the King, the real grounds of union and harmony between Great Britain and Ireland, what can we ever look to again for the tranquillity of that country, and the safety of this ?”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 28. Eden Farm.—“Though the times are interesting and eventful, I do not know that I can send from Kent into Cornwall any intelligence beyond what you will find with customary exaggerations and distortions in the several newspapers.

“I will, however, transcribe the following note which I have just received from a friend connected with the official people.

“‘We are living in a state of most anxious expectation from Spain. It is true that Moore is to march northwards, and it is by the advice of Castanos that he has taken that course.’

“‘The two Emperors wrote two letters to our King in the same words, only with an alteration of precedence in their signatures. The answer is not yet sent.’

“Few of the strange arrangements in the conduct of our naval and military force have surprised me more than Moore’s proposed march. The distance from Lisbon to Burgos cannot be less than 550 miles, which for a march of 12 miles per day, without halting, would be 46 days. Supposing the army therefore to set off on the 16th October, it may arrive about the 1st December. In addition to this, we must advert to the wear and tear, and expense, and fatigue, and risks of such an undertaking, in which, if mishaps should take place, there will be no resource. The roads in this rainy season bad! the want of provisions and forage extreme! The means of conveyance in small carts and on the backs of mules very difficult! the transport of artillery still more difficult. If it be really true that there were transports to the extent of 20,000 tons in the Tagus (which though asserted may be doubted) this decision appears to me strangely extravagant. In the mean time Baird’s army continued on the 17th instant at anchor in the port of Corunna. I understand that Finland is considered as lost.”

SIR JOHN NEWPORT to THE SAME.

1808, October 20. New Park.—“I have been some time intending to write on the subject of the unhappy and infatuated line of conduct which Roman Catholic prelates have pursued by publishing resolutions which have already, and must continue still more essentially to impede the progress which had been made by the exertions of your lordship and other true friends of the country in disposing the public mind to view that great question in its true light. I confess I think on this act as one either of gratuitous folly, or of bad and

mischievous design, with so much pain from the manifest truth of evils which attend upon it that, except to a very near friend with whom I can think aloud, I do not love to write at all upon the subject. Much of what has led to such a decision is and must be only known to themselves; what I know besides conjecture you will learn from the letters of which I enclose copies in two covers. I thought it a necessary part of that open and candid course of political conduct which I trust I have ever pursued, not to leave Dr. Troy in doubt for a moment upon my sentiments, as he had thought proper to introduce the subject to me, nor, from an ill-advised apprehension of giving offence, to allow him to suppose that I viewed the measure but as one fraught with the most ruinous consequences. I do not think I should have properly valued the tranquillity of my country had I acted otherwise. I shall be much gratified to find that you think I acted right. Ponsonby is highly and justly irritated at their conduct, and especially at a letter of Milner, published in the papers here a short time before he wrote to Ponsonby, but which the latter had not seen till after he answered Milner's letter. It certainly does, as Ponsonby remarks in his letter to me, pass comprehension how any man could have effrontery sufficient to write to him as Milner did, after publishing such a letter. He adds, 'it becomes impossible for me to preserve any measures with him, for I cannot allow him to represent me as uttering deliberate falsehoods in the House of Commons. Unfortunately Grattan has been gone some time to England. I suppose he never saw Milner's letter in which he so roundly asserts Lord Grenville himself and me to be in effect shameless liars.' He has sent me a copy of a letter from Lord Grey lamenting the resolutions most seriously, and anxiously enquiring the causes which could have led to such a mischievous change of opinion. Whilst I am writing I have received another letter from Mr. Ponsonby, by which I learn that he was on the point of writing to you, so that you may probably have the trouble of reading twice over several of the same papers. He will transmit to you, I doubt not, Lord Fingal's *renewed confirmation* of the accuracy of his (Ponsonby's) statement and that of your lordship, respecting the proposed negative of the Crown. This whole transaction *too* strikingly resembles an unhappy and mischievous interference of the Roman catholic prelates in 1643 or 4, when matters were approaching to accommodation in this divided country. I would not hazard this comment but to a friendly eye like yours. Enough, you will say, and more than enough of this hateful subject, but '*Proximus ardet . . .*' "

"What think you of the not very gentle rebuke which the city of London have received? Our discreet and courtly citizens of Dublin, who seldom venture to sea, have also for once got beyond their depth and followed the example; with the additional offence of having negatived Mr. Giffard's

motion of introducing a compliment to Sir A. Wellesley on the battle of Vimeira into the *address*."

(1) REV. DOCTOR MILNER to GEORGE PONSONBY.

1808, September 21. Dublin.—"Understanding that you are at a distance from Dublin, I take up my pen before I leave this country to express my great concern at the decision of our Catholic bishops as to the *inexpediency of altering the usual form of appointing their colleagues*. This resolution, however, they have repeatedly declared only applies to the *existing circumstances*; and that should a *truly friendly and virtuous ministry* ever call upon them to *reconsider their resolution*, they will do so. They have added, in justice to me, that I had sufficient reasons to believe they would *concede the qualified veto*; accordingly they have unanimously voted me their thanks, and have requested me to continue in their agency, which I had resolved to quit. Their motives for the decision in question are; *first*, their apprehension of being overreached and deceived by Ministers, as they acknowledge was the case when they voted this very measure in 1799. *Secondly*, the alarm of their pious but not very wise flocks who, chiefly from the newspaper reports of your eloquent speech, supposed that their church was in danger, and that the royal supremacy was upon the point of being admitted. *Thirdly*, the inflammatory publications of an anti-Anglican faction, which dreads nothing so much as the drawing closer together the bonds which unite the two islands. This faction represents me in the newspapers as being the *hired emissary of Mr. Percival*, and threatens to burn me in effigy. On the other hand, some few of our leading gentry are so indignant at the resolution of the prelates that they threaten to make a schism in the body. I think that you will wish to keep them altogether, as Mr. Grattan does, whom I had the honour to see yesterday; and am to have the honour of meeting again at Tinnehinch on Friday."

*Enclōsing* (2).

ARCHBISHOP TROY to SIR JOHN NEWPORT.

1808, September 27. Dublin.—"The various constructions put on the resolutions of the prelates lately assembled here on the subject of the King's negative in the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops, and the charge of inconsistency preferred against those prelates who had agreed to a qualified *veto* in January, 1799, induces me to inform you of the motives which determined the prelates at both periods.

"At the former, when the Union question was pending, the subject was proposed immediately after a rebellion, and by an administration then considered friendly to Catholics, and seemingly anxious to emancipate them, in order to unite all his Majesty's subjects in defence of the empire. Ten

Catholic prelates then here on business concerning Maynooth College, resolved that a qualified *veto*, to be sanctioned by the Pope, might be granted to his Majesty in the expected case of Catholic emancipation; for it was distinctly stated by me to Lord Castlereagh, then Chief Secretary, that the proposed provision for the Catholic clergy, if accepted, was to be the consequence and not any condition of actual emancipation. During the discussion of Catholic claims in the last session, some of our Parliamentary best advocates mentioned the *veto* as likely to be agreed to by the Irish Catholic prelates; but unfortunately their speeches were falsely reported in the newspapers. Mr. Ponsonby, in particular, was stated to have said that, by the exercise of the *veto*, his Majesty would become virtually the head of the Catholic church in Ireland. This fatal mis-representation was believed, and excited general alarm amongst the Catholics, who concluded that nothing less than the subversion of their hierarchy was intended. In these circumstances the trustees of Maynooth College assembled there in June last, according to annual custom. The prelates of the Board were requested by two of their respectable lay colleagues, a noble lord and a baronet, to deliberate and determine on the subject, which, being of a very important and delicate nature, they declined to do, not having instructions from their absent brethren nor any authority to act for them. Wherefore they proposed a general meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates to be held here on the 14th instant, which has accordingly taken place; and at which they resolved that it is *inexpedient* to alter the mode hitherto observed in the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in this kingdom, and pledged themselves to recommend such personally to his Holiness as shall be of unimpeachable loyalty, and peaceable conduct.

“As expediency or in expediency is regulated by variable circumstances and is not the result of any fixed principle, the resolution cannot be fairly construed to condemn a qualified *veto* as inadmissible, or to preclude the reconsideration of it hereafter under other more favourable circumstances.

“The present administration not having made any proposal concerning the *veto*, and being avowedly hostile to Catholic claims, the prelates conceived it unbecoming in them to propose any change in so vital a part of their ecclesiastical discipline as the appointment of bishops without even the hope of obtaining emancipation, or any valuable political consideration by it for the Catholic body. Besides, such a proposal to such an administration under the present circumstances from the prelates, would be considered as a petition for the *veto*, which they do not solicit or desire. If a proposal of this kind had been made to the prelates by Government, as it was in 1799, with the view of attaching the Catholics still more to the Constitution by communicating to them all the benefits of it, they might have adopted a resolution



similar in principle to that subscribed to by ten of them in that year. These prelates have not been inconsistent, nor contradicted themselves in resolving that the *veto* is at present inexpedient; as the circumstances of one period and the other are widely different. It would in the opinion of many have been better if the prelates had not met on the subject; but having assembled, they found it absolutely necessary to resolve something to satisfy the public Catholic mind, and to permit the publication of their resolution in order to prevent misrepresentation. As Mr. Grattan pledged himself in some degree on this question, Doctors Milner, Moylan, and I availed ourselves of the occasion of dining with him at Tinnehinch last Friday to explain the nature and grounds of the late resolution. I regret the necessity of having made it public, as it will be misunderstood by some, and misinterpreted by many, in England and Ireland.

“Doctor Power has probably conferred with you since his return to Waterford; whether or not, I thought it my duty to acquaint you likewise with the particulars I have mentioned, knowing how much you are interested in every measure tending to the prosperity and peace of our country.

“Lord Fingal has received a requisition signed, as I hear, by some noblemen and gentlemen to call a meeting of Catholics to consider the resolution of the prelates. Whatever resolutions shall be adopted at this meeting, should it take place, will create division amongst Catholics; an evil deprecated by all their friends.”

(2) SIR JOHN NEWPORT TO ARCHBISHOP TROY.

1808, October 5.—“You will I hope excuse the unavoidable delay which has taken place in my returning acknowledgments and thanks for your letter containing a very full statement of what has passed on the subject of the resolution of the Roman Catholic prelates.

“Unused to disguise my feelings, I cannot do otherwise than express my sincere regret at the circumstances which have taken place, and at the terms in which that resolution has been conveyed to the public. I am seriously apprehensive that the consequences will be most injurious in retarding the progress which we had made so rapidly and decidedly during the last session of Parliament in disposing the public mind to admit the completion of the most signal benefit which the united kingdom can experience.

“That the term expedient will fairly admit the interpretation which you have affixed to it as conveying the sense of the prelates, there is no doubt; but you have also admitted that it is susceptible of misconstruction by some, and of misrepresentation by many. When we know then that our enemies (and under that term I now class not only those powerful men who oppose the measure as clashing with their petty and personal interests, but also those who in real sincerity

of heart are disinclined to it upon honest though, as I conceive, mistaken principles) will so misconstrue and misinterpret whatever had proceeded from that respectable meeting, would it not have been far better that the resolution adopted (if any) had been so worded as to leave no room for doubt or uncertainty as to its meaning! Would it not still be desirable that it should be specifically and accurately restricted to present circumstances, and the refusal of Parliament to enter on the consideration of the Catholic claims at the present period; leaving it open expressly to future consideration at a fitter and more favourable opportunity. If something to this effect cannot be done, how much better would it have been that no meeting had taken place, or that the meeting had separated without coming to any resolution. I write to one who is well informed on the subject, and who knows that in the case of the bishopric of Breslaw in Silesia under the Prussian monarchy, and that of Mohilow under the Russian (both non-Catholic princes) a much greater cession of power was made with consent of the Pope to both those sovereigns, than was here either looked for or desired, namely, the power of nomination absolutely, and without any control other than the ceremony of confirmation.

“I will not further encroach on your time, which is, I am well assured, actively and usefully employed; but must repeat my sincere and heartfelt concern at what has passed, and my most anxious wish that some measure could be adopted which may diminish those evils which I fear must result from it.

“You do me, be assured, only justice in giving me credit for steady attachment to the interests of Ireland; and it will always give me pleasure to be so considered by you.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, October 26. Trentham.—“Tucker has just enclosed to me a letter which Lord St. Vincent desired me to forward to you, if I thought it worth while to do so; of course I have undertaken to send it to you, and I acquit myself of that promise, although there is not much in the letter. Lord Stafford has just signed a requisition for a county meeting for an address praying the King to assemble his Parliament; neither you nor I are, I believe, *very* solicitous for an early meeting, but upon public grounds I own I think this prayer is the most constitutional ground of address; and I approve it the more from the persuasion that no fair enquiry can be had without implicating in it the conduct of Ministers, and the conduct of Ministers can only be enquired into by the authority and intervention of Parliament. I think, therefore, this ground solid and constitutional; and in addition to that, all that is daily said of the prevailing impression of the weakness and distraction of the present Ministers, must lead the country to wish for the intervention of Parliament, and to

feel with impatience that the great interests of the present moment are left absolutely to the negligences and ignorances of the present Ministers. The state, however, of the Treasury account makes it clear that unless a strong effect is produced by the expression of the public impatience for Parliament, the Ministers will desire nothing more than to go blundering on till February or March, in hopes that the discussion of their misconduct may be superseded by more recent events, prosperous or unprosperous.

“My last letters from town suppose that the Duke of Portland, Lord Castlereagh, and Canning are the opposing party of the present Cabinet ; I hear too that H. Wellesley is to quit the Treasury for something better, and that Sir A. Wellesley is likely to be entirely bound up in the case of the convention, which is to be supported by Government. All this is uncertain ; what is most certain is that none of them have spirit enough to resign, though there is more division among them than ever prevailed in any Cabinet.”

LORD GRENVILLE to GEORGE PONSONBY.

1808, November 3. Boconnoc.—“I had seen with very great concern the resolution of the Irish Catholic bishops, and am sorry to observe that the impression it has produced here is even greater than might perhaps have been expected. With respect to the accuracy of the statements made by the friends of the Catholics in Parliament I never felt any uneasiness, knowing that I had a written authority for the very words which I myself had used, and that the suggestion laid before Parliament was exactly conformable to the spirit of that which had been agreed to in 1801. I have now the satisfaction of seeing from the papers which you enclosed to me, and which I now return, that the communication on which you acted was also in writing, and in terms so distinct and precise as to admit but of one interpretation. But the evil consequences of this event to the public interests are indeed extensive, and greatly to be lamented. The contrast between the real and supposed situation of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland is, to be sure, striking enough, but I fear the difference is not in favour of the interests of the empire. Instead of a set of arrogant and assuming prelates leading their flocks in blind submission, and grasping at the whole power of government both spiritual and temporal in Ireland, we see a body of men afraid to avow what they have done ; driven by mere newspaper clamour from measures which they, or at least a considerable part of them, have deliberately sanctioned ; disclaiming their friends and stooping to their assailants ; and at last wording their resolves in such terms as may convey to one party the impression that change would be inexpedient at any time, and to the other, that it is so only under the present circumstances. This last point I imagine they must in some shape or other more distinctly

explain, and on the explanation of it much of the future conduct, both of the Catholic laity, and of the well-wishers to measures of conciliation and union in Ireland must probably depend. The purpose of conciliating the affections of the mass of the Irish population to the laws and government of the United Kingdom is one which, I feel confident, we never shall abandon. The means to be pursued for this end must vary with the course of such events as those. This is now the second instance in the course of two years in which the endeavours of the friends of the Catholic cause have been materially, if not fatally, impeded by the conduct of the Catholics themselves. My anxiety for the success of that cause is not in the least abated by these events, although my hopes are.

“I hardly venture, at this distance from many whose opinions are entitled to so much weight on the subject, to hazard any judgment of my own, as to the precise moment at which the Catholic laity should require from the bishops the explanation above mentioned. The opportunity taken for the whole discussion by assembling the prelates this autumn to deliberate on the subject was certainly most unfavourable. The whole power of Government is on the watch to be employed against them, to take advantage of their difficulties, to inflame their divisions, and to misrepresent their motives and their actions. Those among themselves who are hostile to conciliatory propositions have the advantage of discussing every concession made to Government, not as it would be used by Governments in general, but as being to be placed in the hands of bigots and persecutors; those who would recommend moderation cannot flatter themselves or their hearers that, while the present system prevails, moderation will be of any effect to disarm intolerance.

“If therefore the whole question could for the present be laid to rest, the Catholics, I think, would be exposed to less inconvenience, than by the further agitation at this moment. But if their petition to Parliament is to be received, Parliament certainly will, those who present the petitions probably may, and even the petitioners themselves ought to require that they should distinctly understand on what footing this matter rests; whether it be a tenet of the Irish Catholic church that less power is to be conceded to the sovereign of the United Kingdom than the Pope has formally allowed to the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia in their respective empires; or whether we are only to understand that the Irish bishops think (as perhaps I do) that to alter this single point, while the Government continues hostile to their cause, and Parliament refuses to consider their petition, would be inexpedient for them and of no benefit to the empire.

“These ideas I throw out to you merely for consideration. I have already said that I distrust my own judgment on a question of such moment, and shall be anxious for the

opportunity of learning the sentiment of those who can best advise upon it.

“If Parliament does not assemble before Christmas, I shall probably not be in the neighbourhood of London till about the middle of December, at which time I should be happy if it suited you to allow me the pleasure of seeing you at Dropmore.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, November 7. Eden Farm.—“From the wintry symptoms now prevalent I infer that your return to Dropmore is approaching. You will probably find on your arrival that our countrymen are beginning to feel the anxieties and apprehensions which they ought to have felt long ago. They derive their confidence from the ministerial newspapers which by a short-sighted system are employed to give the grossest misrepresentations of what is passing, and the most fallacious hopes of what may be expected.

“We have lived in times when events have often been contrary to all reasonable calculations; and we can only hope that the armies under Baird and Sir John Moore may have succours and successes beyond every probability. They are at this moment wandering by different routes, in separated detachments, through 600 miles of bad roads; through countries utterly destitute of quarters and provision; and (in the ordinary course of the seasons) through frequent and most heavy rains. After all the energies so much talked of during five months, we are not yet within 200 miles of the scene of action; but are advancing subject at least to ‘a possibility’ that the reinforced armies of the French may have beaten the Spanish armies, or at least may be found too strong and too strongly posted to be attacked by us. It is a bad omen that the Spanish armies, of which we have heard so much, did not venture to risk the attack whilst the French were weak and subject to many difficulties and discouragements.

“Ever since I learned Sir John Moore’s march from Lisbon, and General Baird’s landing at Corunna, I have looked tremblingly to the chance, that before the 10th of next January we may lose both our armies. I do not say this however, except to you, because it would be called a language of discontent and opposition.

“Lord Moira has what is vulgarly called ‘a good thing of it’ in being appointed a member of the Court of Enquiry.

“The duties received on the Orders in Council Bill, which was called a Bill of Revenue, have amounted to 5,000*l.*, and the national debt converted into annuities to the end of October quarter, amounted to about 200,000*l.*”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1808, November 8. Stowe.—“I cannot better answer your enquiries about Sir A. Wellesley than by enclosing to you a

copy which I have made of his letter to Lord Castlereagh, and of his letter to Lord Temple. The caution that Lord Buckingham desired me to insert at the top of *not taking a copy*, is only to prevent it's getting into the newspaper. My brother agrees with me in thinking these very flimsy performances, and very strong evidences of a secret convention at Whitehall for the better defence of that of Cintra; and it will not escape your notice that great part of Sir Arthur's letter to Castlereagh, in reference to season and supplies, is evidently arranged for the vindication of Castlereagh as well as of Wellesley. The underscored words of imprudence and temerity refer to Lord Paget, who came over not only to justify the convention, but to charge Wellesley with having produced it by his petulance and temerity.

“Burrard's staying on ship-board and yet exercising some command by ordering Wellesley not to march on the 21st, is as inexcusable as his stopping the pursuit in the moment of victory. The disposition of Sir J. Moore's corps, originally destined to Santarem, was to cut in after the battle and to separate the French from Lisbon; and the change of this disposition Wellesley appears justified in considering as fatal to the campaign.

“I am told by good authority that Burrard was himself inclined to the pursuit after the battle, but was influenced by Clinton's opinion the other way. D—— is here, and has just received from his confidential Indian correspondent the news that Sir Arthur is expected in town to-day to resign the Irish Secretaryship, *in order to follow the military profession entirely*. I do not know how to believe it, in spite of this good authority for it, and I doubt it the more because from the same source I heard that H. Wellesley was quitting the Treasury for something else, and I do not see that report verified.

“Lord T[emple] is passing through the town, and writes his father word that he still finds great indignation awake about the convention, and a strong impression that it will be fatal to the Government; but this is a prediction to which I give no credit, and, as far as my observation goes, I incline to think that people are tired of the discussion, and are more ready than they were to suppose that the convention may be vindicated. Lord Buckingham believes that Cotton has signed a *subsequent* convention which stipulates that we are to *repair* and to keep in an active state the Russian ships of war; and Lord Mulgrave and Ministers are said to have disclaimed this convention, and to have recalled Cotton; if so they have done right.

“When I left Trentham Lord Stafford was stout about the success of an address for the meeting of Parliament which I thought quite unobjectionable; since that I find he has bothered the whole thing by leaving it too much in C. Wolseley's hands who is a very unpopular man; as soon

as I saw what was passing I wrote to advise him not to pursue the subject by a new meeting unless he was more confident than I am of the success of the enterprise ; after this wrangle among themselves I think it cannot do, and I hope he will not try it.

“My brother and I approve entirely of your suggestion to Henry ; I have forwarded to him your draft and Bathurst’s letter, and have desired him to return them to you at Boconnoc. It is like the rest of Canning to try to get out of his difficulties by misstatement, and I am pleased to see that you feel as you ought the flippancy and impertinence of his conduct upon the whole of this subject.

“I believe that I think still more deeply than either you or Lord Buckingham of the extensive mischief which must arise from the new Jacobin spirit infused into the Irish Catholics. This spirit, once awakened, prevents the possibility of union ; because the prejudices of the country will be confirmed against the concessions to the Catholics, and the Catholics will be taught to believe that nothing is conceded till the King shall be subjected to the Papal authority of the Irish church.

“That rogue Milner is writing canting letters to my brother, and talks of coming here ; I think his letter in the *Morning Chronicle* so abominable, after his original approbation of Troy’s paper, that if the house was mine I would not let him come into it. I hear hourly and daily of the bad effects among our friends from this wicked and foolish measure of Keogh’s.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1808, November 8.] Eden Farm.—“A gentleman officially employed at Madrid writes as follows :—

“‘28th October. The confidence of the people in the Junta is already on the decline ; there is much disorder in the town ; and massacres are to be apprehended in the event of any great misfortune to the armies. Moore’s cavalry and artillery are to march by Aranjuez, and his infantry by Almeida ; and Baird by Astorga. All are to assemble at Valladolid.’

“Nothing short of a special interposition of Providence can preserve those armies from distress and disgrace.

“In the smaller concerns of society I am sorry to hear this morning that Lady Essex is dangerously ill ; and that Lord Ilchester has broken his thigh by a fall from his horse in hunting. Mr. Norman (who married a sister of the Duke of Rutland) in this neighbourhood has contrived to break several of his front teeth on the edge of a marble chimney piece.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1808, November 10. Eden Farm.—“I yesterday saw Lord Liverpool who told me that Parliament is to meet on the 15th or 16th January.

“I have seen to-day a curious *private* letter from an official person to Lord Buckinghamshire, who happens to be here for two or three days. The tone and tendency of the letter is that ‘though the convention was faulty in itself, and most blundering in all its details, yet, on the whole, that it was no bad thing for the general views of the war. That Spain did not positively object to it; that the objections of Sweden were of no consequence, that the Portuguese were glad of any pretext to show their ingratitude; and that the convention was only to be regretted because it was made a means of sowing internal divisions and discontents. That the Court of Enquiry could not lead to any result. At the worst Sir H. Dalrymple had acted with a good intention from an error in judgment, and that if there were blame anywhere, it was in Sir H. Burrard who had not permitted Sir A. Wellesley to march forwards.’ He adds (and this is very curious), ‘that Portugal was likely to become a great and important field, more especially if the Spaniards should not be able to resist the French armies, as, in that case, our armies would fall back into Portugal.’

“God help our armies, if that case should arrive. Every thing that I hear confirms me in the opinion that our plans have been inconceivably infatuated in the whole of this business; and nothing can prevent that opinion from becoming general, but successes beyond what we have any reason to expect.”

[1808,] November 10.—THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE. See pp. 366-8.

SIR J. C. HIPPISELY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, November 13. Stow-Easton House.—“I will beg the favour of your Lordship to return the enclosures I forwarded from Stonehouse, including Lord Fingall’s last letter. I should have been very happy to have heard from you before I saw Lord Clifford who felt great anxiety on the subject, and wished particularly to see Lord Fingall’s correspondence. I have had many letters since those I transmitted to you, which speak of the principle influencing Milner to have been the violence of the people, worked up by what is called the Peerless Parliament under the influence of Keogh; and not a little to Mr. Clinch, whose brief *for the Bishops* was published a few days before the discussion took place.”

THE EARL OF FINGALL TO THE SAME.

1808, November 14. Killeen Castle.—“By the desire of the Roman Catholics of the County and City of Kilkenny I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship the enclosed address.

“I can with much truth assure your Lordship that the gratitude expressed by these gentlemen is equally felt by every Roman Catholic in Ireland. It affords me in particular the highest gratification to have this opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks to your Lordship.”



*Enclosing* a printed address to Lord Grenville, signed by the leading Catholics of the County and City of Kilkenny.

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1808, November 18. Eden Farm.—“I have had the advantage of seeing a letter written yesterday by one of the Ministers to a friend and relation upon the subject of the last advices from St. Andero and Corunna.

“The letter professes good hopes; it gives credit to ‘the good conduct of the Spaniards in the affair of Bilbao,’ and says that ‘they only gave way to repeated attacks made by superior numbers.’ It then adds, ‘on a subsequent day they succeeded in repulsing the advanced guard of the French’ (this alludes to the pretended victory of the 4th on the part of the Spaniards, who in fact retreated to Reynosa). The letter then adds ‘the Spanish generals appear to be prudently desirous not to commit themselves too deeply till the British army can take the field, and till they can combine their operations with those of our forces. Sir David Baird’s army was arriving at Astorga’ (*this cannot be accurate*). ‘Sir John Moore’s was marching upon Saragossa, but we do not know how far he was advanced; we think it probable that the whole of the British forces will form their junction at Valladolid.’

“The impression made on my mind by this information (if such it can be called) is, that our affairs in Spain are growing perilous, and hurrying to their catastrophe with a rapidity even beyond the fears that I have so long and so often expressed to you.

“If, previously to the projected junction at Valladolid, the French should have driven the Spanish armies to the southward of Valladolid, the Lord have mercy upon our armies, at such a season, in such roads, and with such a want of provisions.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1808, November 24. Stowe.—“The dangerous illness of Lady Essex having stopped my visit to Cashiobury, I have remained here and have seen your letter to Lord Buckingham which he has just showed to me. As I have not read the paper of Dr. Milner’s to which you allude, I cannot offer any advice to you in reference to its contents; but I confess that I strongly concur with Lord Buckingham in thinking that the less you have to do in correspondence with or in reference to Dr. Milner, the better. Lord Buckingham’s recollection is that the paper in question of Milner’s writing, was as Jesuitical and indistinct as all his subsequent writings have been, and, if so, I cannot but agree with Lord Buckingham that you had better only print Dr. Troy’s paper from the bishops, which is of sufficient authority by itself, and which does not want the suspicious and equivocal collateral evidence of Milner’s paper. You see I am, as much as I was, quite out

of charity with him; and the letter which he has printed in yesterday's *Oracle* has not better reconciled me to him either in point of integrity or prudence; I therefore should certainly agree with Lord Buckingham in opinion that the less you have to do with him the better; even *our ladies* here have abandoned him, and have no other excuse for his conduct but to allege, which they seriously do, that they know he has been twice out of his mind, and literally confined in a straight waistcoat.

"Wellesley and Sir Hew are, as you see, at open war, and the *Courier* of to-day has a long paragraph of attack upon Wellesley's duplicity in his defence. I think they all, Ministers and generals and admirals, make a most disgraceful figure, and I suppose General Ferguson's evidence will not let Sir H. Burrard slip by, as government appear to wish. You cannot be more distrustful than I am of the result of the Spanish campaign; and it is dreadful to observe that our troops appear to have been sent into the middle of Spain with as little concern for their retreat in case of disaster as the Duke of Brunswick had made for the armies of the great Frederick.

"My brother is better, his foot is healing, and his spirits mending, but the loss of his front teeth appears to have confirmed him in the use of a liquid diet, which I cannot but think very little suited to his health. I still believe that wholesome diet and regular exercise would make him a Hercules; but he lives upon slops and stirs very little."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, November 25. Stowe.—"The printed copy in question shall be ready for you at Dropmore at the time you name; the addition of that paper which was delivered at the time of the Union will have been made; but on considering with my brother Tom the idea of adding the copy of Milner's paper delivered to you the morning of the debate, we are very averse from it; considering that he has shown himself so little to be depended upon, either as an honourable or indeed as a safe man to act with. I cannot tell you how entirely I am scandalised at his refusal to bear that testimony to truth which, in every character, he was bound so very decidedly to declare. The less then we appear to depend upon or to appeal to the testimony of a man who has shown himself so very unfit for such a negotiation the better; particularly as in point of fact, you did in the House of Lords distinctly refer to the Union proposition, as one which was not new to you, and which being a grave, well-considered, authorised and official document, must be the corner-stone from which no sophistry of friend or foe can beat you.

"Milner's declarations of gratitude and attachment to you were unbounded, but I could never induce him to come up to the touchstone of justifying himself and those who pledged themselves for the Catholic vote in Parliament, by this

deliberate and authorised act of 1799: I feel it therefore due to you to urge you to think of such conduct as I do.

“As to the Board of Enquiry I cannot conceive what can have suggested to Government or induced them to accede to such an act of folly, that must certainly end in exposing not the faults of generals, but the errors of Ministers in their arrangements of the force; and it is difficult even now to conceive how they are to shake off the 500 charges, which the mutual recriminations of Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Arthur Wellesley have fixed upon government. I am satisfied that Burrard has been purposely kept abroad; for Craddock wrote me word last Saturday *was three weeks* of his appointment to Portugal, and of his orders to set off on the next Monday; instead of which Craddock has been attending the Board as a spectator till Wednesday last, when he went to Portsmouth and is not yet sailed. I think it seems clear that a court-martial must sit on both Dalrymple and Wellesley. The latter has completely marred his case by the different language he has held; and above all by his ill-judged letter to Lord Castlereagh. The language of the Duke of Cumberland is very loud on the misconduct of Government, and on the necessity of getting rid of Lords Mulgrave and Castlereagh, but this language is not worth a farthing, save that it shows that the King takes no *personal interest* in them. Nevertheless he will support them; and the whole will stand its ground.

“The news of this morning dashes all our Spanish hopes and increases the alarm for the safety of our troops, now dispersed in every village between Bajados and Salamanea; and between Corunna and Astorga: Lord Castlereagh has been loud against Moore’s march; but he has assigned no one reason for the delay of Sir D. Baird’s army, particularly of the cavalry, who might clearly have been sent to that same spot three months ago.

“It is idle to speculate where we have so little of certain information, but my hopes are indeed very low.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1808, November 29. Eden Farm.—“I have not written during the last fortnight, because I had nothing to communicate of more certainty than the contradictory statements in the newspapers. The predicament of the Spanish patriots, and eventually of the British armies, looks most ——— ! and I am only surprised that the glaring folly and danger of the two marches from Lisbon and Corunna is not yet visible to the optics of our shortsighted countrymen. I have reason to believe that the king originally stated strong and sensible objections to those measures, over which he now groans loudly.

“Our friend Lord Holland seems from the first to have had a sort of Spanish fever, which still holds possession of him. The result must, I fear, be calamitous to the Spaniards,

and disgraceful to our political and military character; though there still may be occasional variations and long-winded anxieties.

“The Court of Enquiry is subjected by its constitution to much colloquial impertinence. It is however a painful duty for a Judge-Advocate, if he must permit such questions as the following to be put and answered; Pray, general, do you think that an English army, put into the situation of the French army, would have thought it right to surrender at discretion? and Pray, general, what is your opinion as to what would have been the opinion of the French, if in similar circumstances, they have been asked to make a similar convention?”

“Yesterday the 28th, I received yours of the 25th. I trust that this will travel faster, otherwise it will not find you at Bocomoc.

“I fear that we are not likely to meet before I settle in London. We go to-morrow to Shottesbrook till Saturday next. From Saturday till Wednesday, 7th, we shall be at Blenheim. On the 7th again at Shottesbrook. On the 8th at Roehampton till the 10th; on the 10th at the Pleasantary, Bushey Park. And on the 12th, we must settle here for the sake of our two youngest sons during their holidays, which will last till the third week in January.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, December 3. Cleveland Square.—“As you have given me no intelligence of your direction, I scarce guess how to write to acknowledge your letters of the 27th and 30th November; but as you had said you should go from Castle Hill to Lord Bath’s, I take the chance of catching you with one line at Longleat in your road to Dropmore. I have this moment left a person who has read a letter from an officer in Baird’s army, which letter arrived yesterday evening from Corunna; the letter is dated on 24th November from Villafranca, a few leagues west of Astorga on the road to Lugo. It is written in the most desponding language; the writer says that the whole French column now in motion consists of 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, that Baird has had no communication with Moore, and he, the writer, says that the French are now manœuvring from Benevente to turn the left of Baird, who is just beginning his retreat to Lugo. The writer’s opinion is that the French will succeed in turning the left of Baird’s by the way of Oviedo, and thus cut off Baird from Corunna. He says Astorga is indefensible, but that the country will afford Baird great means of resistance if he can find provisions; he concludes with saying that he fears they shall be cut off, but that *Baird will not surrender without a struggle*. You will guess how desperate this sounds when I tell you that the writer of this letter is connected with the staff of Baird’s army. I hear a rumour of Ministers being

violent against Baird, from their finding that Baird stopped at Astorga from the 17th to the 24th; and this delay does seem unaccountable unless he stopped to try to support Moore, and stopped in vain.

“Tierney has a letter to-day from Lord Holland of 24th November from Corunna, merely saying that the French *voltigeurs* had made his return to Corunna necessary, but that he still hoped to find it practicable to get to Madrid by way of Lisbon.

“Lord H. Petty and Tierney both talk of taking an early moment to see you at Dromore; I shall not delay to come as soon as I hear from you that you are arrived.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1808, December 10. Rochampton.—“This letter will probably find Lady Grenville and you resettled at Dromore, after a journey and visits of six or eight days, during which the weather has been fine and favourable beyond all reasonable calculation. We also have had a long vagrancy, which is drawing to its close. On Monday morning we go back to Eden Farm.

“I have long said to you, and you appeared to have the same opinion, that the inconceivable plan of a Portuguese and Spanish campaign which his Majesty’s Ministers had adopted, must, after a mad waste of men, horses, artillery and money, end in disaster and disgrace, and in an eventual increase of the dangers and the difficulties of the war. That prophesy is now most unhappily accomplished. I will not plague you with details. The *Morning Chronicle* of this day states them accurately enough, and makes good remarks on them. I have had in the last two days repeated communications from an old acquaintance who has the confidence of a principal department, and who has hitherto been an optimist in Spanish business to a degree of presumptuous madness. His tone at last is fallen and changed.

“With respect to the retreat of our three sacrificed armies, it is by no means certain that the utmost energy of running will save them. Baird will be hard pressed, and Moore’s rear will probably be harassed. The losses and sufferings from the want of provisions and forage must be extreme. The unwillingness of the Spaniards and Portuguese to run further risks in a lost cause will also begin to operate. Much of our artillery must necessarily be abandoned. General Hope, unless given up (which is possible) by the Spaniards, may ‘run’ to the southward.

“In short the whole history is to us calamitous and lowering in every point of view; and it has from the first been glaringly evident that it must be so. To our enemy it is every thing that can favour his future views, and elevate his character and power. He will indemnify his whole expenses of the year from the church property of Spain; he will have the

uncontrolled possession of the Spanish ports of Spain (so dangerous to Ireland); and (which is the worst of all things), he will have sunk us in our self-estimation.

"I do not think that the Ministers can survive the first fortnight of the session; and I have reason to believe that some of them are of that opinion. In the meantime it is well known that they are now quarrelling among themselves, and that Mr. Canning disavows his share in the military and naval plans. What will be the next Government is beyond all speculation.

"The notion of assembling 'in force' at Lisbon is a new absurdity, which the country will not hear of long, except for the purposes of retreat.

"The King must, I think, feel that it was an ill-fated moment when he put himself into the hands of a Ministry which was founded in falsehood, which has been conducted with folly and with redoubled falsehood, and which has brought the empire to a situation of peril beyond anything that we have yet seen. When I wrote a letter to his Majesty, which you saw, and which frankly told him that he was preparing for himself a bitter repentance, I did not think that it would be so rapidly verified.

"I yesterday received a note from a friend much connected with Government, who writes, 'what will you say if, notwithstanding all this, we can now open a negotiation for peace? I answered 'I will say that you are adding ridicule to our national distress and disgrace.'

"It has been said to me that there is a sort of 'velleity' towards a communication between the Marquis Wellesley and the Sidmouths. I do not think that such a coalition is either practicable, or of any possible effect if it were practicable.

"But all these speculations sink amidst the perils of the general situation; and the danger is that the Government may be thrown into the hands of wild democrats.

"This scrawl has got itself into more length than I meant.

"Have you had any communication with Lord Grey? It grows very desirable that you should confer fully with him and some others."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, December 12. Cleveland Square.—"I have forwarded Holland's letter to Lord Grey as you desired, and most entirely do I agree with him in opinion that the disgrace which we have incurred by the military measures of our own troops will more than ever discredit and ruin the character of our army upon the Continent. The success of the French in this campaign is not a jot more than I had expected it to be; but the degradation of our arms, and the resentment which our conduct will produce on the part of those whom we have assisted at such a heavy cost, all this additional

defeat of our national honour and character is now much more than I was prepared for, even at the hands of our present rulers. This state of ruin and dismay has produced among the Ministers the natural consequence of such a state in divisions and mutual complaints and recriminations. Of course political speculations are every day afloat, and many of our sanguine friends seem to think that the Government cannot stand. I am as incredulous now as I was at Stowe when I heard all the princely expectations on this subject ; it is possible that Mulgrave or Castlereagh may give way to Lord Wellesley or Lord Melville or somebody else ; but as to a change of Government, I have not the smallest faith in any such event being in the contemplation of the King, or being likely to be produced by any change of opinion in the majority of the House. They will grumble and complain and support, whatever be the events that may have happened, or the disasters that we may have incurred. Our Ministers certainly now mean the defence of Portugal, and Sir A. Wellesley is quoted as having recommended this measure. I was surprised yesterday by a note from Lady Bathurst desiring me to dine there to-day ; I am going there accordingly, but I cannot help thinking it a little odd, as I have had no sort of communication with them for these two or three years.

“ Tierney and Lord H. Petty and Wickham dine with me to-morrow, and I meet them at Lord Henry’s on Thursday, so that I cannot get to you before Friday next. Kidd has been very ill and has written to me in great distress ; if you and Lord Buckingham approve, I would propose to send him 50*l.* by Coutts, of which each of us would pay a third. Let me know by return of post if you approve.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1808, December 14. Cleveland Square.—“ Tierney, who dined with me yesterday, expressed so much solicitude to see you as early as next Friday, that I undertook at his request to announce him to you as well as myself for Friday ; but I shall not know till to-morrow whether Lord H. Petty comes or not. Tierney’s great object seems to be to have as immediate a view as he can of your intentions, and he will have a great deal to say that is very curious upon this subject ; though I think you will probably agree with me in opinion that, although what you will hear proves undeniably the rotten state of the present fabric, it does not furnish any sufficient motive for changing the view which you have all along taken. I am no believer in the advantage public or private of great party exertion in the present circumstances ; Lord G[rey’s] health as well as his inclination will keep him in the country, and Lord L[auderdale] professes his intention of remaining in Scotland to finish a book which he is writing on the East Indies ; there is reason to think the Prince more engaged

than is generally known, and certainly enough so to prevent his taking part ; but when I mention these circumstances as confirming my opinion, you must not understand Tierney as being insensible to them. I think he feels them as much as any body, and that what he is now chiefly intent upon is to consider of the best course that you can take under these circumstances, and that he is anxious not to let the meeting approach without some line, either active or inactive, being taken by you, different from the loose practice of the last session of which, and especially in the House of Commons, he has a great horror ; but his desire is to act and to be seen as acting with you. We shall talk these matters over, but if he comes with me on Friday I think it right you should previously have this short intimation of his present views.

“There are, as I hear, French papers which describe the loss of Castanos to have been 3,000 killed, and 5,000 prisoners ; and the runners of Government are already abusing Moore for having retreated so soon. The idea still prevails that Castlereagh must go out ; but I hear nobody named as supplying his place. The more I think the subject over the more I am convinced that no effort should now be made for power, and that the possession of it could not easily lead to any great public good in the present circumstances.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, December 17. Eden Farm.—“I am sorry to see that you think even more despondingly than I do of our predicament and prospects. I certainly am not eager to enter into the small and fruitless war of words in Parliament, and am sometimes tempted to abandon my attendance there, on a system merely personal, and not ill suited to the latter autumn of life.

“My Spanish views are not exhilarated by a note written to me last night by a correspondent in the confidence and responsibility of Government. After enclosing a bulletin which lays a silly stress on the determination of the Madrid populace to defend their capital (which is as open as Salisbury Plain), he adds ‘in these urgent times men catch at straws, and you will say that I send you a straw, but Madrid is determined to be a second Saragossa ; if so, Moore will have time on his hands. I do not despair at all, all may be well yet—protraction is every thing.’

“I am perverse enough to despair more than ever, and think that the protraction of the retreat of our armies is a decision big with extreme peril. Nor would that opinion be changed, even if I were to hear that the armies had effected their junction, and gained some advantage.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1808, December 28. Eden Farm.—“Yours of the 23rd is certainly not cheering. It confirms my fears that our



Spanish adventure must end disastrously and disgracefully, not in the confined sense of those adverbs, but with growing distresses and lasting discredit, affecting the safety and character of the whole British empire.

“I do not however allow that the circumstances are yet sufficiently ascertained to enable or authorise you to form and fix any plan for your conduct in the approaching session. Nor can I yet believe that the existing Government will be ‘as triumphant in Parliament as it is dishonoured every where else.’ It is not in the nature of men, much less of Englishmen, to preserve confidence in those who, in the whole faulty system and blundering details of a series of most important measures, have disappointed the fair pride, prejudices, hopes, expectations, and essential interests of the country.

“But the immediate object (and permit me to say duty) on your part is to consider well, again and again, the steps to be taken at the opening of the session. And first with respect to the Commons. Some of our friends certainly exhibited both in the last and preceding session very mischievous and wild notions; and indeed the whole machine, both in its leadings and followings, was ill-combined. But the reins are not to be thrown in despair upon the necks of wild horses. I always regretted that your brother and others who could have had a salutary influence, remained so much at their own firesides. And I do not think that it would be in any sense good for you entirely to withdraw from all connection with the measures of the other House, either apparently or in fact. Much possible benefit may be attained, and much evil may be averted by the weight of your opinions and influence.

“As to the Lords, it appears to me that we should take an early occasion to enter upon the journals of Parliament a temperate statement of opinions on all the late counsels and measures connected with Denmark, Russia, Sweden, Spain, America, the King’s declaration, and the manufacturing and commercial interests. This might be done, either by an amendment to the address, or by separate motions and debates, or by a motion for an address a fortnight or three weeks after the opening of the session. A formal notice of such a motion might be given on the first day, after we shall have heard what the Ministers may have to say for themselves; and when we shall have seen somewhat more than we can yet conjecture respecting the extent of the public calamity, and the sense of Parliament, and of the country.

“As at present advised, I should prefer the last mode; but, at any rate, if you incline to any one of the three suggestions, it would be now desirable to reduce the proposed address to writing, provisionally, and subject of course to the corrections and additions which every day’s intelligence may supply. It will be material to avoid any early division. We ought

not to give to individuals an opportunity of pledging themselves in support of measures, the folly and mischief of which will become from day to day more generally perceptible. Calamities, I fear, will not be wanting to awaken our countrymen out of doors, and many shabby individuals will then be eager to sail with the gale and tide of the public opinion.

“I have postponed this letter for the arrival of news, to which I look forward with fear, though it can hardly be worse than I expect.”

*Postscript.*—“Since writing the above Lord Hood has called on me, and expresses himself loudly, and without reserve, in strong condemnation of the late measures. I have also received the order suspending all the *financial* part of the act relative to the Orders in Council.”

*Enclosing:*

A letter from Thomas Martin, of Liverpool, in regard to the great distress produced throughout Lancashire by the Orders in Council.

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1808, December 31. Eden Farm.—“Many thanks for yours which I have this moment received; and with a full assent to all its forebodings, remarks, and inferences. I still repeat, however, that before the meeting of Parliament the whole surrounding scenery may change most materially; and I much fear still for the worse.

“Sir John Moore’s movements would be destitute of common sense, if it were not his decided (and I think desperate) intention to place himself in the alternative between complete success and the total destruction of his army. He clearly means to fight under every disadvantage of precarious subsistence, comparative force, eventual resources, and no possible retreat. ‘*Aut cito mors venit, aut victoria læta.*’ God send us a good deliverance; and, by the bye, that deliverance would not be effected even by one, two, or three victories.

“Sir John Moore’s meaning is confirmed to me by a private demi-official letter. In the meantime nobody seems to recollect that from the 7th to the 17th Buonaparte’s attention and energies must have been employed with all his immense means to prepare for us. I do not recollect to have seen a more tremendous moment.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1808, December. 31. Cleveland Square.—“You will have seen by my letter of yesterday that my anxiety was not less than yours upon what was then known of Moore’s position, and I confess that the subsequent account which arrived of Moore’s having joined Baird at Benevento has very much increased my apprehension for the result. Buonaparte’s first object must be to intercept the English from Lisbon and

Vigo, in order then to bear them down by the irresistible superiority of his numbers. Moore's last move increases his difficulty of retiring to Lisbon, and how long Vigo will be open to him remains to be seen.

"I return you Grey's letter which is very much what I expected in respect to your proposed speech, which he seems to me generally not to disapprove, because, he is only anxious for a declaration of *mitigated attendance* instead of mitigated *secession*; and I should certainly agree with him in preferring the former shade rather than the latter, and have always understood you to be as solicitous as he can be to avoid any thing that can be construed into a declaration of secession. I do moreover think that the frightful hourly increase of public danger is such as does make it quite a duty to abstain as much as possible from all harrassing opposition, and most particularly so under circumstances which do not afford any probability of doing any public good. What I did not expect to find in Grey's letter is that he should be so giddy with all this wild Spanish dream as to shut his eyes upon the childish nonsense of Canning's declaration; undoubtedly if we had encouraged Spain to rise against France by our promises of an English army, it would have been base, after entering into that engagement, not in some measure to abide the risk and danger which attended it; but in this case we volunteer both the risk and the obligation or engagement, under circumstances of so disastrous a complexion as would almost have absolved you from any previous engagement which you had contracted.

"Petty has just been with me, and has seemed to me to admit the necessity of something being done to prevent the recurrence of the inconveniences of last session, but to doubt whether your proposed declaration would not invite all the disadvantage of a measure of *secession*. I repeated to him my conviction that there was nothing that you felt more jealous of than of giving rise by any words of yours to any idea of *secession*; and he seemed ultimately to agree entirely with me in the statement which I made to him, which was this; that some step must be taken in the very first beginning of the session to rescue us from the renewal of the disgraceful and unsatisfactory state of the last session; that no step for this purpose could be taken without some inconvenience, and that your proposed speech appeared to me likely to accomplish this with the least inconvenience; but, that if any mode could be suggested that was equally effectual, and liable to still less inconvenience, that would certainly be preferable, but that I did not know how to find it. He remarked how much he assented to that view of the subject, and how widely *Tierney exceeded* this line when he talked of breaking up the party in order to give it the best chance of acting afterwards together. I could not but accede to Petty's remark on Tierney, because I had twice lately had

occasion to observe to Tierney himself, that I thought he provoked objections to our proposed measure by describing it as breaking up the party; and I reminded him that much of our consideration had always been given to the adoption of some measure which should secure our own public conduct with as little violence as possible to the feelings of every man of the party with whom we had been acting. The truth is that Tierney is so desirous of seeing this division of the party, that he almost openly professes it; while to me it appears that we should be found doing what we think right, but with every desire and attention to show that we wish to keep the whole party together as much as possible.

“Ponsonby called upon me and seemed embarrassed in his conversation, and not desirous of dwelling upon the discussion of this part of the subject; but, however, he distinctly said that he found everybody whom he had seen agreeing that there was no use in Opposition making at present any active exertions.

“I heard from my brother yesterday with a just expression of despondency about Spain; he comes up for a few days to the meeting; he believes in great impression being made at Windsor upon these disastrous events, and doubts whether the King will not be more disinclined to his present Ministers than even to his last; he is confident this Government will not be patched by Lord Melville, who is loud in abuse of the Spanish war, or by Wellesley, who, according to him, is to attack Government on the first day of the session, though he is to profess no inclination to the Opposition. My own belief is that there will be no change whatever till we have lost our army in Spain, and, in that case, there will not be many eager competitors for government.”

#### WILLIAM WICKHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1809,] January 2. Wycombe.—“Flint has received a letter from General Anstruther, which he was desired to communicate to me. It is a valuable (though a melancholy) document as containing the sentiments of a man of acknowledged talents, and the person whom, of all others at present with the army, I know that Moore would be most desirous to consult.

“The letter is dated the 4th, at a time, that is, when (probably, according to the opinion of our Ministers at Madrid) Moore had suspended his own retreat, and directed that of Baird to be suspended also. It gives a short account of the defeat of the different Spanish armies, and then adds, ‘but when will our turn come? This at least I can say that, come when it may, though our numbers are small, we shall make a respectable resistance. I hope and trust however that our General will not think it advisable to risk this last hope of our armies in efforts that, I am persuaded, will be entirely useless.’

“With this opinion so clearly expressed, knowing as I do the confidence reposed in the writer, I cannot help persuading

myself that some foolish letter of Frere's has piqued Moore to the quick, and compelled him, against his better judgment, to commit the safety of his whole army on the cast of a single die."

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE EARL OF FINGALL.

1809, January 4. Dropmore.—“I have many thanks to return to your Lordship for the obliging terms in which you have conveyed to me the resolution of the Roman Catholics of the County and City of Kilkenny; and I beg leave to assure you that this testimony of good opinion from so respectable a body of my fellow-subjects has, in my estimation, derived additional value by passing through the hands of a person so peculiarly entitled to the esteem and respect of every friend to the best interests of the United Kingdom.

“I trust there will be no impropriety in my requesting your Lordship to have the goodness to convey in return my best and warmest acknowledgments to the gentlemen who have done me the honour to express so flattering a sense of my conduct and language in Parliament respecting the situation and requests of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. I have acted in this respect from the thorough conviction that every public man is bound, especially in those awful times in which our lot has been cast, to labour to the utmost of his power for the union and harmony of a people having the same interests to defend, and the same dangers to fear. Every measure conducive to this object, every manifestation of mutual kindness and confidence, every sacrifice of reciprocal jealousies, is in my judgment to be numbered among the most important services that can be rendered to the British Empire.” *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 5. Cleveland Square.—“I return you your poor consul's lamentation, which is another deplorable instance of the inexplicable arrangements of the Foreign Department; with Frere, John Villiers, and Lord Amherst sent, how can anybody wonder at who is not sent?

“Undoubtedly it is evident that Moore must be overpowered, for after the present reinforcement, we have no more to send, and even a partial defeat of Soult's corps must ultimately end in our being trampled over by superior numbers; yet having once committed the gross error of sending an English army into Spain, our Ministers see nothing left for them but desperately to persist in the folly that they have once committed, and to nurse in the public mind the inconsiderate and womanish enthusiasm to which they have abandoned themselves, as a proof that the public have partaken with them of all the blame and errors which will be to fall so heavily upon us.

“Ponsonby passed two hours with me yesterday in talking over the subjects of his speech on the first day. His own view of all the principal topics, namely the Baltic campaign, the American negotiation, the plan of the Spanish war, and the inadequate execution even of their own plan, upon all these topics what he describes to be his opinion seems very much to accord with ours, although he is not prepared to go to the whole length of our objections to the employment of an English army in Spain. He always repeats to me, that everybody with whom he converses agrees with him in thinking this is not the time for very active opposition. I hear no news to-day, but I do really now begin to feel quite afraid to ask for the news of the day.”

SIR J. C. HIPPISELY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 5. Mells Park.—“Having yesterday stopped my letters at the Post Office in Bath, I found the enclosed from Mr. Butler. The letter to which he refers I have not yet received, having been absent some days from Stow Easton. I wrote to Mr. Butler last night from Bath, and am tempted to address your lordship again on this important subject, which has not only produced great embarrassment to the political friends of the Catholics, but has also produced a very mischievous effect on the minds of a people easily influenced, which the public enemy will not fail to endeavour to turn to his advantage.

“With respect to the immediate object of Mr. Butler’s inquiry, I have told him that I have no *precise* information of the mode of appointing Roman Catholic Bishops in *Russia* and *Prussia*, but I consider the fact unquestionable that those appointments were made in concurrence with the respective Sovereigns; and I also understood that the Article of Religion, in the Constitution of Corsica, was framed on the basis of this known practice, in which Article it is expressly stipulated that the appointment of Bishops shall be made ‘*Concertando colla Santa Sede.*’ You will find a reference to this Article in a *brochure* which I sent to you soon after the first agitation of this question in Parliament, and it is somewhat remarkable that one of the most forward advocates for its extended circulation in *Ireland*, was *Mr. Clinch*, whose publication in Dublin, at the eve of the meeting of the Roman Catholic Prelates last September, is considered as having operated more forcibly against *their recognition* of the Veto, than any other means. You will recollect having some letters of this *Mr. Clinch*, who is an Irish barrister and particularly connected with *Mr. Keogh*. Yet in 1805 he brought over a copy of my *brochure* from *Dr. Troy*, in which he had corrected some parts of *Dr. Troy’s* letters in the appendix, at the Doctor’s desire, and urged me, as I had before been strongly urged by many of the Irish Catholic prelates (to each of whom a copy had been sent) to permit the republication

in Ireland, although the proposal of the *Veto* is distinctly stated therein.

“You will recollect the letters of Dr. Troy to me in the interval after the last question in Parliament and the meeting of the prelates in September, in which the Doctor repeatedly assures me that Dr. Milner may be *at his ease*, as *there was no doubt but the prelates*, at their meeting, would confirm the proposal of Dr. Milner. I am persuaded that many of those prelates went to the meeting with that intention; but I understand that some of the younger bishops were very violent, and influenced by the faction called the *Pimlico Parliament*; and Mr. Clinch’s pamphlet was brought forward as unanswerable.

“Since the last letters I forwarded to you at Boconnoc, I have received many communications from Dr. Troy on the same subject, and I regret to see that both Dr. Troy and *Dr. Moylan* are now less disposed to the measure than their former letters had intimated. I have not, for some time, troubled you with their communications, as I apprehended you had considered my former communications on this subject too voluminous; but as I was conscious there was no *Protestant* in correspondence with those prelates to whom they were disposed to speak with so *much frankness* as to myself, I considered it of importance that you should receive the fullest information.

“In the years 1794–5 I had repeated conversations with the Cardinal Secretary of State (Zelada) and the Cardinals Antonelli, Gerdil, and Borgia, successively in the prefecture of the department which is the organ of the Roman Catholic discipline in *Foreign States*, (the College of *Propaganda fidei*), in which conversations, I found them readily disposed to favour any arrangement in *Great Britain or Ireland* which should be agreeable to Government. The late Pope had given one striking proof in superseding the appointment of Italian superiors in the national colleges in favour of British subjects who *had taken the Oath of Allegiance*. I was assured by these Ministers of the Pope, that Rome would willingly withdraw the *vicars apostolic*, if our Government wished the prelates resident in England and Scotland to be less dependent on the See of Rome, as Bishops Ordinary certainly are (which is fully stated in my *brochure*); and in those conversations also I often referred to the modes of appointment of bishops in Ireland, and remember distinctly being informed by Cardinal Borgia that the appointments of Dr. Troy and Dr. Hussey took place in *deference* to the wishes of *our Government*. Cardinal Antonelli, I recollect, also objected much to the appointment of the *regular* clergy to bishops’ sees, and the annals of *Propaganda* have fully proved the dissension that has obtained between the *regular* and *secular* clergy in Ireland, which is particularly stated in a *memorial* of the Secretary of *Propaganda* addressed to the Pope, and which I will take

an opportunity hereafter of putting into your hand. And I will suppose that the King's Ministers were of opinion with Cardinal Antonelli that *monks and friars* were not proper subjects for the episcopacy, and the name of a monk should be *presented* to the Castle ; here a sound occasion immediately offers for exercising the Veto.

“ Dr. Troy is himself a Dominican friar. I do not recollect whether I ever stated to you a conversation in point, which occurred during Lord Castlereagh's Secretaryship in Ireland. The fact was that I had heard from Dr. Troy's agent in London that a *friar* was proposed to fill up a vacant Catholic see in Ireland ; I wrote immediately to Lord Castlereagh stating to him what I have now stated to you (the opinion of Cardinal Antonelli), and soon after Lord Castlereagh wrote me that he had spoken to *Dr. Troy on the subject*, and it was settled to his satisfaction. Here is a practical example of the exercise of the *Veto*, though not directly conceded as an act of the clergy in the aggregate.

“ At the desire of the Duke of Portland, I drew up a summary of my correspondence on this subject, which was communicated to Lord Castlereagh in 1799, and the proposed Veto was distinctly comprehended. You will find this stated in that part of my *brochure* which refers to the proposal of Mr. Lee, at that time Member for Waterford.

“ I recollect Cardinal Gerdel, when Prefect of Propaganda, mentioned the objections of the See of Rome to the proposed alterations of the bishops' sees in Corsica, but not to the *concert* in appointments. He mentioned, at the same time, the readiness the Pope had shown to comply with the wishes of the Empress Catherine in substituting a *new oath* which was taken by the Archbishop of Mohilow, in place of the ordinary *pontifical* oath ; and also the fact of the same oath being allowed to be taken in future by the *Irish Roman Catholic Prelates*, which was settled, to the best of my recollection, in the year preceding the Irish Bill of 1793.

“ You will recollect a statement I handed to you of the objections of the Court of Rome, as referring to the ancient claims of *sovereigns* in Corsica, in favour of which they were desirous of having a saving clause, as had been granted by the Court of Versailles ; but in the correspondence at that time not a word was urged by the Cardinal Secretary of the proposed concert of appointments to bishops' sees in Corsica.

“ The Courts of Russia and Prussia had each agents who conducted at Rome everything connected with ecclesiastical arrangements ; this fact is denied by a recent Irish writer on the authority of Dr. Bodkin, the Warden of Galway ; but I can speak with certainty of the fact.

“ Although I have no document expressly recognizing this concert of appointments in Russia and Prussia, I have an original letter in my possession recognizing the *principle* as applying to the *United Provinces*, wherein Cardinal



Zondadari informs me that the practice was that the Arch Priest presented each priest or *curé* (nominated to a parish) to the civil magistrate for his approbation '*pour être avoué,*' and if disapproved, another was presented.

"Conceiving this authority might be usefully introduced at the meeting in September, I transmitted the *original letter* to Dr. Troy for that purpose, which has since returned, and and on my return to Stow Easton I will forward it to you, as it may be referred to should any conversation arise in Parliament on this painful subject. If you think it desirable I shall very readily transmit any further information I may receive from Ireland. I do not apprehend that I shall be able to attend the meeting of Parliament, as I am detained by an afflicting circumstance in my family; but it is probable I may receive, from time to time, the most authentic intelligence from the Irish Roman Catholic prelates, which may be proper for your Lordship to be acquainted with.

"I have omitted to mention—what indeed is of some moment—the opinion of Monsignor Caleppi, the Nuncio to the Court of Portugal, who was in London soon after the discussion in Parliament. I stated to him particularly the *proposed Veto*, which met with his *entire concurrence*; and he *spontaneously* mentioned the practice of the Catholic provinces of Poland now under Protestant or schismatic Sovereigns, and, in the presence of Lady Hippisley, wrote down the names of various Archbishops and Bishops in which the appointment was made with the *concurrence* of the respective sovereigns. Some also in *Silesia*.\*

"I repeatedly pressed this part of Monsignor Caleppi's statement, in my correspondence with the Irish Roman Catholic prelates; and Dr. Milner, I think, was present at one conversation with Monsignor Caleppi on this subject. Monsignor Caleppi was himself accredited to the principal Courts on the Continent, and more employed in foreign missions since the year 1767, than any other prelate. He has resided at Vienna, Warsaw, and was sent to Petersburg to make the necessary arrangements on the occasion of the Russian division of Poland, so that no prelate could be more competent to speak to the fact. I much regret that I had not desired him to state it *distinctly* in writing.

"You are at liberty to state this fact in the *most decided manner*.

"You will excuse this unconnected letter, as I have been frequently disturbed in writing it; but, as I expressed myself very shortly to Mr. Butler, who puts the question to me for your Lordship's information, I was desirous to add those circumstances which have since occurred to me; though my mind is very ill at ease, and little suited to state the facts connected with this subject in the manner I could wish.

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\* If I can put my hand on this note I will forward it to your Lordship.

“ If you can conveniently put your hand on the last letters of Lord *Fingal* and Dr. Troy, I shall be much obliged to you for them, as I have not written to Lord *Fingal* since I received it, and I sent it to your Lordship at the moment, without a distinct recollection of the contents.

“ I saw Lord *Liverpool* yesterday at Bath, who told me he should remain some days longer there to drink the water. *Windham* is also there drinking the waters.”

*Postscript.*—“ I do not recollect whether I mentioned to your Lordship that Mr. *Ponsonby* called on me after the newspapers had stated the *Veto* as construed by Mr. *Ponsonby* to amount to an *absolute nomination*. I expressed to him my anxious hope that he would correct that part of the statement, as it differed from *Grattan's*, and was likely to produce discontent. Mr. *Ponsonby* told me he had never corrected any speech for publication; but added that I might correct it. This, on a point of so much delicacy, I declined to do; but I anticipate the ill consequences of this over statement. I would not wish Mr. *Ponsonby* to know that I had mentioned this circumstance.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 6. Palace Yard.—“ I have not learnt the news of the day, if there be any; but a friend on whom I can rely saw a private letter a few days ago from Sir *J. Moore*, who says that he can depend on the bravery, discipline, and zeal of his troops of every description to do anything that such an army can do; but he fears that ‘ his force is by no means adequate to the service expected from it.’ I further understand from a person connected with Government that ‘ *Moore* is acting under general instructions purporting that he is to demonstrate to the Spaniards our good will to assist; and to go forwards or fall back as circumstances may direct, in the confidence that, if obliged to fall back, he may safely re-embark at *Vigo*.’ The short-sighted and most perilous levity of these projects and arrangements really passes all understanding!

“ Some chance beyond all reasonable calculations may give us partial and momentary advantages which we shall call victories; but even if I were to learn, not in the impudent and idiot paragraphs of the *Morning Post*, but in despatches from Sir *John Moore* that he had gained one, two, or three victories, I should only consider every such action as a new entanglement, tending to produce and ascertain the destruction of our armies. I shall therefore cherish the hope to hear that we are rapidly and disgracefully running to the sea-side, before it shall be too late.

“ The new embarkations now going forwards are destined for *Cadiz*; and there also we are engaging in an enterprise of ultimate disgrace. The total want of water is alone an objection to it, if there were not other obvious objections.

But there is a hope of bringing off the ships, and of raising some popular triumph for a moment.

“I have reason to believe that Lord Wellesley is holding a language of hot disapprobation of every thing that has been done in respect to Spain, and the report of the Committee of Enquiry will not lower his fever.

“The royal dukes are talking to those who have the benefit of hearing them, without reserve on the subject of what they call a Council of Regency, the idea of which (as supposed to have been brought forwards by the Prince of Wales) is, a sort of interior council grounded on the King’s misfortune in the loss of his eye-sight. The King is supposed to have received the proposition without unkindness; but to have said that he will have no council which he cannot change and remove so long as he retains faculties to enable him to discharge his duties.

“It appears, by an account which I received yesterday from Liverpool, that the total import of cotton wool into Great Britain for

1807, was 282.448

1808, „ 168.138

of which, from the United States, in

1807, „ 171.023

1808, „ 37.672.”

#### SIR R. ADAIR TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

1809, January 6. *Sea-horse*, Port Barbieri.—“From the moment of my arrival here until yesterday, when I signed the peace, it has been so extremely doubtful whether I should succeed or fail in the object of my mission that I thought it useless to write to you. As all my difficulties are now over; I remain here only until the arrival of the ratification of the treaty, when I shall resign my trust either to the ambassador the government may send out, or to the secretary of the mission. I have written to Mr. Canning to this effect, and have most earnestly pressed him to send me out, *with the ratification of the treaty*, his Majesty’s permission to return to England.

“The answer to these despatches will reach me, according to my calculation, about the first of May. By that time I shall have been enabled to ascertain how far another (and with me the chief) object of my coming out is likely to succeed; I mean the re-establishment of some degree of relation between Great Britain and those Powers of the Continent which have not been absolutely subdued by France.

“And here I have to communicate a matter to you so extremely confidential that, except Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, I must beg of you to impart it to no one. As it relates however to my last mission, and to that feature of it in which our friends are chiefly concerned (I mean the re-establishment of our relations with Austria which the preceding

Administration had destroyed) I think it proper that the persons I have named should know all the steps I have taken in it from first to last.

“You may remember that I told you on my return that, after the departure of Lord Pembroke from Vienna, not one syllable of instruction reached me from England; and that my mission closed without my receiving the slightest intimation from the present Government whether they were pleased or dissatisfied with my conduct. I was thus left totally to myself, to witness the final extinction of our continental connections. I did not chose, however, to give up the matter so easily. Before quitting Vienna, therefore, I left in the possession of a person the most likely to make a proper use of it, a confidential memoir, calculated to open the way to a renewal of our intercourse with the House of Austria when-ever the state of Europe should present an opportunity.

“A copy of this memoir (the only one which exists) I left in the possession of Lord Grenville before quitting England. I did not think it necessary to communicate it to the Ministers, with whom I had nothing to do except on the immediate business of the Turkish peace. But as, a few days previous to my departure, the affairs of Spain began to look well, and the importance of re-establishing some connection with Austria became evident, I thought it my duty to put the Government in a way of renewing an intercourse with that Power, and, with Mr. Canning’s consent, I wrote to the person to whom the memoir I have mentioned was addressed.

“Since my arrival in these seas I have received an answer to that letter. It was exactly what could be wished. Whether the Government will make a proper use of the advantages which have thus been put into their hands, is more than I can say; but there they are for them to use; and I think we have a right, after what I have just explained to you, to say that they are the fruits of the last Administration.

“Of the memoir I have just mentioned, and which Lord Grenville will of course show you, I will just say that if you should think the sentiments in it rather too warlike, you must consider on what occasion, and *for* whom, it was written. It’s object, as you will see when you read it, was far from warlike; and points only to the necessity of Austria’s laying aside her jealousy of Russia in order to secure some assistance against the day when France shall attack her.

“This I have thought it necessary to mention to you, not only for the reasons I have already stated, but because it may prolong for some weeks my stay at Constantinople. But it will not in the least alter my course, as I have expressly declined being ambassador, and have asked only for powers to conclude a treaty of alliance, and then to come away.

“I expect therefore most positively to be at Palermo on my way home about the month of June. Do not however delay

writing to me so long, but let me know something of the line you are pursuing in England, so that I may receive your letter with the ratification of the peace.

“Much of this, I suppose, will depend upon what is transacting in Spain, of which I know nothing since Buonaparte has passed the Pyrenees. Not a creature writes to me from England, therefore all I know is from the newspapers. By them I perceive that much must be said and done by our friends in respect to our internal politics. If the King is advised to continue giving the same answers to the addresses for enquiry into the causes of our disgraceful conduct in Portugal, which he has been advised to give to the address of the Common Council, I know not to what lengths it may not be necessary to go in order to shew the public indignation and resentment. I conclude the city will yield on this occasion, but that would be only an additional reason for others to come forward. But of what am I talking? Long before this can reach you, perhaps at this very moment, all is over in Spain; and the convention, the city of London, and everything else forgotten in the general terror of Bonaparte, and in preparations against the immediate danger from his dreadfully increased power.

“As I have no news to send you from this place which can interest you in the least, I will only now beg of you to request the Duchess to do me the honour of accepting what I have sent to her by Captain Prevost of the *Saracen* sloop of war.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 7. Cleveland Square.—“I hear no Spanish news, there is as yet nothing later from the army than the 18th. Lord Melville is said to be come to Wimbledon, and is described to be loud in abuse of the conduct of the Anglo-Spanish war.

“Elliot is come and talks of going down to you about Wednesday, on which day Sir J. Anstruther has just told me that he means to go to Dropmore. Elliot hopes that you will not delay to write to Lord Fitzwilliam at Milton, a few lines of your general notion of the course to follow. Elliot met Lord Fitzwilliam, who spoke of having heard something of your notions from Lord Dundas, in a way as if he much wished to know them from yourself. Long discussions cannot be had in writing; but it would be useful to write him a short notion upon the subject; and I hope you will invite him up at the meeting to have more discussion and conversation with him.

“I dine at Lord Milton’s to-morrow, and shall tell him that I knew you had meant to write to his father in this sense.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809 [January 8]. Cleveland Square.—“I have another letter this morning from Henry, Lisbon, 16th December,

in which he speaks with great gratitude of Craddock's civility to him. He says they have just learnt at Lisbon from Sir J. Moore that Bonaparte had taken Madrid by treachery; that everybody supposes our troops will retreat and re-embark at Lisbon; and that, Craddock earnestly recommending to Henry not to stir at present from Lisbon, he means to continue there; I am not sorry he does, but surely Craddock must know that Moore, instead of re-embarking, has joined Baird and Romana, on the road to Valladolid.

"General Grenville saw a letter to-day, Lord Paget to Duke of York dated 16th, Toro, in which he says the 15th and 10th [regiments] have had some parties skirmishing with the French, and that they took thirty the first day, and sixteen the second, of the French. There is a letter to Thornton from Baird, dated Benavente. 16th, in which Baird says that Romana has now assembled with him 20,000 Spanish troops in good case and spirits. All these little prosperities have highly elated our Ministers and commanders, and it is only for such Jacobins as you and me to express our distrust of the result. The idea is that Spencer and Ferguson, with this last corps of 14,000 men, will go to Cadiz; I suppose they think Moore's 35,000 is a match for all the corps and marshals that Bonaparte can send against them.

"I saw Anstruther who sat an hour with me to-day, and is upon every possible point—including the original disapprobation of sending British troops to Spain—exactly and entirely of our opinion; he means to go to Dropmore next week."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 8, 4 p.m. Cleveland Square.—"The secret intelligence, the source of which you know, appears to me to be so irretrievably disastrous, that I think it important you should know it without loss of time. I therefore send a packet to Botham with the account which has just been furnished to me. The writer of it has just been with me, and tells me that nothing can exceed the dismay which prevails amongst the Ministers, to whom a statement has been made including the opinion which is described, and which opinion is thought likely to produce the necessity of a change. The writer seemed to think, under this impression, that you had better come up to see the Prince; but I reminded the writer that his information being entirely confidential, you cannot avow the knowledge of it till it be made public; now in the first place I imagine they will not communicate the real danger to the public, and secondly, perhaps I am still disinclined to believe in change, although the *writer's informant* distinctly said that it must be the immediate consequence. My advice would be however that you should come two or three days sooner than you had intended, if you can easily do so.

"How dreadfully fast our apprehensions have been verified."

*Postscript.*—"I meant to have sent my groom, but both my horses are in physic; so I send this by the stage to Botham at Salt Hill, and bid him forward it to you.

"Moore's letter, received last night, is dated the 28th from Benevente. He had intended to make an attempt on Soult, but learning that Bonaparte was in motion, it was thought most prudent to retreat to Astorga without loss of time. There had been several skirmishes of cavalry, in which Lord Paget and his brigade highly distinguished themselves, and established the decisive superiority of the British over the French horse. They took about three hundred men and thirteen officers.

"This morning Wyndham, a son of Lord Egremont's, arrived with accounts up to the 31st. On the 29th the French crossed a river, the bridge of which we had broken down, and an action was brought on chiefly, I believe, if not entirely with cavalry; the French were repulsed, and Le Fevre—not the marshal but the general who had been at Saragossa—was taken and came here with Wyndham.

"Bonaparte had joined Soult with a great force, and was within twelve miles of Moore, who on the 31st was at Astorga. The French were in full march on our army retreating as rapidly as possible for Corunna. *My informant's opinion is that most if not all our troops will be taken.*

"Moore's last letter is from Astorga, 31 December."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809, January 9. Cleveland Square.—"The post brought me your letter of yesterday, and the coach has just brought me that of this morning. I take for granted that my hurry to save the Liverpool stage made me express myself incorrectly, inasmuch as you seem to think I was earnest for your immediately seeing the Prince. What I meant to describe to you was that the writer of that paper had urged this in reference to his informant having, in a marked and distinct manner, told him that he was positively sure a change must take place. I am still an infidel as to change, and therefore do not yield even to this strong evidence, but I perfectly satisfied the writer that you could not yet see the Prince, because you must not be supposed to know what was so confidentially communicated to the writer; and if I suggested an earlier day than the 16th for your arrival, it was chiefly from the desire of seeing you in a moment of so much importance, but not from any notion of my accelerating what cannot now come to you without my feeling in it much more of anxiety than of gratification. I do hope and trust that no consideration, public or private, will induce you to hear of returning to the oar, without a perfectly free and unrestrained use of your own judgment upon all political subjects, and most especially upon Ireland, the danger of which will have been augmented ten thousand fold by the

events of the last twelve months. I have no certain knowledge respecting the question of Regency having been agitated, but no man can have named it to the King unless he had named it himself, which I *did* not think probable till yesterday; but this overwhelming calamity may not impossibly operate that change in the King's mind. My late secretary knows the news, and called to tell it me, so that I suppose it will soon be generally known; but such papers as I have seen talk of our glorious victories over 300 cavalry, and say little of the apprehensions to be entertained for our whole army. My secretary believes that Moore had no other intelligence of the approach of the French, than the account given by General Le Fevre when he was taken; but if any doubt of the truth of this existed, the informant could not but have known it. Our eleven sail of line of battle with the transports would do, *if our troops can ever reach them.*"

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 10. Cleveland Square.—“I am just returned from a dinner at Tierney's, where Lord H. Petty, Anstruther, Elliot, and I have had a long talk upon the subject of the fit course to be pursued at the opening of the session. I have—as usual upon this topic—heard a good deal all round the table of the disadvantage and inconvenience which would arise from any declaration on your part, or from any similar measure which might break up the party, being declared or adopted in the House of Commons. I should however except Tierney, who pretty constantly declares that *the sooner it is broken up the better*. My constant answer to the others has been that the evil produced by the course of last session is so notorious, that it would be insanity to plunge into it again at the beginning of this session; that some mode or other must be adopted to cure this evil; and that, although any such measure must be attended with inconvenience, a preliminary declaration made by you in the House of Lords appeared to me likely to produce the best remedy, at the cost of the least possible inconvenience. I have always added that I wished only to hear any other suggestion made which could remedy the evil of the last session in a less objectionable mode; and that if any such suggestion could be made, and could appear to be equally effectual, and less inconvenient, I should be ready to admit it as preferable. No attempt at any such suggestion has been made. Lord Henry however and Elliot seem to have adopted a notion that, as no declaration could be made in the House of Commons upon this point without debate and hostility, it would be absolutely necessary to have a previous meeting on Wednesday at Ponsonby's; and they support this opinion, with the concurrence rather than the earnestness of Tierney and Anstruther, upon the notion that Ponsonby might declare the urgency of a question



upon the conduct of government as respecting Spain, the transcendent importance of confining the questions of Opposition to this point, and the objection that many persons of consideration had to the great latitude which had been given to motions from the Opposition bench without previous concert and agreement. It is supposed that something of this sort said by Ponsonby at a meeting at his house, and supported by Lord Henry Petty and by myself, would answer the proposed end. I have no faith in this remedy if it could be administered; and I have moreover an irresistible objection to the taking the part which is allotted to me in it. I think it quite a glaring impropriety that I, who did not attend last session, and who do not mean to give attendance this session, that I who did not attend any meeting last year, and who do not intend to do so this year, should put myself forward to criticise the meetings and the session of last year, and to prescribe to the meetings and to the course of business proposed for the session of this year. This seems to me to be such an inconsistency as ought absolutely to furnish a negative to the proposition, as far as I am concerned in it. I feel it so, and have strongly stated it so, and nothing that is said to me of the importance attached to my doing this thing can reconcile my judgment to it, or make me, from my own notions, think it fit to be done. At the same time I deem it so little important to think of *self* in moments like the present, that if you think it useful or essential to the general objects which we are all pursuing, and if I understand it to be your wish that I should incur this obvious inconsistency, and it is your opinion that any good will arise from it, I will not hesitate to put myself in the pillory at Mr. Ponsonby's or at Charing Cross; at the same time observing that I cannot conceive any good from this except I meant to attend Parliament, which I consider as a mortal disorder to me; your answer will decide me."

*Private.* FRANCIS MAGAN TO THE SAME.

1809, January 11. Ushers Island, Dublin.—“Under the conviction that it is of the utmost importance that your Lordship should be, as early as possible, made acquainted with the circumstances which have just occurred in this country, I beg leave to state them to you. I should otherwise have requested Mr. Wickham to have done so.

“The Catholics of the county assembled at the town of Tipperary on Saturday last to the number of four hundred, meetings having been previously held at Clonmel and at Cashel to ascertain the public sentiment. A petition was proposed and unanimously approved of, to be presented by General Mathew the first opportunity after the meeting of Parliament. It was immediately engrossed, and in the course of the day, five hundred signatures had been put to it, and several thousands have been since obtained. This,

as former petitions, prays to be admitted to the full enjoyment of all the privileges of the constitution, but is remarkable for one paragraph containing an alternative, novel in its nature. That should Parliament at this juncture deem it wise to remove in part only the restrictions affecting Catholics, the petitioners, in that event, pray that they may be in future exempt from such proportion of the taxes and other burdens as to the justice and wisdom of Parliament may seem reasonable according to the disabilities which may be permitted to remain; upon the principle that, in justice and reason, a greater part of the contributions to the exigencies of the State, should be borne by them who enjoy all the emoluments derived from the collection of those contributions, and who are exclusively the objects of the favour of Government and of its rewards. The Vicar-General of the diocese has already signed it, the Archbishop of Cashell (Dr. Bray) will sign it, and the clergy generally approve of the petition. Perhaps it may not be immaterial to mention that they have determined not to solicit the support of gentlemen, but that their own representatives (General Mathew and Mr. Prittie) should lay the petition upon the table, to be afterwards taken up by those who may think it their duty to do so, as members of the House, from the great importance of the question.

“I have thus detailed the proceedings at Tipperary, the result of which cannot fail to produce in this city immediate meetings, and very probably in the other counties. The Catholics are not inattentive to passing events, nor to the reports of the day. With respect to the latter, I would beg to make one observation, that they are resolved to persevere in their applications under *every Administration.*”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 11. Cleveland Square.—“I hear no news, but the friends of government affect to feel no apprehension for Moore’s safety, and Lord Boringdon’s language to me just now was in that tone, though full of question and criticism upon the inexplicable tardiness of Moore in stopping so long before he marched to attack Soult, whose original force he insists was only 16,000 men. This attack of their generals upon any failure is quite in the ordinary course of the liberal proceedings of the present Government.

“Lord Wellesley joined me this morning, and was quite eager to express his extreme apprehension for Moore’s safety, and his entire disapprobation of the conduct of the war. His ideas are exactly like those which we entertained of the impolicy of sending a regular English army to act permanently in Spain, and he dwelt with great vehemence on the advantage which might have resulted by a proper use of our regular army in the way of diversion only. He accuses government of showing themselves to have been found unjustifiably destitute

of all plan and preparation upon the first explosion of the Spanish war; and he stopped me for at least ten minutes to hear from him an entire disclaimer of having had any communication or concert with the Ministers on this business; and so far as I could judge, an entire concurrence with the opinions which you and I so long have held. Moore's danger will make us many converts; the more I think of the project of my attending Ponsonby's meeting, the more disinclined do I grow to it."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, January 14. Cleveland Square.—“Elliot is to dine with me to-day to tell me the result of your talk at Dropmore, but I am quite satisfied with your decision, and am inclined to think that, upon the whole, the mode now proposed is the least inconvenient. As for what relates to myself I attach no importance to the obvious objection, and if any advantage can result from it, I am not very curious about the rest. The enemy is active in circulating the report that you only come for one day and return to Dropmore. I mention this merely as a fact, without attaching any consequence to it, or suggesting to you to do so. The times are too serious to admit of one's conduct being influenced by the *qu'en dira-t-on*.”

“Whitbread does not arrive in town till the 17th; but Fitzpatrick, who has just left him in the country, reports favourably of his present disposition to be quiet; upon which Tierney not inaptly remarked that there were many horses quiet enough in the stable, who kicked and plunged and played the devil when they got out with the hounds. There is no news, but the Duke of York met Tierney with a budget full of confidence about Moore and the army. This sounded pleasant till one heard how ill this confidence is founded, for the Duke of York admits that he believes the French to be above 60,000, and that their cavalry is up with us and is 8,000 to 12,000; but he rests entirely upon the persuasion that he has adopted, of the rear of our army being two days march before the van of the French infantry. It does not appear how he knows this; nor, if it be true, is it in my eyes certain that the 8,000 cavalry will not impede and harrass Moore enough to give time for great part of the French force to arrive, before we embark.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, January 15. Eden Farm.—“In the fearful expectation of news from our army before to-morrow's post, I had intended to have directed a few lines to you at Dropmore on the ascertained state of things. But the papers say that you are to settle in town to-morrow, and in this instance they possibly may have deviated into truth. After all, I expect nothing but what will be, in a greater or less degree, calamitous and disgraceful,

“ I have had a letter from Lord Grey, who speaks with good hopes of his own health, but adds that ‘ he cannot for some weeks move from Howic.’ He expresses strong indignation at the whole course and conduct of the campaign, and also (which is a smaller consideration) at Canning’s letter to Pinkney. He intimates a shade of difference in opinion from us, on the expediency in the first instance of sending armies to Portugal and Spain. But he observes (and the observation is a chief inducement to this note) that it will be most material not to get into any avoidable debate on that point, as the Ministers would try to bury their own criminality in a popular discussion. I have long and uniformly thought (as you may recollect in the Russia question) that our season is past for continental campaigns—at the same time I do not know that it would have been possible for any Government to have stemmed the current of general opinion.

“ We move to Palace Yard next Wednesday night, and mean to take root there till the beginning of May.

“ *Les grands poissons mangent les petits.* The Spanish anxieties have swallowed up all attention to the mad mis-managements respecting Sweden and America; and under this impression I do not plague you with some long letters from America and from Ireland, which have been transmitted to me from Liverpool respecting the sufferings of the linen, cotton, and other trades.”

WILLIAM WICKHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1809, January.] Cookham Elms.—“ I intended to have gone to Dropmore yesterday, but the appearance of the waters was so threatening that the people at Maidenhead did not think proper to send me their horses. To-day the east wind (for the first time a welcome guest) has relieved us from present apprehensions. I cannot however conveniently leave home to-day, but will come to-morrow and ask for both dinner and a bed, should your house be empty. In the meantime I send you the result of my endeavours to *recast* the first sheets of F’s pamphlet. I have tried the thing in half a dozen ways, but always in vain till this last attempt, which certainly forms not an unnatural introduction to the subject; and, at the same time, brings it before the public in a light in which it is very material that it should now be considered.

“ It seems desirable also, as I am sure it is fair and just, that a part at least of the total failure of the objects intended to be gained by the institution of the Court of Inquiry, should be imputed to Ministers; though it would be too much to make them responsible for the whole of the *precious* papers that the Court has given to the world in the shape of a *judgment*.

“ I will bring the rest of my performance, which has been all plain sailing, with me to-morrow; at present it is scarcely legible. If it can be sent to Freemantle on Sunday with your

Lordship's final corrections, it may surely be out by the Monday in the following week, which will be quite time enough for effect.

"What I send you to-day will require correction; my only hope is that it may save you the trouble of writing an entire new beginning to the work.

"I send you a letter from Villa Franca of the 16th, which I will thank you to send back by the bearer, as I wish to return it by the post of to-day.

"I reckon that Bonaparte will have marched from Madrid upon Sir John Moore's flank about the 12th, so that by Christmas day or thereabouts, the main business must have been over. He had with him at that place three entire corps, the reserve of cavalry, and the Imperial Guards; so that, supposing him to leave behind him in and about Madrid one entire corps and half the reserve of cavalry, he would have taken with him full 50,000 men at the very lowest possible computation. It is quite clear that his march upon Lisbon had been suspended very early, because there are letters of the 16th from Truxillo (on the road from Talavera to Lisbon) where his cavalry, had his original plan been followed up, might have been with ease on the 13th or 14th, that take no notice whatever of any French troops in their neighbourhood.

"I am sorry to find that in Moore's army it was believed that they had nothing to encounter in the north-west but Soult's corps; and that they were entirely ignorant of the great reinforcements that were actually marching into Spain, towards that very point at that very moment.

"I am sure that my conjectures respecting Moore's advancing on Valladolid were correct, and that it is to Mr. Frere that we are to attribute this terrible calamity."

#### LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, January 25. Palace Yard.—"You will see that Lord Liverpool means to move thanks to-day to the officers and army engaged in the defeat of the enemy off Corunna. It is perhaps a new species of defeat, in which we never quitted our ground till the action was over, and then quitted it only for the purpose of a precipitate retreat. Still we all must feel that all possible thanks are due for a steady and unshaken bravery, which, under the circumstances, was almost beyond example, and which alone could save that part of the army. How they were brought into such circumstances is another consideration; perhaps in justice the thanks ought to be extended to the whole course of the retreat.

"I beg the favour of you to let me know whether you will attend; if you should not, I incline to absent myself also, though my doing so, when I am within forty yards of the House, may be somewhat observable."

## CHARLES BUTLER to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 26. Lincoln's Inn.—“Some days ago I received a letter from Mr. Dardiss, dated from Stowe, in which he applied to me to procure information, for your Lordship, respecting the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in the dominions of Russia and Prussia. Having heard that Mr. Dardiss has quitted Stowe, and being wholly ignorant of his direction, I take the liberty to forward to your Lordship the result of my inquiries on the subject.

“With respect to Russia I find that on the 9th of August, 1778, the Pope, with the permission of the Empress Catherine the Second, gave full powers to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Mohelow [Mohelmo?] to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction within his diocese, under the regular control and order of the Empress. I have this information from the Count D'Entraigues, who resided for a length of time in Russia. He cites *Stat Imp: Russ*, p. 111 and p. 33, a Decree of 17 January, 1802, and an Ukase of 28th January, 1804; but he has not these books, and, after much inquiry, I cannot find them in London.

“Mr. Tooke, who resided for some time in Russia, and has published an account of the empire, says that no specific arrangement was entered into between the Pope and the Empress Catherine, respecting the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in that empire.

“With respect to Prussia:—in the Treaty of Breslaw, Art. 6, it was stipulated that the King of Prussia should preserve the Roman Catholic religion, without derogating from the full liberty of conscience of the Protestants in Silesia, and the general rights of the sovereign; provided always that he should not exercise those rights to the prejudice of the Catholic religion. The treaty is in Roussett's *Recueil*, Vol. 18. I have unquestionable evidence that, in point of fact, the King of Prussia nominates, when he thinks proper, to the highest ecclesiastical Roman Catholic dignities in Silesia. The late King appointed a brother of the Prince of Broglio to one of the greatest Roman Catholic bishoprics in the country, though he was not in ecclesiastical orders, and, till that moment, had served in the army.

“In the United Provinces, some ceremony takes place for obtaining the assent of the magistracy to the bishops and curates exercising their functions.

“At different times I have made enquiries on these points. It seems to me probable, that, in the United Provinces, a formal assent is given by the magistracy of the place, to the appointment of bishops and of curates; and that in Russia and Prussia the sovereigns often nominate, and the Pope and clergy always acquiesce; but that there never has been a formal assent given by the Pope or the Roman Catholics of any country to a right of formal nomination by a non-Catholic sovereign.

“ I beg leave to add, that I have always understood that Dr. Milner admitted the accuracy of your Lordship’s representation in the House of Lords of the proposal supposed to be made through him of the Irish Bishops. I beg leave to request your lordship will always command my services.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1809, January 20–25.] Palace Yard.—“ Mr. Eden called on you at two o’clock and wished to communicate to you some particulars respecting the news received to-day, which had been demi-officially confided to me, and which will not appear in the Government bulletins, but finding that Mr. Ponsonby was with you he was too modest to intrude himself.

“ Sir John Moore states that the enemy were *in force* on the height which commands the town and parts of the port; that however ‘no cannon was up, but a few field pieces.’ I have not time to copy all the details, but on the whole I would compound at this hour for the loss of a great part of the artillery, all the horses, most of the baggage, and a considerable rear-guard. Romana’s corps is missing, and supposed to be gone to Vigo with a British detachment. Moore adds we have ‘many stragglers’ from our march; some French prisoners taken at Lugo say that three more divisions were come up. The Spaniards had been defeated in Catalonia; and in the midst of this I can positively inform you that many regiments of this exhausted army are ordered to Cadiz.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

[1809, January 25–31. Stowe.]—“ Many thanks to you for your most unwelcome note of this morning. The whole history of this most extraordinary advance to Sahugen, and a retreat so precipitate and without a settled point of embarkation, is a mystery which I cannot account for save in the extreme indecision of Moore’s character; and his death will of course make Lord Castlereagh, who was quite at the dagger’s point with him, to throw upon him much of the responsibility for the disasters that have attended the whole flight from Benavente. I have no doubt but that this total defeat of the most unreasonable expectations that ever were formed will sink deep into the public mind; but I have no idea that it will produce on the King’s mind any one impression save that of increased obstinacy which he will call firmness, and to his Ministers it will only suggest the increased necessity of standing by each other. And this course will succeed to them so long as the present Parliament lasts, who will most certainly support the King’s footman if he should be put at the head of Government. I conclude that Portugal must be evacuated, for it should seem impossible to defend it; at the same time I hope that the public attention will be drawn to the question of occupying the forts on the river, which may

possibly diminish the value of that station as a naval and military *rendezvous* of France against Ireland. I conclude that we have left all the Spanish ships in Ferrol entire, and it is, I fear, equally certain that we shall not be able to bring away or destroy any part of the naval force, French or Spanish, in Cadiz. With this picture before me, and with a mind very languid, you will not wonder that my views are very gloomy. In truth I do not see my way in anything that can now turn up for the country, and am fully persuaded that the unfortunate situation of the K[ing] and his very criminal obstinacy will weigh down any possible turn of the scale. My son sent to me in *confidence* Lord Castlereagh's note to him announcing this event, and the tone of it as unfeeling as if it had merely announced the result of a *houssardaille* or of a foraging party.

"I was very glad to see that you had taken in the House of Lords the same opinions and language that I had always entertained respecting military operations in the *interior of Spain*, a measure which from General Richard's papers (Adjutant-General to the army of Lord Galway in Spain) I knew to be full of disappointment in every matter to which an officer has a right to look either in a friend's or an enemy's country; but it is now of little consequence to us whether in this matter we were right or wrong, for the next French battle will be fought in Ireland, or perhaps in Kent."

#### EARL GREY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, January 26. Howick.—"I return Lord Holland's letter to you, which I received from FitzPatrick some days ago. I sent it to Lauderdale thinking Holland would wish the communication to be extended to him. Not that it throws much light on what we knew at the time, and it is put quite out of date by the accounts we have received since. If accurate information with respect to Spain was his object, it must be confessed that Lord Holland's journey has not been very successful.

"I have just got the account of Moore's death, and of all the disasters which preceded it. It deprives me of all power of expression, and almost of thought. I must confess that, as things have been managed, it is much to be regretted that your opinions, against sending troops to Spain at all, did not prevail.

"I am sure you will be glad to hear that I have benefited beyond my most sanguine expectations by the course I have been pursuing. I really now believe I shall get quite well, which I once nearly despaired of. If the weather relents, I hope to be allowed to go out next week, and soon after that to be fit for anything.

"Pray let me hear how things are going on in Parliament and what course they are likely to take. Do you think of moving any enquiry in the House of Lords?"



## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, January 29. Howick.—“I received your letter last night, and have this morning had my doctor with me. He says that I could not with any safety set out in less than a fortnight from this time, and even then it must depend on the state of the weather. As this would put off my arrival in London for a full fortnight after the day you have fixed for your motion, and as it must after all be subject to so much uncertainty, I conclude you will think it best to adhere to the notice you have given. Had it been possible I should have wished very much to attend this question.

“I cannot get over the impression which the termination of this melancholy business in Spain has made on me. My brother writes me word from Portsmouth that our loss in the whole does not exceed 5,000 men; but in this, I fear, he must be greatly mistaken. I am afraid too that we are not at the end of our losses, as it seems to me extremely probable that a part at least of the troops left in Portugal will be taken.

“The account of the proceedings in Ireland with respect to the Catholic petition, however much I may lament it, does not surprise me. It appeared to me clear from the beginning, if some measure was not taken to separate the moderate party from those who, I am persuaded, actually dread conciliation as destructive of their views, that the whole would be drawn into such measures as, I fear, will ultimately prove fatal to both countries. Whether any thing can now be done to counteract this evil appears very doubtful, but it is deserving your most anxious consideration. When Buonaparte’s power is completely established in Spain, an event now, I fear, not far distant, all our fleet cannot secure us against an invasion of Ireland; and there certainly is not a moment to be lost in providing for the defence of that country.”

## LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, January 31. Palace Yard.—“Yesterday evening Lord Buckinghamshire informed me of his intention to move on Thursday next an address to the King to take such measures as may still be practicable to preserve Portugal from falling again into the hands of the enemy. He wished to know whether you were likely to be at the House. On my telling him that you do not mean to return to town till Friday, he requested me to say to you that he would give his notice for that day in the hope that you might be present; which he thinks highly desirable even if you should happen to differ from him in your views of the subject. I shall attend, as it seems to be expected; but if I am driven to express an opinion, it will be that we have lost the means and occasion of protecting Portugal, if it ever were practicable. And indeed I think it much within calculation, that at this hour we have abandoned

the possession. After all, these discussions contribute to withdraw our dreaming countrymen from the delusion which has been practised; and also to expose the presumptuous and fatal folly to which our late disasters and disgraces ought to be ascribed.

“Lord Erskine will move to-day for accounts of the losses of every description sustained by us in Spain and Portugal.

“I do not believe that the Duke of York is open to any charge of corruption, but the enquiry leads to an exhibition of gallantries offensive to the public eye. It is said (but probably without truth), that Mrs. Clarke is the accuser:—*Dux fœmina facti*.

“I will to-day put off your American motion till Monday, the 15th February, and will assign the reason which you mention.

“It is not quite impossible that Lord Hopetoun’s peerage may have palsied Lord Melville’s objections to the Spanish campaign.”

#### EARL GREY to the EARL OF ROSSLYN.

1809, February 1. Howick.—“I received your letter last night and return the proxy. If Lord Grenville is not full, I think he had better hold it himself, to contradict any reports that may arise from my absence. If not, I cannot wish to be in better hands than yours.

“I am very anxious to have the important papers that are published in both Houses, and wrote some time ago both to Lord Auckland and Tierney for that purpose; but I am particularly desirous of getting all the returns and every thing that has a reference to our military operations; and I shall be obliged to you, if they have not already been sent, to order them to be sent to me as soon as possible.

“All that you say of the examination respecting the Duke of York, the manner of conducting it, its effect upon the character of all parties and on that of the House of Commons, and the melancholy proof it affords of a state of public feeling wholly unsuited to the present situation of the country, is quite incontrovertible.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, February 9. Palace Yard.—“Lord Liverpool and Lord Bathurst being at the House (and Mr. Canning) I took the occasion to mention in my place that the commercial accounts were in a very defective shape, and also that it would be desirable both on this and on all similar occasions to have the accounts of the commerce of Ireland. And also that it was your wish to have upon the table the proceedings in the American congress relative to the intercourse with the belligerent powers. To the first point Lord Bathurst answered that the defect was occasioned by the want of returns from Scotland and the East Indian Company, but that he would

try before to-morrow to settle with the Inspector-General some mode of bringing immediately a better return.

“As to the next point it was understood that I would move to-morrow for the Irish account. And as to the last point Lord Liverpool said that he would come down to-morrow prepared either to adopt the motion as you had worded it, or to suggest any amendments that might make it more complete. I then observed that these new but necessary papers of information would probably compel you, though reluctantly, to postpone your motion till Friday, and it seemed to be felt that this would be right.

“By the bye, Lord Moira told me that he was very earnestly with us on this business, and would be glad to know before the day the general course meant to be pursued.

“I shall see you about 12 to-morrow, and will previously call on Pinkney, if I should be well enough.”

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

1809, February 12. Bath.—“I enclose to you my proxy on your American question, hoping sincerely that you will grapple to the fullest extent with Mr. Canning’s epigrammatic letter to Pinckney, which states distinctly the present course of proceeding towards America, as *necessary for the purpose* of showing that England *can do* without that branch of commerce! an assertion very questionable in point of fact, and highly indecorous even if true. Her embargo has proved a very important and ruinous measure, and I verily believe her non-intercourse bill will be equally insufficient as a measure of offence to us, or of security to her; but this does not change the question as to the folly of our Orders in Council, or as to the insanity of Canning’s refusal to negotiate, which ultimately must bring us to a state of actual war, in which our commercial interests all over the world have everything to lose, and in which we can gain nothing. Most certainly do I agree with you on the gloomy and desperate state of our political concerns, which I now begin to fear are drawing fast to that point from which no abilities or exertions will be able to extricate them. The misconduct of our military enterprises might have opened the eyes of every thinking man long since to the utter incapacity of those who planned them, or who sent the troops to service without any plan or arrangement whatsoever. The failure of the Martinico expedition is of the same school. But the King’s obstinacy will urge him to risk all rather than depart from that system to which you owe your dismissal.

“But above all do I agree with you in your view of the horrible and incalculable mischief which must arise out of all that is now going on in the H[ouse] of C[ommons]. The whole procedure in all its course, its objects, and its bearings is so entirely like that of the Queen of France’s necklace (which every Frenchman will tell you was the first scene of

the Revolution tragedy) that I cannot look to it without the most gloomy fears for the result. I have not the smallest doubt of the profligate venality in the underhand bargains for rank and situation ; I really do not believe that the D[uke] of York was a party to it, direct or indirect, but I am persuaded that enough is now proved and admitted to convince the whole of the lower ranks in this kingdom, that the Duke paid his whore by allowing this nasty and wicked traffic. But the treacherous insanity of Ministers in hallooing on this cry, instead of stopping it (as I well remember, with respect to Lord Sandwich, when Temple Luttrell tried to fasten upon him the traffic of the same sort of Miss Ray) is quite inexplicable, except as a measure (wicked as it may be) for turning the public attention from their misconduct to the Duke of York whom they hate. And I am rather confirmed in this suspicion by seeing Percival employing himself to keep up this cry, by a bill which must be waste paper if it does no more than prevent the *advertisement* of places under government, and under the E[ast] I[ndia] Company, who, like the City of London or any other corporation, may sell their offices without breach of any law, common or statute ; and this too in a government where the sale of commissions and of livings is recognised and ordered even by our courts of Law, in the cases that come under their directions.

“Do you remember Lord Mansfield’s manly letter to Mr. Pelham when he was charged with drinking the Pretender’s health, on the testimony of a low informer, who had so charged him ; and Lord Mansfield, then Mr. Murray, declared that if the charge was even *entertained* for consideration, he would resign his situation, and would never again serve the Crown in any office whatsoever. I know how difficult a course it would have been to have stopped this charge, but I should have felt it a duty to have joined in refusing to entertain it on the testimony of a common whore, and of the equally infamous agents connected with her in these bargains, and should have left the whole to due course of law. These strong impressions are founded on no desire of excusing the Duke of York, who ought individually to suffer for the infamy of such a connection, and who ought, particularly after the newspapers have for years been full of these stories, to have watched with incessant jealousy, every possible promotion in which money could have been given ; but they are founded on the strong conviction that with the degradation of our Princes, the ruin of the monarchy is necessarily connected ; and that the steps are very rapid.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, February 15. Palace Yard.—“I am very sorry to see that the Cintra business stands fixed for Friday ; it quite distracts the public attention to have two great and complicated discussions on the same day. If Lord Henry Petty

cannot postpone it, I incline to think that we should raise a preliminary debate for which there are good materials on the American business, and reserve the address till Monday.

“In our yesterday’s note respecting the diminution of American trade, we inadvertently minuted the total diminution at six millions. It should have been diminution of exports .. .. . 6,000,000  
 . imports .. .. . 1,551,000

Total diminution .. .. £7,551,000

This being the diminution in *the American trade only*.

“From what Mr. Baring tells me this morning of the immense extent, by individuals and by government, of the exports to Spain, I am quite sorry you postponed your motion.

“Sir John Newport is arrived. Will you send to him for the Irish part of the question, and particularly as to flax seed ?

“Query, is it not very material to have expressly in your address some mention of the injury done to our manufacturers. It is very urgent both at present, and eventually, by the new manufactures rising in Spain, France and America.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1809, February 16.]—“The enclosed arrived from New York this evening, and was forwarded to me half an hour ago by Mr. Baring. I send it to you, as it is most material to be perused by you, and you will be so good as either to forward it with compliments and thanks to Mr. Baring, or to send a single line to him (which might be best) to say that you desire to retain it till Saturday morning.

“On what grounds this separate letter of Mr. Canning’s was retained when the correspondence of 1808 was given I do not well see; except that Lord Liverpool, I believe, said that it was intended to give only such papers as had been printed in America. You see that it is meant, contrary to the known truth as stated in the President’s message, to argue still that our Orders in Council of November did not tend to produce the embargo. You also see in this paper that the non-Intercourse Act (the new embargo) has passed the House of Representatives.

“The House of Commons to-night is occupied in an enquiry tending to show that the Duke of York tried to procure a colonial office for a person who offered to send him a large sum of money upon annuity. How strange, and how infinitely mischievous that such an enquiry should be admitted!!!”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, February 18. Palace Yard.—“Our debate and division last night were highly creditable, although it is like whistling to the winds to talk about great public businesses,

whilst the whole attention of the country is occupied in discussion with prostitutes and with swindlers.

“It would be very material, beyond the mere interests of the moment, if your other occupations would allow you to dictate and to publish the heads of your speech.

“I conceive that we must not suffer this business to sleep.

“The Spanish question loses nothing by the delay.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, March 3. Howick.—“I received your letter by the last post, and have in consequence of it determined to set out for London on Monday next, not being able to go sooner on account of some private business. I hope to be in town to dinner on Thursday.

“I should be sorry that any further delays took place on my account, but if, in arranging the business that is to come on, you could put off any question for a day or two after my arrival it would be desirable, in order to afford a short interval for previous consultation.

“As I hope to see you so soon, I will not trouble you with any of my speculations on the present most unpleasant state of public affairs, further than to say that I quite agree in the view you seem to take of the Duke of York’s business; and that I think one general motion for enquiry respecting the military operations both in Spain and Portugal would be better than separate motions on each.

“I had a letter from Lauderdale last night, telling me that he had been confined to his bed three days on account of a bad cold. He said he was getting better, but did not hint at any intention of going to town.

“The Brest fleet may, I think, afford Ministers a little relief in their present difficulties; though there are three points where, if they escape our pursuit, they may strike a severe blow; Sicily, Jamaica, and Ireland.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, March [12]. London.—“General Grenville has been with me and seems to think that the difficulty of the Duke’s resignation is overcome, and that he will not object; but the Duke of Cumberland said that the difficulty was how to give Perceval’s resolutions the precedence of Bankes. This convinces me that they are ready to announce the Duke as having resigned as soon as Perceval’s resolution of acquittal is passed; and I think if they let this be known, there would not and ought not to be any difficulty about the resolutions being passed. Of course you will not name General Grenville.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

1809, March 14. Bath.—“Fremantle’s letter to me *asked* my opinions and *my* wishes; and confines his difficulties

to the obligation he felt for his nephew's commission; on the latter point I could not but give a very decided opinion, because in *that* case the commission to the son of an officer, who had bought his rank, and had died in service, was a thing quite of course.

“My sentiments on the necessity of removing the D[uke] of Y[ork] are most distinct; and knowing that Lord T[emple] feels them as I do, and understanding from him that you had, at a meeting of your friends, acceded to the same line, I naturally felt anxious that no doubt should exist upon my line, particularly as the illness of my brother and of Sir G. Nugent diminished our numbers, and thereby gave room to suspicions, which above all I wish to avoid. These considerations, added to my detestation of the unprincipled course pursued by the King, and by his Ministers in this matter, made me anxious for all the demonstration possible of whatever might be the real opinion founded on the evidence respecting the D[uke] of Y[ork]. Of course with these feelings respecting the King personally, and his Ministers, I should have laughed to scorn all the comments of all the King's friends; and I will fairly own, though I have not hitherto written to my son on the subject, I shall be very sorry if you should have influenced him to give a silent vote on a question, where a public man ought to do his duty. But after all that you have stated of Fremantle's personal feelings, and after your recommendation to him to stay away, I felt it impossible to persevere in imposing upon him, as a duty of affection to me, that upon which he had *asked* my *opinion* for his guidance. I have therefore written to him to state, that my opinions remain unaltered, that I am sorry to see him as a public man binding himself up in the same book with Fitz-Patrick, who votes in return for the foulest army job to him that the D[uke] has ever permitted in the army; but that ‘I leave him master of his own conduct.’”

“I am not blind to the almost incalculable mischief of all this proceeding; and I would have cut my hand off to have saved it from the H[ouse] of C[ommons]; but that moment is now gone by, and the House must do its duty or risk that most formidable of all revolutions, that which arises out of the forfeiture of the confidence of the governed. The King, from various causes, is no longer that which the constitution supposes him to be, a King efficient to all the functions of monarchy. The House of Lords is supposed to be, and in truth is in the hands of Government; and from the moment that the House of Commons is found by the people to screen the crimes, as well as the political misconduct of public servants, the chapter of allegiance must necessarily close. I state all this because I think it very questionable whether the line of moderation which you profess in your letter to me does not carry you too much into the ranks of those who have betrayed their public duty so criminally in the whole conduct

of this matter; and too much under the standard of that party of King's friends, who have flattered the King's prejudices and misconduct to measures ruinous to our interior safety, and to our own political existance.

"The prospects are closing fast round us; and the moments for managements are gone by. It is therefore of less comparative moment whether the K[ing] governs his army, and through that army the public, under the name of the D[uke] of Y[ork] or of Lord Harrington; but it is essential that the hand of power, stretched forth to save by force a public delinquent from the universal and general cry for justice, should be checked and disappointed. I have no confidence in the idea of the D[uke's] resignation, unless he is forced to it, for I have no faith that Ministers have opened to the King's blind eyes, and more blind mind, the extent of his difficulties; I have no faith in their courage being equal to that sort of explanation; I have no faith that his mulish and systematic obstinacy would yield to such a suggestion; and I have no faith that the mind of the Duke can be brought to it."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809 [March].—"Temple has heard from my brother this morning that he arrives to dinner to-morrow, and therefore I conclude that he makes no visits on his road. I have written to Lord Spencer and spoken to Lord Stafford and to Morpeth, but have not yet been able to see Carlisle, nor do I yet learn the result of Lord H. Petty's conference with Whitbread.

"Lord Grey came and passed an hour and a half with me in talking over this subject on which he seems to think exactly as you and I do. What I chiefly pressed him upon was the finding some facilities for suggesting to Ponsonby the idea of his taking this opportunity of declining to continue the lead and of putting it into the hands of Lord Henry. I showed him that this might naturally be stated by Ponsonby as being an event which changed the face of the party, and which naturally led to reconsider the state and condition of it; his own original acceptance could be described as an experiment which he had been pressed to try in the hope of continuing to unite what had been acting together in the two preceding sessions, and this schism would afford as obvious occasion for his expressing a wish that the lead of the party might now be tried in other hands. I am the more solicitous for this arrangement being found practicable at the present moment, because if it took place, I am convinced it would give Lord Henry both the means and the desire of opposing himself steadily to the new standard which is raising; while on the other hand, if Lord Henry continues second, he will not perhaps feel enough in heart to be as active and energetic as the circumstances of the times and of the party require



him to be. Lord Grey agrees most heartily in this view, and has promised to seek out as well as he can the means of assisting it; he thinks some impression may be made on Ponsonby by Lord Ponsonby his nephew, and by Grattan, and he has half a mind to talk to Ponsonby himself, but naturally feels reluctant to undertake so difficult and ungracious a task. I have told him that I am ready to take any ungracious office of that sort on my shoulders; but as the object is to produce a voluntary offer from Ponsonby, that disposition can only be produced and assisted by those who are in habits of intimate intercourse and individual confidence with Ponsonby. I am sure that the more you think of this the more you will be impressed with the importance of it in the present moment. I hope you have written to the Duke of Bedford, and that you have urged him to see Elliot. I find from Lord Grey that Whitbread had extracted from the Duke a letter of unbounded praise for his speech on the Erfurt papers, which, considering what an attack it was on our government, was very unguarded on the part of the Duke, and so it appears to Lord Grey. Tierney and Albemarle have a list of 102 sure votes for your division."

#### EARL GREY TO THE SAME.

[1809, March–April. London.]—"I enclose the proposed address with some verbal alterations made in it by Lord Sidmouth. He seems to think that some of his friends, particularly Lord de Dunstanville, will be more ready to vote for it with these alterations. They appear to me to be of so little consequence that if anybody has any fancy about them, they ought to be acceded to.

"As I have nobody here to copy any thing for me, may I trouble you to get a fair copy made for me for the House of Lords."

*Postscript.*—"Lord Wellesley is not well enough to attend on Friday, and Lord Liverpool applied to me to-day on that account to put off the motion till the beginning of the week, to which I was very sorry that it was not in my power to consent."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1809, March–April. London.]—"I send you the narrative of Castanos which I will thank you to return together with Graham's letter when you have read them. In the address I think it might perhaps be better to omit the clause respecting the accession of power to France, for I think it would be rather too difficult, even for me, sanguine as I was, to maintain that we could have prevented the French from making themselves masters of Spain.

"*Ill-combined* and misdirected; would I think be better than *ill-timed*."

## EARL GREY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, March 28. London.—“Lord Henry had a long conversation with Whitbread on Sunday; it passed amicably, but ended, as was to be expected, in an understanding that all party connection between him and us is, for the present at least, at an end. They agreed, and I think you will also be of opinion, that it is better to avoid, as far as it can be done, all public explanation and discussion on this subject; the more especially as it does not appear likely that there will immediately occur any question which will occasion a public difference. By this I do not mean that any attempt, which would be vain, should be made to conceal or to disguise the separation that has taken place. But I cannot help retaining a wish, which you will not think unnatural, both to avoid throwing any difficulties in the way of our agreement on such questions as we can still agree upon, at present, and of a renewal of the connection hereafter. It is obviously necessary that you should announce this distressing event to such of our friends as from their personal consequence, and the support we have received from them, have a right to expect such a communication. There are particular circumstances which must make me desirous of a personal explanation with the Duke of Bedford, and the opportunity will be afforded me by his passing through London on Friday. To everybody else I hope you will write, and indeed to him also.

“If in reading over the Spanish papers anything should occur to you either as to the mode of forming resolutions upon them, or the line to be taken in opening the debate, I shall be obliged to you to suggest it.

“From something that passed yesterday, privately, between Lord Liverpool and Lord Auckland in the House of Lords, I think it nearly certain that Ministers will take advantage of the late proceedings in America to get rid of the Orders in Council.”

## THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1809, March 29. Cleveland Square.—“I find both by your letter, and by Lord Buckingham’s account of your conversation, that you are disposed to rely more than I fear you ought upon the accomplishment of our wishes respecting Ponsonby’s voluntary resignation; I heartily wish this may be brought about, and I am doing all I can to forward it, but I should be very sorry that this expectation, or any expressions of reluctance on the part of Lord Grey, should induce you to lose any or a single moment in writing to the Duke of Bedford and Lord FitzWilliam. The separation is irrevocably made, and Lord Grey’s good sense and judgment make him see that it is, and that it ought to be so; although the pain which he feels in it makes him reluctant to admit it, and tardy in acting upon any such admission. I yesterday

had Lord Henry's account of his conversation with Whitbread, who to him likewise disclaims any intention of hoisting a separate standard, but repeats that he considers the party as having no leader, and that he means to govern his own conduct solely by the opinions of Samuel Whitbread: I did not keep back from Lord Henry my wishes and desire that an opening might be made for him to recover the lost ground of the party, nor my anxiety to see that accomplished if possible by the voluntary offer of George Ponsonby; in all that Lord Henry said upon this I am the more confirmed in my belief that the true way of making him useful is by interesting him in the character of a leader, and making him thus responsible for a successful resistance to Whitbread and Company. Undoubtedly I agree with you that the course of his political opinions and connections, as well as those of Lord Grey will create to them some embarrassment in an entire agreement with us who have uniformly been found opposed to the questions of reform which they have more or less supported; but with the sentiments which Lord Grey expresses on this subject, I believe him disposed to do every thing short of what would be a disgrace and inconsistency in him to do; and though I should have some apprehension of a stronger impression in favour of reform in Lord Henry, yet I think he was well pitted against Whitbread; and if he had lead enough given him to make him responsible for beating Whitbread, we should have as little inconvenience from his former opinions as, in the nature of this subject, it is possible to have. Indeed in the present inflamed state of the public mind upon these popular topics, I do not wish to see these discussions met by a blind and obstinate opposition, and I can easily conceive that such a course would be exactly what our adversaries would wish, and would serve their cause much better than ours. In the resistance which is to be made upon these popular topics, we want more discretion than zeal; and I think there is a good deal of that first valuable quality in the character of Lord Henry's mind, and that the best direction to give to his zeal is by committing it in unrestrained hostility against Whitbread. If I do not deceive myself, under the present circumstances this object is of greater importance than any other whatever. There is a great danger round us, most especially from the ardour of many of the young members, of which I hear more every day than I like to hear. Coke, of Norfolk, has been holding very inflammatory language on these topics at Brooks's, and has been talking about honest youth as contrasted with empty politicians; and has been dealing out his invectives against sinecures with the same abundance of nonsense which he generally reserves for the companions of his Norfolk dumplings at Holkham. Lord Milton and Lord Althorp have both dipped more into this than one could wish, and I see by my letters from Althorp that there is more ground of uneasiness in our

young friend there than I had expected : Lyttelton is another who is described as a very eager reformer, and Ward a little so, though in a much more moderated degree than the others. All this makes it in my mind important that no time should be lost in your communications, most especially with Duke of Bedford and Lord FitzWilliam who had fled into Yorkshire from the scarlet fever at Milton.

“Lord Spencer has written to Lord B[uckingham] to tell him that the Spanish Admiral at Cadiz has allowed two of our men of war to rig out the seven Spanish and four French men of war, and to place them in the outward harbour out of reach of the French, if they should suddenly invest Cadiz.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, March 30.—“Lord Grey, doubting whether he has time to write to you to-day, desires me to tell you that the result of the communications made to George Ponsonby is, that he considers himself as entirely relieved from embarrassment by this measure of Whitbread, that he attributes all his uneasiness and former failure to the constraint put upon him by his reluctance to break with Whitbread, and that he describes an entire confidence in himself for all his future exertions, and does not in the least admit of the possibility of any such suggestion as I had wished and hoped for. Under these circumstances I suppose you will think with Lord Grey and me, that this cannot be done forcibly; and therefore that all which remains is to stimulate Lord H. Petty to the most active exertions, and to let him see that, in the formation of a new government, he would be to lead in the House of Commons.

“Lord Grey has read with more surprise than I have, but not with more indignation, the Westminster Hall debate. If this does not open the eyes of our young friends as to Whitbread and the democrats, they are indeed irrecoverably lost. Elliot and Lord Grey are to see the Duke of Bedford to-day and to-morrow; he is in town on his road to Woburn.

“Lord Grey has just sent me Lord Holland’s letter which I will return to you to-morrow, as I have not time to read it before the post goes out.”

#### EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1809, March 31. London.—“Not having time to write to you yesterday, I desired your brother to explain what appeared to me a mistake in your apprehension of what had passed between him and me respecting George Ponsonby. This I have no doubt he has done quite satisfactorily; but I cannot help just saying that, in addition to all the reasons which must weigh with you, there are others arising out of my personal connection with Ponsonby that must make me, if possible, more anxious even than yourself in the discussion of any new arrangement that might become necessary, to

avoid even the use of a phrase, much more the suggestion of any measure, that could be personally unpleasant to him. In truth, the conversation between your brother and me turned rather on what might be desirable, than on the actual adoption of any measures for altering the lead in the House of Commons. It was this that caused my omitting to mention it to you in my former letter; and what has since passed with George Ponsonby proving that he feels himself rather stimulated to increased exertion, than disposed to withdraw himself, there is of course an end of this matter. Besides, on throwing out the possibility of the arrangement that had been talked of to Petty, I found him, and no wonder, very much indisposed to take upon himself the ostensible character of leader in the House of Commons under the present circumstances.

"I have seen the Duke of Bedford this morning, and explained to him all that has passed with Whitbread. You know he does not say much, but I hope I do not assume too much from the assent he appeared to give to the different points I pressed upon him, in saying that I have no doubt his conduct will be such as we must necessarily desire. I think he has been a good deal struck, as all persons in his situation must naturally be, with what passed at the Westminster meeting on Wednesday.

"I enclose a letter which I received yesterday from Holland. I am sorry to find that he is not likely to be at home so soon as his former letter had led me to hope. The information it contains, I think, will not induce you to alter your opinion as to the hopelessness of the contest in Spain. But the state of things as it now appears, certainly adds to the weight of the censure which ought to fall on the adviser, whoever he was, of Moore's advance from Salamanca.

"Sir A. Wellesley, you will have heard, is certainly going to Portugal. The force now there, I understand, is about 18,000 men, and there exist at home the means of augmenting it only to a very limited extent indeed; and any addition that can be made to it must consist chiefly in cavalry."

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1809, March 31. Palace Yard.—"So long as this *vent de bise* shall predominate, it will be an uncomfortable consolation to me for passing the holidays in town, which we mean to do, with the exception perhaps of a forty-eight hours visit to Gogmagog."

*Private.*—"Lord Grey has mentioned to me, as a matter to be guardedly and reservedly talked about, that he has felt himself obliged to have an explanation with Mr. Whitbread, purporting in its results that they must be considered as pursuing very different lines and principles in Parliament; and he added that a conference to an effect somewhat similar has taken place between Mr. Whitbread and Lord H. Petty. It has long been evident to me that what is called Opposition

in the House of Commons ought to be better marshalled, and on some other system. The opinion both of the public and of Parliament is tending towards us ; but there is a want both of system and of right activity.

“ Our division in the Lords may perhaps be carried on the 18th as high as 85 or 86. I hear that we have Lord Nelson ; and that Lord Wodehouse is disposed. It may not be easy, but Lord Carlisle, who cannot possibly stay the division, should be prevailed on to give his proxy. Lord Sidmouth is eager on the Spanish question. I quite agree with Lord Grey that, after certain resolutions of facts, there should be resolutions of inculpation (not omitting the Ferrol scrape). It would be very material if you would turn your mind to assist Lord Grey in this.

“ The Cadiz ships with our cordage and sail-cloth are said to be in the outward harbour ; but it is much doubted whether they will come further.

“ Louis XVIII is said to be in an awkward scrape. M. de Puisaye accuses him of employing some Frenchmen to assassinate him, and to steal some paper.

“ The Swedes in London say that their King will be re-enthroned by a part of the army ; but neither the facts nor the probabilities are in favour of such a notion.”

*Postscript. Private.*—“ I have the strongest reason to believe that it is decided not to renew the Orders in Council Acts ; and I had an intimation to that effect when I gave notice that I should make a full mention of that subject after the holidays. I wish you would think how it can be done to the best effect.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 1. Cleveland Square.—“ Elliot has seen the Duke of B[edford] whose general sentiments appear to be very much in unison with ours, and who confidentially to E[lliot] expresses great surprise and disapprobation of W[hitbread] having produced himself in the shape of an humble follower of Burdett. At the same time the Duke’s general reserve and silence will give us no advantage from his sentiments, if they are not a little more produced into action. He has left his family at Brighton, and is going for a fortnight or more to Ely on business. There is no chance therefore of Elliot’s visit, because there is no Woburn party ; but Elliot is very anxious that you should press both the Duke and Lord F[itizWilliam] to come up to town to meet you as soon as you arrive, and to talk these subjects well over.

“ I have again written to Lord Spencer to press him as much as I can upon the subject of Althorp, of whose sentiments I have lately heard more than I can hear without having some anxiety and uneasiness. I have said all that I could, and of course you will be so good as to keep this to yourself.

“Burdett and Company are furious at Madox having prematurely given his reforming notice, and having thus fired his piece without proper orders from his commanding officer. What a farce it makes of all these public orations! Here is Sir F. Burdett and Whitbread addressing the people in Palace Yard on the pressing necessity of Parliamentary reform, and then inveterately angry with one of their own proselytes for pledging himself to move for that very Parliamentary reform, which, in Westminster Hall and Palace Yard, they had declared to be indispensable to the safety of the people. Yet, I am glad of this meeting in one respect, because I think the near approach to treason in Burdett’s speech, and the wild nonsense of Whitbread’s forcing Ferguson into command by the terror of the people, must open the eyes of some of our young friends to the principles and objects of these democratic leaders.

“I am sorry to hear that Wardle professes to be possessed of the actual letter written by Lord Hardwicke, with the offer of 2,500*l.*, and of a place of 800*l. per annum*, as a consideration for some burgage tenures; and he adds that he can prove the payment of the money and the appointment to the place solicited and obtained by Charles Yorke. There seems to be a melancholy concurrence at one and the same moment of all that can render the existence of government precarious, and set the character of public men in the most degrading light.

“Elliot is going to Beaconsfield with Grattan. I tell him he should take Grattan over to Dropmore; if you think so, of course you will say so.”

· LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1809, April 4. Palace Yard.—“This quarter of the metropolis is as empty as in the first weeks of the shooting season, but I never was less disposed to envy the enjoyment of fields and shrubberies. It is a savage season; wheezy, breezy, and freezy.

“I am further annoyed by the political temperature and prospects. Unless it shall soon please Providence to remove Buonaparte from the face of the earth, he will in three months more complete the subjugation of the Continent, in despite of Sir A. Wellesley’s army, and of the ‘patriotic Portuguese.’ (I understand that Sir Arthur’s appointment raises great dissatisfaction in the long list of senior officers who are virtually superannuated; a proposal is sent to Cradock to proceed to Gibraltar, but his friends here have recommended to him to decline and to come home.)

“The vessel of the state is certainly in the perilous way which you well describe, the waves troubled, the wind rising, the captain locked up in his cabin, ignorant and rash pilots at the helm, and a disposition to mutiny in the lower decks. Quitting the metaphor, I really think it necessary for you

and for Lord Grey to hold a closer communication with individuals of the House of Commons, and to try what can be done. If you remain passive spectators, the respectable conduct of the House of Lords will not alone be sufficient to preserve the country from confusion.

“ I dined yesterday at Roehampton, and Lord Buckinghamshire readily undertook to manage about the Bishop of Gloucester’s proxy. It is desirable that our new proxies should not be entered till the morning of the debate ; and it is also to be wished that the resolutions should not be communicated to the opposite bench beforehand. It would be useful in every point of view if such men as Lord Villiers and Lord Cooper could be induced to come forwards. I forgot to enquire about Lord de Dunsterville, whether he will vote with Lord Sidmouth. Lord Ellenborough is in bad health at present, but eager on the subject. Those who are not likely to be able to wait for the division should be induced to give their proxies. Lord Carrington does not seem to think that Lord Gardiner will vote with us ; nor am I sanguine as to Lord Ilchester.

“ On what day do you come to town ? Mr. Canning’s treaty with Spain *richly deserves* a preliminary conversation ; and more should be said about the Ferrol fleet, and every hour may bring material news from America. I fear that the Martinique business will be a great waste of human life.

“ One of the best counteractions to the shoals of mischievous nonsense which will otherwise be pushed forwards, would be a pressure from day to day of great political questions relative to Spain, Sweden, Portugal, America, East and West Indies.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 5. Cleveland Square.—“ I have just got your note and will dine with you on Friday and Saturday. Moore has twice seen Lord Grey, who thinks his case for the Spanish question is invincible in point of argument. He tells me that he hears of great quarrels among the Ministers, and most particularly as between Castlereagh and Canning who are said to be at daggers drawn. Many rumours reach Lord Grey of favourable opinions respecting him at Windsor ; but he has again repeated to me to-day that, if anything is said to sound him, which he rather expects or deems not unlikely, his answer will be that with the present government he can have no communication, but that he should always be ready to obey his Majesty’s commands in receiving his orders, though in such a case his humble advice to the King would be to send for Lord Grenville.

“ I have just seen a letter from Portsmouth which says that Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived there yesterday morning, and was going to sail in the evening ; but that his departure was suspended by the sudden arrival of orders from London,



in consequence of intelligence of two French corps being fast approaching to Lisbon. The letter adds, the prevailing opinion is that the English army at Lisbon is re-embarking."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, April 7. Cleveland Square.—“ I have heard nothing of the question which you tell me is in agitation respecting Lord Hardwicke. It seems bad enough in itself, and is indeed irretrievably bad if it brings again into sight all the dirty buyings and sellings of Lord Castlereagh's union. In his hands and by his assistance that measure has been stripped of all public good and national security, and has fraternized us only with the nastiest garbage of the Irish place-market. His shameless defiance of all principle in reference to the Catholic question makes me think that his approaching disgraces are but a just judgment upon him. You will think that I am infected with the language of the Livery and Common Council, but in truth what is there left for *us* but to rail at those who have made the state of public affairs as helpless as it now is. The greater part of those with whom I talk upon these subjects exhaust their indignation in abuse of Horne Tooke, and Burdett, and Cobbett, and Whitbread; and if I do not likewise, it is not from any partiality towards them; but I do not consider them as making the new feature of our present danger. In a population and under a constitution like ours, there always have been and always will be leaders enough to bring forward into activity the discontents and dissatisfactions of the day as the occasion may offer. Accidental irritations may at times increase the degree of this danger, and it will always be most formidable when, as now, the pressure of taxes bears hard upon the lower ranks of the people; but there is nothing novel in the nature of this evil; and however it may vary in degree, there is too but one channel through which this evil can be resisted, and that is by the conduct of the government. With them must originate the whole system of defence against this evil, and whether by temper, or by vigour, or by a prudent and timely exercise of each, it must be for them to plan, to array, and to conduct whatever is necessary to be done for the public security. The novel part of our present danger is the universally admitted and acknowledged incompetency and inadequacy of the present government, and the universal persuasion of all men that our Ministers are upon the present occasion mere spectators of what is passing, without conceiving either the means or the necessity of taking any measures of security against the approaching tempest. In this state again I say what can we do but rail? The natural answer to my question would doubtless have been, to try the radical cure of the removal of the government; I am not disposed to think that a very impossible task; but I say nothing of it because you and I have so often and so recently agreed that

a renewal of the victory which we gained over this government two years ago would be, for public purposes, much more to be deplored than to be desired; and every day's reflection serves but to confirm me in that opinion. If this be so, the utmost that we can do will be perhaps but of a very negative description. We may do something by guarding as much as possible against the inconvenient excess to which some of our best friends may push their notions of resisting measures of reform. I am certainly disposed to think great caution necessary upon this point, not only in reference to the avoiding all imprudent irritation of the public mind upon popular and plausible topics, but more especially in reference to the political state and condition to which several of those are in some degree pledged, whose real sentiments are now very little different from ours. Lord Grey is the person to whom I most particularly allude, and the same remark applies in different degrees to Lord Henry and to Tierney. It would, I think, be very ill-understood on our parts if our language and views upon this subject should be pushed to such an extreme rejection of all that bears the word of reform, as to leave to these of our friends no hope or expectation that their sentiments can be brought into any sort of accord or harmony with ours; this would be on our part to force them against their will into the ranks of Whitbread and of Burdett, when, in truth, our business is—as far as can be made consistent with principle—to show that while we separate from Whitbread and from Burdett, we are not so intolerant as to put down every man for a Jacobin who entertains the question of the possibility of any reform. The best practical mode of determining this part of the question would certainly be by frank and confidential communication; and in this view I would strongly recommend to you to press Lord Grey, Lord Henry, and perhaps Tierney, to go down and pass a day with you at Dropmore. Lord Henry comes to town to-morrow, and offered to go down with me to you; my answer was to press him to go, but to doubt about my own cold; at the same time I am so much better that if you think there is any good in my going, I should not hesitate to do so, and am confident it would do me no harm; but I am persuaded nothing is so pressing as a frank and unreserved communication between you and Lord Grey without any farther delay.

“Reports have prevailed of the ministers taking fright, and of their taking Melville and Wellesley and Sidmouth; but the latter is eager in his talk with Lord Grey, and pursues him with invitations to dinner. Lord G. Leveson and C. Ellis are added to Wallace as candidates for Ireland, and Long is said to succeed Sir J. Pulteney, who resigns.

“Kleist, the son of the Magdeburg general, is come here as a private agent to Canning from several leading men in Prussia and in Saxony to ask for arms to assist a general

insurrection in the North of Germany ; but I do not believe that the King of Prussia is any party to this mission."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 10. Cleveland Square.—“I had learnt from Crawford that Moore the surgeon had considered himself as compelled to vindicate the character of his brother against the insidious detractions of the Ministers, that Lord Liverpool had endeavoured to persuade him that *Canning alone* was responsible for his own censures on Sir J. Moore, and that the other Ministers had not joined him in his criticisms; it further appears that a pension of 600*l.*—nominally—which would not have cleared much above 400*l.*, was offered to the surgeon as the representative of Sir John, the other brothers agreeing to leave the whole of what might be given to the surgeon for his benefit, and that of their sick brother. Upon this part of the subject I understand the surgeon to have remarked the sum to have been unworthy of his brother's memory, and that the grace of confirming it by Parliament should not be wanting in a case where Parliament had voted a monument. The discussion however terminated in a refusal from the surgeon, and in his announcing to Lord Liverpool that he thought himself bound in honour to his brother's memory to publish his military journal, together with all the official correspondence. Crawford told me that this work was far advanced, but would not be printed with the maps and plans before the middle of June. My advice to Crawford was, first to persuade his friend to ask from Lord Liverpool his own testimony and that of the other Ministers in the House of Lords in favour of General Moore; and, secondly, my advice to him was not to quarrel with the government, but to obtain for his family such assistance as it was thought the case would justify; but I added that, if the surgeon was irrevocably determined on the publication of his brother's case in hostility to the Ministers, I should then advise him to lose no time in communicating the material facts of General Moore's case to Lord Grey, whose motion in the House of Lords on the 18th would afford the most advantageous mode of beginning the justification of the general's character and conduct in Spain. In consequence of what I had said, Crawford yesterday told me that the surgeon was absolutely determined on pursuing the unqualified vindication of his brother, and had desired that I would convey to you his wish of being allowed to communicate to you all the facts, original papers, and letters, previous to the debate in the House of Lords. I told Crawford that I would give his message, and you see that I am now acquitting myself of that commission; but I added that I believed you did not come to town till the 17th, which would scarce leave time for such a communication, and that I still thought the surgeon would do well to see Lord Grey who is in town. What the surgeon will decide on this

I know not, but I understand that Crawford believes these papers to be of great importance, and to furnish a powerful attack against the Ministers. You will tell me what answer to give to the surgeon's message to you. He told Crawford he particularly wished to communicate with you, as you had behaved very handsomely already on the subject; by which I suppose he alludes to the answer you had given when these papers were first named to you. If you come a day sooner you might have time to go over the whole, but how far that may suit with your Dropmore projects I know not.

“With respect to the very large and extensive subject on which you have answered me, I feel that it is a matter which comprehends too much for any correspondence to reach, even between those who understand one another's opinions as much and as easily as we do. I can however venture to assure you that I have expressed myself very inadequately if I can have left you the possibility of supposing that you or Elliot or anybody else can have a stronger or more urgent sense than I have of the public danger of the present moment. There cannot be upon the nature and violence of the disease the slightest difference of opinion between us, and I feel pretty confident that there would be almost as little difference between us in respect to the remedy, if we had time and opportunity to pursue the details of this subject as completely as their extent and importance would require. On this account I much wish that I had found myself stout enough to have joined you at Dropmore, more especially as I find by your letter of this day's post that you expect Lord H. Petty and Elliot at dinner to-day; but although I am not ill, there is a want of bodily strength about me which disables my crazy carcase from following where my mind would lead it. My general comment upon your last letter is that you do not seem to me to contemplate sufficiently the practical details which will create the immediate difficulties in the House of Commons; or, that in seeing them, you have better hopes from, and more disposition towards the ministerial benches than I have. Our *own* party, properly so called, is upon this subject pretty much reduced in point of speakers to Elliot, and to the powerful but irregular support which he may derive from Windham; the assistance which our flank of the army gave upon questions of reform, at the period that you allude to, was given to the authority influence and eloquence of Pitt and his government, who were able and willing to fight this battle, and whose efforts were so directed as to invite and justify the assistance which we then gave them. Upon the present occasion the government furnishes no talents, no vigour, and no unity of opinion. I think it myself very questionable whether, in their own original weakness and poverty of means, they will concert anything but an improvident and involuntary course of ineffectual concession. Broken as they are, without unity,

or confidence in themselves or in one another, it is highly probable that Canning or some of these intriguers for place and office, will betray their associates, not by actually joining the enemy, but by looking after their own individual interests in these questions, instead of consulting the real defence of the citadel and the security of the garrison. The last approach made by us when in opposition, for the purpose of supporting government on questions of reform, ended in our joining that government upon its general views and systems; and it would be blindness not to see that a similar conduct upon the present occasion would naturally point to a similar conclusion; in truth I have the opportunity of knowing that some of our best friends have already taken this alarm, and have filled themselves with the apprehension that an early support given by us to this government is likely to end in a closer connection with them, or with the greater part of them. Perhaps I have myself sufficient confidence in a similarity of your sentiments with mine on this topic, to prevent my entertaining great apprehensions of what I should think such irretrievable ruin and degradation of character to us and to our friends. But I do not speak lightly when I say I know these apprehensions do begin to get hold of the minds of some of our best friends. If however it be true that not only the character and conduct of the present Ministers forbids the possibility of any ultimate political connection with them, but if it be likewise true that their entire want of ability and of prudence defeats all hope of their providing such measures of defence against the danger as could be rendered effectual by our assistance, and if, at the same time, it must be confessed that Elliot and Windham cannot of themselves do more than make an honourable and eloquent protest, but that they cannot do anything practically that will avert the danger which threatens us, then I think a case is made out in which it becomes absolutely necessary to look for the best array of force which can be found likely to fight *any* battle, if we cannot fight again the same battle which we have fought. I hope I feel no unbecoming timidity on this subject, when I confess that my opinion inclines me to think that with the strongest government and with the energies of a powerful and eloquent leader, I should doubt if the *same* battle which we had formerly gained, could wisely again be fought under the different circumstances of the present moment. Unquestionably my opinion is that, in the present inflamed state of the public mind arising, as I believe it does in great measure, from the pressure of taxes, the answers which your letter suggests upon the three points at issue are such as cannot barely and nakedly be considered as fit to be given to the people in the present moment. Of those three the first, namely, of parliamentary reform, is perhaps that which I am disposed to think, unless circumstances should vary, there would be the least difficulty in

resisting, because up to the present time I rather believe parliamentary reform has never been very much sought for or desired by the body of the people ; and this I know is Lord Grey's opinion, who had good means of ascertaining that fact ; at the same time it is impossible to say how far and how fast the irritation of the public mind will be led to travel upon this topic by the unresisted influence which is employed to inflame them. The degree of resistance upon this topic therefore seems to me to vary with the varying mind of the country, but I own I should imagine that *this* question is not in this moment the most material. The second question and the third however are questions to which your observations on the practical details of government cannot afford such answers as it will be possible to afford in any public discussion, and least of all in Parliament. You cannot tell the people, when they complain of facts which establish corruption in the military department, in that of the war Secretary of State, and in that of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, you cannot tell them that the influence of what they call corruption is, for practical purposes, too small rather than too great ; and even your observations of the diminished influence of the Crown since the Reformation [Revolution], may perhaps be very much questioned when you recollect the immense increase of military, naval, and fiscal patronage. Neither can you upon the third question either adopt or promulgate the principle of resisting enquiry into abuses, because the details of all governments are inseparably and necessarily blended with some. The true and only defence upon these subjects, as it seems to me, is in the prudence and discretion of an able government, which, under such circumstances as the present, ought to take into it's own hands the whole of this delicate subject, ought to consider how much could safely be given to the inflamed and irritated state of the public mind, and what mode could most prudently be pursued for defending that which it might be thought must not be conceded. It was in this view that I had urged you to see Lord Grey, Lord H. Petty and Tierney ; and I confess that I still retain the persuasion that it is peculiarly necessary for you to consult with the very same persons, whoever they may be, whom, if the King sent for you to-morrow, you would probably propose for his service. With those persons I wish you to consider all these important points, and to settle the conduct to be taken upon them, which I believe would not be found in any great degree difficult or impossible. No man, I think, can expect Lord Grey situated as he is, to do all that that Pitt did in the height of his power, and being Minister of the country ; but all that I have heard of Lord Grey's and Lord Henry's dispositions on this subject incline me to believe that a frank and unreserved communication with them will still retain the same honourable connection which has prevailed, and which, I think, affords the only chance hereafter of any real good to be done in the country."

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 11. Palace Yard.—“I returned yesterday from Gogmagog too late to be able to send the enclosed list to you, and now forward it as transcribed this morning by Mr. Eden, and as of this date in the proxy book. It is open to many remarks on both sides too numerous and complicated for a letter; and indeed on that point as well as on several others, all your friends much lament that you are not on the spot, and that you talk of not arriving before the 17th. The whole view of everything connected with the debate is varying (and consequently the resolutions must vary) from hour to hour, by the new papers which come from the Parliament offices, and by new circumstances which come to light. I am every hour more convinced of the folly of Sir A. Wellesley's new expedition, and of the blind infatuation and obstinacy of those who direct it; and though it may be true that our countrymen in general are both blind, and deaf, and unfeeling as to all the gigantic interests now afloat, I nevertheless think that, whatever we do, we should do with the best exertion to do good, though we are likely to fail in that wish. But the charms of Dropmore and of the opening spring will prevail.

“Lord Fortescue called on me this morning, and was so good at my request as to go to the Parliament Office, to forward to you from thence by this post some most curious additional papers respecting Moore, Frere, Ferrol, and the late campaign. Frere's correspondence is offensively and absurdly arrogant beyond all example and imagination; and in the very act of running from Madrid with all the fears of a hare before the hounds, he insists on Moore's exposing himself and his army to evident destruction; and all this in a tone of epigram, and sarcasm, and self-importance, as if the letters had been brought, cut and dry, from Downing Street. De Courey's letters about Ferroll are very curious.

“Lord Albemarle was here at the same time with Lord Fortescue, and desired me to mention to you that he has only a few of the printed letters pressing for attendance. As I have within these five minutes received one of those letters, I presume that the circulation is made.

“And thereby hangs another scrape. We have most unfortunately taken for the debate the great Newmarket day, which may detain from us Lord Grosvenor (who never gives a proxy) and Lord Jersey who holds a proxy. And Lord Derby is ill, who holds two proxies; and we have other friends who attend Newmarket.

“Lord Albemarle wishes that you would send to him such proxies as you may have, with such instructions as may occur; it is a detail of some difficulty. A few lines from you to Lord Grosvenor and Lord Jersey would bring them to the debate. By the bye, I cannot believe that the debate can finish in one day, and possibly not in two. I do not feel quite stout enough at present to be sure that I can sit up very late.

“That story about the purchase of the letters from Mrs. Clarke at an enormous price was confirmed to me to-day by a person who *knows* all the particulars; and even now there are strong fears that copies may have been kept.”

SIR H. C. ENGLEFIELD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 11. Tilney Street.—“Having already taken the liberty of speaking to your Lordship on the affairs of the English Catholics, I trust you will excuse my troubling you again on the same subject, as I cannot but feel it a duty to inform our best and firmest friend of our proceedings, and the more, as I find that erroneous reports have got abroad relative to the meeting of last Monday. That meeting was a very private one, held at the home of Lord Shrewsbury, and no more than 14 gentlemen were present. We have had no public meeting whatever, and I sincerely hope we shall not have any this year. The meeting of Monday was merely to take into consideration the very numerous and respectable communications which had been made to us of the wishes of a great number of our body, particularly of those gentlemen resident in the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, that we should come before Parliament this year with a request to be placed on the same footing with the Catholics of Ireland. These wishes were, however, in every instance expressed both with the greatest politeness to those of their brethren resident in London to whom the letters were addressed, and the most decided wish that no step should be taken but with the advice and approbation of those distinguished friends whose support has been their pride, and on whom they must ever place the greatest reliance. Of these I can safely say that every individual I have ever known, considers your Lordship as the chief.

“The greatest number (indeed almost all) of these letters were written before the late occurrences in Parliament had raised so great a ferment in the public mind.

“After perusing these letters, the gentlemen present determined to write to the gentlemen in the country through whom they had been transmitted to us, simply stating that, on account of the great importance of the subject, they had adjourned the further consideration of it for a fortnight. It was then resolved that each person present should apply to their friends in Parliament, and most especially to your Lordship, for your advice on the subject of the propriety of an application to Parliament this session; at the same time I must add that the unanimous sense of the gentlemen present appeared to me to be against any application to Parliament, though no vote or motion was made on that head.

“If then your Lordship will honour me with your sentiments on the subject, I shall feel, in common with every gentleman of my acquaintance, the highest obligation to you; and I will



most exactly follow your directions as to the mode of communicating those sentiments to the gentlemen at our next meeting; and I am very certain that there is scarcely an individual in the body who would not wish to be guided by them.

“Should your Lordship prefer speaking to me to a communication in writing, I shall be happy at any time to obey your summons.

“I ought to say that among the gentlemen present on Monday were Lords Kenmare, Dormer, and Arundell, Mr. Clifford, and Sir J. Throckmorton. Lord Shrewsbury was too ill to attend the meeting, and the other Catholic peers are not in town.”

#### EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1809, April 11. London.—“I am afraid you will think I have been very idle, and I cannot altogether acquit myself of that charge, though I have some excuse in the languor remaining after long illness, and in the difficulty of sitting down seriously to any work in the confines of a London hotel. I have not however been altogether inattentive to the necessary preparation for the question I am to bring forward next Tuesday. That after hammering at the papers for some time, I have not been able to beat out any resolutions that satisfy me, and there is so much obviously wanting in the information laid before us, that I am much inclined to prefer a general motion for enquiry. Lord Moira is also of opinion that this would be the better course; so that, if you agree with us, I will try to reconcile Lord Sidmouth to this alteration in our intended mode of proceeding.

“Petty will have communicated to you the additional papers which are now delivered, and I have no doubt you will think as I do that Frere’s conduct has been most unwarrantable. I have seen Moore’s brother, who has shown me the original letters. There are some omitted which certainly ought to have been produced, and in some of those produced a few not unimportant alterations. One a requisition from the Junta of Madrid signed by Castel-Franco and Morla, and dated the *2nd of December*, which you will see is referred to in Moore’s letter to Frere of the sixth, and two from Moore to Baird which are extremely material in showing the influence Frere’s letters had on his conduct, he intends to send copies of in a letter to Lord Liverpool, stating that he has done the same to me, as they appear necessary to bring his brother’s case fairly before the public. I recommended this mode of proceeding, rather than moving for them when the House meets on Friday, to save time; not having then received the enclosed letter from Lord Grosvenor which, I am afraid, leaves us no choice about putting off the motion. It is extremely inconvenient to me to do so, but there are several other frequenters of Newmarket amongst our friends, and

as the races last the whole week, it probably would be better to fix it at once for Monday, as Lord Grosvenor desires. I certainly like Friday better, but I wish the decision to rest with you; and hope you will let me hear from you by the return of the post.

"I have seen Lord Albemarle this morning, and find it will be necessary to make a good many new arrangements respecting our proxies. We should therefore be obliged to you to send the list he left with you. Directions should also be given for sending out notes to apprise our friends of the day of the debate.

"I hope your return to town will not be delayed, as there are several matters which I think it would be material to talk over. There is one on which I should have something to say, and which I cannot very well state in a letter. You will not be surprised to hear that the general weakness of the government, their own divisions, and the known separation between Whitbread and me have occasioned a good deal of conversation amongst persons of very great authority in your neighbourhood. I shall be anxious when we meet to tell you all I know on this subject; but, in the meantime, I trust that you know me well enough to be assured that I know the value of communications of this nature, and that I have had no concern in them further than hearing what has been conveyed to me. What has been so conveyed I am so far entitled to consider only as mere gossip; if it should assume any more distinct shape my answer would be; 'that I could have nothing to say while the present Ministry lasts; but if it was declared to be at an end, I should be ready to receive any communication it might be thought proper to make to me, either directly, or, which I should recommend, through you.' I do not believe however that we shall be exposed to any embarrassments of this sort. It is not the first time that the Ministers have been at variance; and now, as formerly, when they come to a point at which they must either break, or agree, I have no doubt they will feel the indispensable necessity of agreement.

"Portugal, I apprehend, is gone. Your brother has just been here, and says that the Duke of Queensberry's news is that Sir A. Wellesley is stopped by an order from Government at Portsmouth; and that the British troops at Lisbon were expected to embark immediately.

"I forgot to say that Moore's brother wishes, when you come to town, to be allowed to communicate all his papers to you."

#### EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1809, April. London.]—"I return the address having made no alteration in it, except the addition of a few words to the last sentence, which you may either insert or omit as you think best. Lord Sidmouth and his friends seem to

think there is some virtue in the word *mismanagement*, so I suppose it may stand. I think we may make out upon the ground you state that the loss exceeded 8,000; but I always think it better not to have a dispute on a point of this sort, and should therefore prefer adhering to our original statement. I have not been able to substitute anything for *dangerous accession*; but though it is in some degree exposed to the objection I stated, I don't think it of much consequence."

LORD GRENVILLE to SIR H. C. ENGLEFIELD.

1809, April 12. Dropmore.—“I have this morning received your letter, and lose not a moment in expressing to you what occurs to me on the interesting question to which it relates. I flatter myself no professions can be necessary. It is well known to be my most earnest desire that the Roman Catholics both of England and Ireland should be restored to the full enjoyment of every civil right. And if I thought their applying to Parliament at this time was likely to promote, or accelerate that object, I would strenuously recommend it.

“The contrary is decidedly my opinion. I am satisfied that such a discussion forced on by them at this time, and under the circumstances that now exist in this country, as well as those which took place last year in Ireland, would tend to strengthen the prejudices which were so unreasonably excited against them two years ago.

“I return to town to-morrow, and should be very happy to have an opportunity of conversing with you on this subject any day after Sunday, on which it may suit you to do me the honour to call in Oxford Street.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, April 12. London.—“I enclose a statement of the French and Spanish forces, extracted from the accounts yesterday received by Government through Major Roche. You will judge from them what chance of success there is for Wellesley's army. The news I sent you yesterday of his having been stopped at Portsmouth, I fancy, was not true.

“I had a letter from Holland dated the 12th which really contains nothing; he does not say a word of leaving Spain.

“I hear the Duke of Argyle, who is returned from Scotland, expects that Lauderdale is coming.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, April 13. Palace Yard.—“I have seen Lord Grey this morning who will state to you the reasons why the debate must be on the 21st instead of the 24th, the former being the more convenient day to several of our friends. Lord Albemarle has just called here, and says that the proxies, exclusively of what you may have, are 44, and this is exclusively also of two which Lord Sidmouth has.

"I have seen to-day an account, which seems to be authentic, of the French army in Spain and Portugal, detailing the several divisions, positions, generals. Total 136,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry. If that account be accurate, our Portuguese pursuit is perilous.

"My mind is so ill at ease respecting the actual health of some of my daughters, that nothing would suit me so well as a retreat from the session. Nor do I feel in other respects so well as usual. I am glad however that you are coming to town. It appears to me that the debate of the 21st would be much aided by some preliminary conversations respecting Frere's letters (which excite general indignation) and the Spanish treaty, and the Ferrol ships, and a great variety of other incidental points, which might be cleared away, and would simplify the debate.

"I hope to go to the House for half an hour to-morrow."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1809, April 14.] Palace Yard.—"Fisher will have sent to you the account of the April surplus. In the result there is a deficiency of about 350,000*l.* on the sum taken for the year; and on the comparison of the year ending 5th instant with the year ending 5th April, 1808, there is a falling off to the amount of about 1,300,000*l.* All this is a great disappointment, and what is worse, a bad symptom for future budgets. I have not a doubt that much of this may be placed to the charge of the famous Orders in Council.

"The difficulty of maintaining that infatuated obstinacy will not be diminished, if it be true (as I am told this morning) that the United States have continued their embargo.

"The city resolutions are a horse-whipping to the House of Commons; and that House, in its present state, must submit to that lashing and to further degradations.

"There is a report (which I hope is unfounded) that Cradock is marching up the banks of the Tagus to meet the French. I have not a doubt that Wellesley's expedition will end ultimately in waste and new mortifications; but it may possibly be of use to Ministers towards helping them to crawl through the session.

"Mr. Burrel has just been with me, and has sent off a blank proxy to his father in the hope that he will be induced to sign and return it to us.

"It is asserted from so many quarters that a very large sum has been paid to Mrs. Clarke for the royal manuscripts that it is difficult to disbelieve it."

*Friday night.*—"I omitted to mention that Lord Grey is very anxious to have a full conference with you upon the Spanish and Portuguese business *before* the 18th.

"Lord Liverpool undertook to produce such orders as have been given respecting the Spanish fleets and arsenals; and also to be prepared to answer whether it is intended to

continue the acts relative to the Orders in Council. I incline to ask about those points on Friday, and also to ask some questions about the Spanish treaty, which appears to me to be the quintessence of diplomatic absurdity. I wish that you would have the goodness to tell me whether it is not contrary to sense and all parliamentary practice to lay before Parliament a supposed treaty which, upon the face of it, does not appear to be ratified; and which, in point of fact, considering the date of the last additional article, cannot have been ratified. The King's speech said that it should be laid before Parliament *when ratified*."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1809, April 14.] Palace Yard.—“We stated in the House several questions avowedly embarrassing to the Ministers and must revert to them on Monday. The clause in Mr. Canning's treaty stipulating to acknowledge no King of Spain ‘except Ferdinand’ or such other *legitimate sovereign* as the Spanish nation may approve, was stated by me as implying either a gratuitous pledge of national faith for the re-establishment of a Bourbon, or a ridiculous and absurd undertaking eventually to acknowledge Joseph Buonaparte or any other usurper, and Lord Liverpool candidly gave us to understand that he was not prepared to risk any opinion as to what was meant by the King's government, in framing such an article.

“I also called for a communication of the message with which Mr. Frere's Frenchman was entrusted when he carried the two outrageous letters of the 3rd December, and was answered (what seems hardly credible) that the Ministers have no information.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1809, April 14. Palace Yard.]—“I moved for the return of recruits conformably to your note, and I took the occasion to observe that with the addition of the dead and disabled since the disembarkation, the whole result will be little short of 9,000; from which it may perhaps be fair to deduct 4 or 500 for prisoners, who has since escaped and rejoined the army in Portugal. Lord Liverpool in answer undertook to give the return to-morrow. Lord Sidmouth, who is highly pleased with our proposed motion, expressed a doubt to me as to specifying the number lost. I think however that it ought to be specified, and that it might safely be stated at ‘upward of 8,000,’ being nearly one-fifth of all that was sent.

“I also renewed the question as to the meaning of the words ‘legitimate sovereign,’ and pressed with earnestness for an answer, which I did not obtain, but was declined in a manner that implied embarrassment and uncertainty as to the interpretation.

“Lord Liverpool communicated to me a letter from Lord Wellesley expressing his anxiety to be present at a debate which may implicate his brother, but his inability from illness to attend before the beginning of the next week, and entreating therefore that we would postpone. I answered at once that for many reasons such a postponement could not be made, and Lord Grey, who came afterward, confirmed it.”

*Private.*—“Lord Liverpool gave me to understand that he found it necessary to speak immediately after Lord Grey, and he intimated that Lord Moira would probably wish to speak after him, and I have some reason to believe that Lord Harrowby is reserved to speak after you. I mention this that you may turn in your mind whether to speak after Lord Liverpool, or to wait for the close; and if you could decide, it perhaps would be desirable to settle with Lord Moira, and Lord Sidmouth.”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

[1809, April 14.] Palace Yard.—“I have reason to believe from the best authority that it is settled that Lord Castlereagh shall not resign. It has however been a subject of doubt and consideration; and it seems to be understood that Lord Wellesley was not unlikely to have accepted the office if it had been opened. There is a strong and increasing impression that the Treasury bench is not strong enough to stand long against the internal and external pressures. I am not of that opinion, but I expect to see all the mischiefs that can result from the duration of a very weak Government in very perilous times.”

*Private.* CHARLES ABBOT (Speaker of the House of Commons) to THE SAME.

1809, April 19. Palace Yard.—“The interest which you were pleased to take in the measures of our Record Commission, and the lasting benefit which you conferred upon the system of registration in Scotland, by authorising the appointment of a resident and professional Deputy-clerk-register, make me trouble you at this time with recommending to your favourable notice, a Bill carried up to the Lords yesterday, for better regulating the public records of Scotland.

“The particular grounds upon which this measure, which was last year brought before Parliament for consideration, though not then proceeded in, has been resumed this year, will be seen in the papers presented to the House of Lords on Monday last from the Commissioners upon public records.

“Some difficulties have occurred in satisfying the parties whose interests may be affected by the provisions of the Bill; but, after much conference out of doors, and with a strong desire on our part to accommodate all the jarring interests, the Bill has passed the Commons without opposition; and

I shall hope that its progress through your House may be equally successful.

“I venture to assure myself that I shall have your lordship’s pardon for taking the liberty of requesting your attention to this subject.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1809, April 24. Palace Yard.—“Mr. Eden gave notice to-day that he would move to-morrow for certain papers of information respecting Morla’s letter of the 2nd December and Mr. Frere’s two letters of the 3rd. Mr. Canning asked him what his motion would be, and he gave a general answer, as he wished previously to bestow more consideration upon it. He wishes me to show to you what he means to move, and to ask a question or two respecting it. I enclose a copy accordingly, and I will call on you to-morrow at half-past eleven, unless I hear by the bearer or otherwise that any other hour would better suit you.

“*I reserve other subjects.* The debate and division of Friday night have made a considerable impression within the walls of the two Houses : but out of doors our countrymen are utterly indifferent as to the increasing perils of all Europe ; even the Basque Road business has not made a momentary impression.”

EARL GREY TO THE SAME.

1809, April 25. Albion Hotel.—“I have been prevented calling on you this morning by a thousand interruptions, and amongst the rest by a long conference at Carlton House.

“I cannot express to you how painful it is to me to resist any request so strongly urged by you, and put on such grounds, as your desire that I should remain in London. Whatever my own opinion may be of the advantage to be derived from my presenee, I certainly should not oppose it to your’s, if it were possible for me to delay my journey. But after talking the matter over with Lady Grey, I really cannot desire her to remain any longer in London ; nor can I with any comfort suffer her in her present situation to take so long a journey without me. The result therefore is that I feel myself obliged to set out to-morrow ; but I will come back as soon as I have deposited her safely at Howick, if you still continue to think it necessary. I shall arrive there on Saturday ; a letter from hence reaches me the third day ; and if, at the end of this week or the beginning of next, you shall find it necessary to express a wish for my return, I will return without delay.

“In the meantime I feel quite confident that whatever is agreed upon by you, Petty, and Tierney, must meet with my entire concurrence. I do not at present know of any question likely to occur in which it would be necessary to have a new consultation ; and the House of Commons seems at present so completely occupied by the business that is

now appointed for this and the next week, that for ten days or a fortnight it does not appear likely that any new proposition will be brought forward. The only question that it seems necessary to determine is that to be brought forward by Martin. It seems quite clear that Ministers will do nothing. According to what was agreed upon, therefore, at the meeting at your house, it seems necessary that the resolutions which Martin prepared should be considered without the loss of time, and reduced to such a form as we might all approve of. I understand that he is very tractable, and I have no doubt from what passed at the meeting to which I have referred, that you will find no difficulty in getting them so amended, as to obviate the objections to which they were originally liable, and to make them the ground-work of regulations really advantageous to the public."

WILLIAM WICKHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, May 12. Cookham Elms.—“I send your Lordship enclosed an authentic account of the real force of the Austrian army, such as it existed on the 25th March last. I have added to it a few short observations of my own.

“Whether you will have now the courage to read it is I think doubtful; at all events, I will thank you to use it with caution, as it is the same account that has been given to Government. The numbers wanting to make up 700,000 men consist of militia not yet carried to account, because they were not equipped for actual service, or, to use their own expression, not yet rendered *moveable*.

“As far as I can judge from Bonaparte’s bulletins, and from the ground occupied by the enemy at the date of the last of those precious compositions, the whole business must have been most disastrous to the Austrians in the field; and promises to be still more so in its immediate consequences. I say this, making very large allowances for French exaggeration of the Austrian loss, and for equal diminution of their own.

“My great dread now is that Bernadotte with the northern army has marched upon Prague, or at least upon Saatz. There is one of the finest fortresses in Europe (Teresienstadt) on his way to Prague, but nothing to prevent his going to Pilsen, leaving a small corps to keep the garrison of Teresienstadt (if garrison there be) in check; and, if he should arrive there in force before the Archduke, nothing but a miracle could save the Austrian army. I have no doubt whatever that the magnitude of the disaster is chiefly to be attributed to the enormous size to which the Austrians had swelled their army for the field. It is quite impossible that they should have officered much more than half of it, as an army ought to have been officered, particularly when it was about to meet Bonaparte in the field.

“It is not true that Prince John of Lechtenstein was an instigator of the war. He was, on the contrary, to the very



last so decidedly adverse to it, and thought so very ill of its consequences, that I should not be surprised if he had purposely exposed himself in the first affair, that he might not be a witness to the calamities that were about to fall on his country.

"The Archduke Charles was decidedly adverse to the war long after the Ministers had determined upon it; but, from the moment that he saw the thing inevitable, he gave up his mind to it altogether, and I believe advised the beginning hostilities immediately, as the only possible chance of success.

"My accounts are from Prague, the 25th March, and may be entirely depended on.

"I ought to add that the Archduke Charles considered the Archduke Ferdinand and the Empress as the authors of the war."

"Hammond told a friend of mine yesterday that Bonaparte was in a most perilous situation. *This was after Starhemberg's arrival.*"

*Enclosure.*

*An Account in detail of the positions and effective strength of the Austrian Army Corps, on March 25, 1809.*

"According to the above account, which I believe to be authentic, the whole Austrian army ready for the field (including 50,000 disciplined militia equipped for service) at the opening of the campaign amounted to about 416,000 men.

"According to the same account, the force under the immediate command of the Archduke Charles at the opening of the campaign, and actually assembled in the field, amounted to 287,000 men; namely 6 corps at 42,000 = 252,000; with 35,000 first reserve = 287,000.

"Bonaparte estimates the Archduke's army at 220,000 men; which, allowing for the usual deductions on account of sick, absentees, depots, and for a large detachment that must have been left on the frontiers of Saxony, will make the two accounts very nearly agree.

"To those who are at all acquainted with the Austrian army it must be quite clear that Austria cannot supply officers for so large a force; and that the plan of adding 50,000 militia to the army was in itself sufficient to make the whole thing full of danger. There are, besides, among the nine commanders of corps two who are quite unequal to so large a command; and one of them (Prince Rosenbergh) who has proved his incapacity on so many occasions as to make it quite unaccountable that he should ever have been employed again. Hohenzollerin was the only good officer of high rank with the Archduke at the battle of the 22nd, as P[rin]ce John of Lechtenstein appears to have been wounded so early as the nineteenth.

"I have a list of the chiefs of the staff and of the Adjutants-General attached to each corps. They are all unknown to me even by name, except two.

“Grünn was appointed chief of the staff of the army just before the campaign opened, Meyer having been removed on a *suspicion of treachery*. This change has produced a very bad effect in the army where Grünn was not popular. I had myself every reason to think lightly of him from personal observation of his conduct at Hohenlinden.

“The melancholy part of the above statement is that only two corps of the army are in Italy, whilst Bonaparte, by his early march (apparently) towards Saltzburgh, is in a position to cut off their retreat from Vienna, and throw them, as was the case with the Archduke in the last campaign, quite into the southern parts of Hungary. Fortunately both those corps are very ably commanded.”

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, May 25. London.—“I enclose a letter which I have received from Holland, and will thank you, after you have read it, to send it to Lauderdale. I wish that I could see any ground for partaking in the hopes which he still entertains. But not even Wellesley’s success, which by the way appears to have been nothing more than an affair of a rear-guard, and is ridiculously magnified, can induce me to believe that when Buonaparte has finished his business in Austria, he will find much difficulty in settling that of the Peninsula. FitzPatrick has a letter from Lord Holland of a much later date (the 9th) in which he says he is only waiting till Admiral Purvis can give him a passage to come home.

“You will see in the papers that Ministers disclaim Erskine, yet it is hardly possible to believe that he should not have thought himself authorized to act as he had done by his instructions; and indeed he so states it in his correspondence. Canning’s disavowal was however as strong as possible. He said that he not only did not act in conformity to his instructions, but in direct opposition to them. This matter cannot be understood till the instructions themselves are produced; and to this I imagine, in the present stage of the proceedings there would be sound objections.

“The old story of Canning is revived again, and I have been assured from the former authority, and in the most positive way, that yesterday was to bring matters to a crisis. Whether anything happened I do not know, nor do I think it worth while to enquire. The whole business seems to me to be quite foolish and incomprehensible.

“In the House of Commons things go on as usual. A new proof of the weakness of the administration was furnished last night, but I have no expectation that any advantage can be derived from it.

“*Rebus sic stantibus*, I adhere to my intention of leaving town to-morrow, which I feel is become necessary to my health as well as to my comfort. I shall stop a day or two as Woburn on my road.”

*Enclosing.*

LORD HOLLAND to EARL GREY.

1809, April 27. Spain.—“As there is but one piece of agreeable news in your letter of the 3rd, received this day, I will begin by congratulating you most cordially upon it; I mean the re-establishment of your health about which I was not a little uneasy. Your account of home politics is certainly gloomy enough, and I should think perfectly just. With respect to the painful political separation you speak of, I need not tell you how much I lament it, and how sincerely I should regret having indulged myself in a journey to Spain if I thought my presence in England would have had the slightest effect in preventing it. But indeed I have no remorse upon that head, and am only gratified by perceiving that you estimate my good will so justly as you certainly overrate the influence of any exertions I could have made. As to debates, though I should certainly like to say my say on Spanish matters, and might furnish you with facts and observations which would put in a very strong light the original defects of the plan pursued by ministry; yet when I find you and all my friends bent upon blaming the *advance* and not the *delay* at *Salamanca*, and attributing the precarious state of Spain to the only step that, in my poor judgment, has given her a chance of success, I own I cannot lament being absent from a debate where I must either have suppressed my strong and decided opinion, in which the more I have ascertained the *facts*, *dates*, and respective numbers, the more I have been confirmed, or differing openly with those with whom, I hope, I shall never have occasion, and certainly cannot have any desire, to disagree in public. I do not mean to send you my intended speech in a letter, but I think not only that Moore would have had time to beat Soult before Bonaparte came up, and a very very good chance of beating Bonaparte too, when he did; but, even as it happened, I cannot help thinking the advance did the greatest good, inasmuch as the French have, since the embarkation of our troops, that is *three months*, done nothing towards the subjugation of the rest of Spain, but the capture of Zaragoza, though they have gained since that period no less than five pitched battles. If Moore's advance did no good, the existence of more than one-half of Spain, and of four (some might say six) Spanish armies in it, must be admitted as a proof of the strength and perseverance of the Spaniards, or of the weakness either in numbers or councils of the French. If, on the other hand, Moore's advance did do good, it will be difficult to show why Baird's army retreated with such precipitation between the 28th of November and the 10th December; why no stand could be made either in the Vierzo or at Lugo; or why, after the battle of Corunna, the English did not either remain in that place, or come to Vigo or to Lisbon. The existence of Romana's army which took Villa Franca and 800 prisoners

the other day, the taking of Vigo by the peasants, the continued possession of Ciudad Rodrigo for three months by Sir R. Wilson's legion (keeping in constant check 5,000 French at Salamanca) and the slow progress of the French in spite of their victories at Barcelona, Tarragona, Uclés, Ciudad Real, and Medellin, prove either the inadequacy of the French force to the conquest of Spain, or the great things which might be effected against them by anything like a regular and well-disciplined army in the country. As it is, there is no want of men or provisions, but great want of arms. Victor has, I fear, been considerably reinforced at Merida, and by our not hearing more from the north of Portugal, Soult has too probably effected his object whatever it might be. In short to save Spain there must be, first, an Austrian war; secondly, a British force in Portugal, either determined to act offensively or at least disposed to make demonstrations in favour of Spain. In this case I should not despair. The intercepted letters which I have read from Belliard, Joseph Bonaparte, and others at Madrid and elsewhere, all complain of the incorrigible prejudices of Spaniards; and offers of negotiation both to the Junta and to individuals in it, have been made from various quarters, and in various ways, and all rejected with disdain and firmness except on the condition of *restoring Ferdinand*, in which case, conjointly, with her allies, Spain will be disposed to treat. Surely, surely we cannot withhold from people in such a predicament not only assistance but engagements which shall secure them against a separation from their colonies by our means or to our advantage.

"I see by the papers Parliamentary reform has come again upon the tapis; for my part I have been more conversant lately in schemes of restoring *Cortes* than reforming Parliament; and am to say that the determination of holding them is this week to be announced, though the period of their meeting is so remote that it is question whether Victor and Sebastiani will leave a town for them to meet in or not. The adoption of this measure is chiefly owing to Jovellanos, Garay, and Calvo, in the Junta; and the person most active in promoting it out of the Junta is *Quintana*, whose name you may possibly recollect, as I dedicated my book about Lope de Vega to him.

"Since I wrote to Lord Grenville a week ago nothing new has occurred in the armies. Badajoz in the west and Valencia in the east of Spain have both been surrounded by the French three weeks ago, but neither attacked. You will see in the papers the firmness of the Barcelonese. Cuesta, from want of forage for his cavalry in the mountains, is obliged to keep three or four thousand of them in his rear between the Sierra and Seville. He has 2,000 or more in his advanced posts, and the whole of his infantry may amount to 25 or 26,000 muskets. In La Carolina, I suspect there is little more than 9 or 10,000 out of the hospitals. The French General Victor

some say has 36,000 men, others state his force as not above 20,000. There are 5,000 Spaniards in Badajoz; 3,000 of Wilson's legion and Spanish raw regiments in Alcantara; and as many more under Vives in Ciudad Rodrigo. Could a force of twenty or thirty thousand men, especially if any part of it were British, be collected in or near Alcantara, it would entirely derange the plans of the French, and cut off Soult from Victor. The latter has strict orders not to act on the offensive till his communication with the other is open; and not one courier in twenty despatched from Madrid to Soult, or from him to Madrid, reaches his destination. We are anxious to hear from the Asturias."

*Postscript.*—"Since writing the above I have read some of your debates, and Sir J. Moore's last despatch. I must acknowledge that neither have made me lament being precluded from taking a part in public discussions. I cannot conceive what are your objections to the treaty; nor what we, who reprobated the Danish expedition, could wish Ministers to do about the Spanish fleet. As to Moore's letter (which I regret to see published) has not every event since the English army left Spain disproved the charge of 'the Spaniards having neither the power nor the inclination to make any effort for themselves'? and, after all, have not the peasants of Galicia itself shown that even they, the least spirited of any Spanish peasants, were inclined to do something when the opportunity offered. Soult's division has suffered more from them than from the English army of 26,000 men."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, June 24. Cleveland Square.—"Fremantle's letter, which I enclose to you, will tell you all that I know of this tremendous expedition, the object of which is supposed to be Boulogne, or Walcheren, or Flushing. I should certainly have thought Flushing if it had not yesterday been reported to me that the Flushing ships had lightened themselves, and had gone up to Antwerp for security. The miserable certainty however of 35,000 of our best and last troops being put under Lord Chatham destroys all other interest beyond that of the extreme apprehensions which must be entertained for all who go under such orders to such an expedition.

"It is still half a doubt whether Granville Leveson is of the Cabinet. I believe he is, and yet I think I know that *two* days ago the Duke of Portland said he knew nothing of Granville being of the Cabinet; I fancy Canning has bullied them into this measure, and they are fools enough to show their ill-humour by these expressions. The appointment gives great scandal from Granville having sat up thirty-six hours a week ago to lose 20,000*l.* at *piquet*, which does not teach John Bull to form great expectations of his diligence and activity in Office."

## WILLIAM WICKHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, June 28. [Cookham Elms.]—"There is certainly a negociation going on at Vienna. I should say that it could not possibly come to anything, but for one part which looks very suspicious. Neither Stuart nor Bathurst have been permitted to go to the Emperor's quarters either at Taraym or Wohendorf. The refusal as to the latter place was direct and peremptory. And, what seems still more extraordinary, he had not been able to obtain any official account either of the details of the battles of the 21st and 22nd ultimo, or of the Austrian loss. He says that they themselves admit that it amounts to 20,000 men, but, on the other hand, they estimate the loss of the French at 35,000 men, including ten generals.

"If you should be altogether disengaged either to-morrow or Friday, and Lady Grenville could spare the carriage, we would do ourselves the pleasure of dining at Dropmore on either of those days. We must ask leave to take the carriage again in the evening, as I don't wish to interrupt the frictions on my knee even for a single day, after the absence I have lately made of a whole week.

"Lord Chatham certainly commands the expedition. Lord Granville Leveson is in the Cabinet."

## THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, July 28. Cleveland Square.—"The fever of the Portsmouth army having subsided enough to make room at Ride [Ryde?], I am going to-morrow to the Spencers. The expedition is reported to have sailed from Deal yesterday; there are all sorts of stories afoot about our new commander. I saw a letter from Dover from an acquaintance of yours and mine which says that the wind was fair two days ago, and six expresses were sent one after another to *Ramsgate*, where Lord Chatham slept, to conjure him to embark with all haste and not to lose the tide; he would not get up or bestir himself, and he lost that tide, and the wind was no longer favourable in the ensuing tide. Nor is this all. They ordered from the Admiralty that three of the lightest men of war of the expedition should, at all events, go on to join the squadron which was cruising off the Scheld; one of these was the *Venerable*, but Lord Chatham's trunks and servants being aboard, he refused to let the *Venerable* stir, and only two ships went instead of three. These are two happy specimens of the new command.

"I find that we are to take both the Bevelands as well as Walcheren before we can march on to Antwerp, but I know not what security we can have for keeping Flushing when we have got it, as I am told the passage is occasionally frozen up. Dyson is quoted to me for having said that Parliament must meet for money late in October, or early in November.

“ Pray let me have a line to tell me on what day you arrive at Boconnoc ; my stay at Ride [Ryde] is very uncertain, and I shall probably come to you from thence by slow marches.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, August 15. Paultons.—“ I have met the Morpeths at Sloane’s, and am proceeding from thence to-morrow, so that I hope to be with you about Saturday, or perhaps Sunday next. We have just heard of Wellesley’s victory, which the public papers are endeavouring to cry up ; but Lord G. Leveson’s letter upon it to Morpeth is very flat, and does not seem to me written in any tone of exultation. In truth it seems to me that though our army has fought with distinguished valour, their situation is perilous in the extreme. They have advanced at great risk indeed into the centre of Spain for the mere purpose of joining Cuesta, who, when joined by them stands by, and sees them fight the French without taking any part in the battle. I do not see what we can do except to endeavour to retreat, and that retreat will be the second act of the tragedy of Corunna.

“ Fremantle tells me he has written to you upon the same subject as that on which he writes to me, and therefore I can add nothing for your information, except that Lady G. Morpeth’s letter from town this morning says the Duke is enough recovered to transact business. I suppose however he must quit, and then Lord B[athurst] will succeed. Fremantle’s letter to me mentions the ‘ *failure of the expedition* ’ as having produced great effect ; I suppose therefore he has heard more than I have ; I certainly expect it to fail, because, after having given Bonaparte two months notice of our intention to attack Antwerp, I have felt persuaded that we should find there an army strong enough to defend it. I feel so sure of this that I heartily wish Lord Chatham and his army back again ; but I had not heard that it was already considered as having failed.”

LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, August 22. Russel Farm.—“ I have not seen your handwriting since the beginning of May. I now wish to put you in requisition for a few lines upon a subject which naturally interests me. Mrs. Vansittart is still at Malvern, and has apparently recovered her health, and strength, and is free from every alarming symptom. It is nevertheless thought right that she should pass the winter on the coast of Devonshire, or of Cornwall. Dr. Baillie and others have recommended Flushing near Falmouth as one of the mildest and most sheltered spots, and also as having the benefit of good lodging-houses and good medical advice. Can you give us any information relative to those particulars ; and also how far the air is sufficiently dry as well as mild ; and whether the roads are such as to make it desirable that they should have their

carriage horses. Catherine inclines to Sidmouth, that Mr. Vansittart may be more within reach of Parliamentary attendance, if it should become necessary; but I am strongly assured that Flushing is far preferable. And indeed if the expense of posting so far were not a consideration, Lady Auckland and I would be of the Flushing party from the 1st November to the 12th December, when the arrival of our Etonians will oblige us to re-settle at Eden Farm.

“These speculations (for they will end in mere speculations) imply that we have no idea of going to town before the end of January at the soonest. I have reason however to believe that the unbounded expense of the present campaign will bring Parliament together some weeks before Christmas. I watch the course and consequences of that campaign with the anxiety which attends a decided opinion, that we are incurring a wild waste of human life and public resources in addition to many incalculable risks; and all this with an extreme probability of being, in the result, totally (and soon) driven off the Continent. In the meantime the newspapers combine to mislead the public opinion, and to create a foolish and lying vanity, which has changed and vitiated our national character.

“The only benefit obtained will be a certain degree of experience in warfare; but it will be dearly bought.

“The neighbourhood of this place (Lord Henley’s) is well known to you. We are passing two days here and mean to re-settle to-morrow at Eden Farm.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, August 30. Eden Farm.—“Mr. and Mrs. Vansittart must feel very grateful for your detailed information relative to Penzance and Flushing. If they should eventually go to the Cornish coast, it is really within speculation that Lady Auckland and I, with our three girls, may pass the month of November and a part of December with them. I personally feel (though my health is once more good) that the sea air at that season would be of service to me; and the pleasure of seeing you and Lady Grenville for three days at Boconnoc (if you should still be there) would weigh much towards our decision.

“I know nothing new, and I dread all arrivals of intelligence; *Private*, and, the two enclosed notes of yesterday evening (which you will have the goodness to destroy) seem to imply that there is nothing to be known. I fear that the peerages grounded on our victorious achievements and generalship at the Douro and at Talavera, against Soult and Victor, will be ridiculed by the present age as soon as our vain-glorious delirium shall have subsided; and that they will not be respected by posterity.”



*Private.* THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809, September 5. Eden Farm.—“Public affairs are going so rapidly from bad to worse under councils so infatuated and at the same time so incorrigible, that one would wish not to think about them. But that is impossible.

“We were obliged yesterday to dine with the Princess of Wales, to talk a great deal of French with the Duke of Brunswick, to sit nearly three hours at a dinner of seventeen, and to return home towards midnight in dead darkness. I had occasion to talk much with one of the company who is much connected with Government. In referring to the Dutch expedition he said, ‘Ministers have nothing of self-reproach in the failure, and you will see in the public papers that the saddle is put on the right horse, and that it is meant to bring the failure to a public enquiry.’ I see accordingly in the *Courier* of the last night, and in the papers of this morning, that the ministerial war is begun against Lord Chatham, and that the country is to be amused as in the affair of the convention of Vimiera. I doubt however whether this dishonourable system can be revived with effect; if there be any sense remaining among our countrymen they will naturally and reasonably discover that Ministers are and ought to be responsible for employing incompetent instruments. But, in truth, if Lord Chatham had possessed all the military qualities which he wants, I doubt whether he could have done more: *unless* the whole expedition could have passed on the 3rd August before the batteries of Flushing, and have proceeded direct to a landing at Santvliet, and to an attack by land and water on Lillo and Liefkenshoek. I am told that some of the sea authorites will say that this course might have been adopted. Even in that case our loss would probably have been far beyond the value of the Antwerp ships and docks.

“I look with anxiety for the next news from the banks of the Tagus. It seems probable that what the Madrid order of the 10th August calls the destruction of the *English* rear-guard, may have been some advantage gained over the rear of the Spanish army; but even the Ministers avow uneasiness on this point. The best that can be now expected is that our army, after great further losses, and with dishonour, may make a rapid escape by the inverted line of Sir John Hope’s march to Lisbon by Elvas.”

*Private.* THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809, September 11. Eden Farm.—“I yesterday received the following particulars from an old friend who had seen the despatches alluded to.

“*Extracts* only were given in last night’s *Gazette*; but the returns transmitted from Truxillo show that the army, including the Germans, were at that place on the 22nd about

20,000 men, of whom about 10,000 were ill with dysentery ; and many of them very ill. We had lost 1,700 horses out of 4,000 ; provisions and provender were bad in quality, scanty, and procured with difficulty and fatigue. Not more than from 8 to 9,000 men, in the actual state of sickness, were left fit for the field. It was hoped that at Elvas matters may mend. Our returns from the Scheldt are not much better in respect to health ; 23,000 men are arriving from thence, and in part arrived, including 4,000 sick ; and there are 5,000 sick in Walcheren out of 16,000 men whom Lord Chatham leaves there ; and *at present* it seems to be the intention to maintain that possession."

"I understand also, from good authority, that the Duke of Portland has desired most earnestly to have a successor named ; that the other Ministers are much divided among themselves and under great embarrassments respecting the Scheldt miscarriage, the withdrawing from Spain, the expenses. It seems to be thought that some new concoction of councils must take place."

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, September 12. Eden Farm.—"Mr. Eden has copied for you a *very private* letter of a very recent date from a judicious and respectable officer on the staff with our army now retreating from Portugal. It is guardedly expressed, but you will give easily a due construction to what is meant to be said. The most obvious remark is that we could think of sending 30,000 men to cope with a French army of 125,000 ; more especially too after the last year's experience of the difficulties of the country, the scarcity of provisions, and the nature of the people and their disjointed and jarring Governments ; and this too, to be followed, or accompanied by sending 40,000 effective land forces to attack the Dutch and French Flanders, and all the strongest country in Europe ; thus risking the whole disposable force of the empire. We shall probably get off from this infatuated extravagance of plan at the expense only of about 10 millions sterling (extraordinary), and of about 20,000 men, and also of some character.

"I am not surprised therefore to learn (which I do from good authority) that the fever of recrimination runs high among the Ministers, and that at this hour they are threatening each other with dismissions and resignations."

*Enclosing.*

1809, August 25. Merida.—"We are still on our retreat towards Elvas. The Junta of Seville of course, frightened out of their wits, will make every effort to try to detain us within the Spanish frontiers ; but I do *not* think when Lord Wellesley knows his brother's opinions, that he will support

the line pursued by Mr. Frere of humouring their fears, and adopting, in appearance at least, their sanguine pretensions.

"We are now separated from the Spanish army, and I think we should be careful how we fetter ourselves with fresh engagements. We ought to have had experience enough of the Spaniards; and nothing but a different state of affairs on the Continent could justify our risking another army for them.

"From *Spain alone* I have no hopes of anything more than a lingering fever. The question will soon be whether Portugal is worth defending, and to what point resistance is to be carried, and the British army risked; though I think Bonaparte may still have enough on his hands to delay the necessity of a speedy decision on this subject, although the French have still about 125,000 *men in Spain*.

"As for the Portuguese army it is getting worse instead of better.

"The principle upon which English officers have been appointed to that service, as well as in some cases the selection of them, has disgusted almost all; and those who did volunteer from this army have requested to return, as they are not to get rank.

"Another question may arise respecting Cadiz. The fleet after the junction of the Ferrol squadron will be a most important object; and yet, if not managed with judgment and skill, we shall in the end, lose it.

"As for the Central Junta, I should not be surprised if our retreat to Portugal was the handle made use of for their overthrow; however, as long as we steer with dignity clear of their contemptible factions and intrigues, we must be looked up to. I hope only that another *Morla* will not get into power.

"We have intercepted some despatches lately by which it appears they have a design upon Ciudad Rodrigo after Venegas has crossed the Sierra Morena, and the late army of Cuesta is driven or has retired from the Tagus."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

1809, September 15. Stowe.—"I quite agree with you that nothing can be more wicked than the whole conduct of the expedition. It is quite clear to me that the force collected by the 10th June was sufficient to have carried Flushing by *coup de main*, and that our ships might at any time have passed the batteries and destroyed the French ships before they got under Lillo on the 4th August; but I do indeed rejoice that Lord Chatham did not land at Sandvliet, where he would have been beat, and that the troops are returned though with the heavy loss which this fever has occasioned. My son sends me the return of sick landed in the Deal district, amounting on Sunday to 5,265; and I understand that about 1,100 are landed at Harwich. This does not include the

sick seamen or marines, and the whole blame of this is thrown on the medical staff. Since you wrote from Cornwall the tone in London has been diverted from Lord Chatham to Lord Castlereagh, and there should seem little doubt of the removal of the latter if I could see how they are to go on in the House of Commons without him. Bathurst certainly, as I hear, takes the Treasury; and the rumour of yesterday was that Lord Melville was to succeed Castlereagh, and that all enquiry military and Parliamentary into Lord Chatham's conduct was to be resisted. In short the whole game seems now afloat, from the wicked eagerness of all the Ministers to throw the blame on their neighbour; but I have every reason for thinking the King quite decided to risk all rather than to call upon us. God keep him long in that temper.

"I hear very poor accounts of the P[rince] of Wales; he is out of health and spirits and with various complaints. He is gone yesterday to Weymouth to take leave of Princess Amelia, who is said to be in the last stage; and such a scene will not mend his health or spirits.

"I have twice looked over Lord Somers, Volume 1, leaf by leaf, and your quotation respecting the French name of Grenville is *not* in that volume. I perfectly agree to the corrections of Prince's Devon, and would add if I saw W[illia]m's notes. I have a very fine picture of Sir Beville, the engraving of which I will give if it is wanted. I have likewise Sir Bernard, and the two prints of Sir Richard."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, September 17. Castle Hill.—"Our political speculations here are not enriched by any additional information since I left you; but I see the general impression is that considerable change must immediately take place in the Government, and the *Courier* of yesterday spoke positively of the immediate resignation of the Duke of Portland, and two others, who I presume are Lord Castlereagh and Lord Chatham; the *Courier* adds a wish that Lord Wellesley may succeed to the Duke of Portland, and the newspaper of this morning (the *Globe*) supposes Tierney to succeed to Perceval, and Perceval to succeed to Lord Eldon.

"I have no London letters; but though I suppose the Duke of Portland may resign from his very increasing infirmities, yet I shall not easily give credit to any other changes till I see them: if however one or two of the others should run out, my notion is that Lord Sidmouth and Company will run in, and the country will by that means be left in pretty near the same state in which it now stands.

"I shall be at Bristol on the 25th, and at Staepole, Pembrokeshire, on the 29th, where I shall stay ten days or a fortnight, and then to Trentham."

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, September 21. Castle Hill.—“ You will see that Bathurst is, in my brother’s opinion, the present favourite for the Treasury, but his notion of Lord Melville seems to me very questionable, because I know from good authority that Lady Jane lately spoke of his health as requiring the greatest care and attention. I still think it will end in the Sidmouths, though I observe that Canning’s *Courier* still threatens us with the resignation of the Foreign Secretary, if such an outrage should be offered to his feelings. I find Lord Granville Leveson has been passing three or four days at Tronham, though it seems an odd moment for him to absent himself from London; it was thought kind to him to banish all reference to public affairs or to those who conduct them, so that his visit there appears to have been a blank; but I find that even in his loyal county of Stafford these disastrous expeditions and the lamentable list of 16,000 sick from Flushing, have made considerable impression. General Paget, who had been named to the command at Gibraltar, writes word to his sister here, ‘ that he declines it and is quite well.’ This looks like his belief of some new expedition! Can it be possible? ”

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, September 22. Castle Hill.—“ Fortescue and I set out on Sunday evening and reach Stappole on Wednesday, and on Wednesday Hester talks of the possibility of her going to Boconnoc; but her children come home from Torquay on Monday, and she does not seem as much determined to come to you, as I wish to make her; I shall try again with her before I go, and I hope she will be persuaded to jumble on to Boconnoc. She has just received a letter from Lord Glastonbury in which he tells her that he is informed from ‘ authority that he can rely upon, that the Duke of Portland, Castlereagh, Canning, Huskisson and Stourges Bourne have actually resigned, and that the remaining members of the Cabinet have recommended to the King to send to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville.’ In no part of this have I much faith, no such actual resignation can have taken place, because none of these persons would mean to distress the King by taking that step before he had determined how to supply their places, nor do I believe that any of your old friends, as Long calls them, cares one jot more for you than for Lord Grey, nor one jot about either of you or anybody else, except as they might hope so to speculate upon their own continuance in office. Lord Glastonbury goes on to say, ‘ but will they who are sent to, come when they are sent for?’ A very natural question for a prudent man to ask, and yet I think not very difficult to answer; because the circumstances under which such an offer should come would probably leave very little difficulty as to the acceptance or the refusal of it.

Unless full and complete assurance should be given of a sincere disposition to support without restriction or limitation of any kind, I do think it would be quite an act of desperation to accept ; on the other hand, if such a disposition be professed and be acted up to in the offer, and in the discussions which must arise upon it, I do not then see how it would be possible to refuse without a manifest dereliction of all public duty. The intelligence which you send me, and particularly the expressions of Lord W. B[entinck] to K—— incline me to think that some communication will be made perhaps both to you and to Lord Grey, but I retain the same opinion which I had last spring, and I cannot help suspecting that if any offer is made, it will be framed for the purpose of inviting a refusal, and with the desire of acquiring new strength to the court party by appealing to the people from what will be called, the intolerable pretensions of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville. I suspect this the more because I think such a project is very likely for the Chancellor to conceive, and for the King to entertain ; and moreover I am strongly of opinion that it would completely answer it's object, and that however reasonable might be the demands of Lord Grey and of yourself, the people would be quite ready to be hallooed on by the cry of King and church, to treat your demands as an audacious conspiracy against the interests of both, and as creating the necessity of their rallying round the throne under the auspices of Lord Eldon and Perceval. This is my expectation of the nature of any overture which might be made, but though I admit that Lord W. B[entinck]'s question makes some communication less improbable, yet the evident reluctance so strongly manifested by their having even now sought for no channels of intercourse with any of us, and the nominal resource which they will have to count upon in Lord Sidmouth and Lord Wellesley, incline me very much to believe that they will patch it up with rags and tatters and remnants, and that neither you nor Lord Grey will have any questions put that are worth your answering. Nothing but this strong conviction is my mind could carry me as much out of your way as Pembroke ; but I trust it is unnecessary for me to say, that if, contrary to my belief, anything should arise that should make you want me, I should not count the miles to come to you."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, September 23. Castle Hill.—“ I have just received your letter, and do not hesitate a moment to return to you at Boconnoc, whither Lord Fortescue very kindly accompanies me. As there is nothing of very immediate urgency, we proposed to sleep to-morrow, Sunday, at Oakhampton, and to be with you on Monday to dinner ; I have likewise proposed to our friends here to write to Bristol to direct George to come on and join us at Boconnoc, and though they have not absolutely

decided, I trust that they will do so. My letter to you of yesterday's date will show you how entirely we agree in our speculations as to the shape which the communication to us is likely to take, and as to the probable result of it; but at the same time where so many circumstances and persons are in question, and where such variety of interests is brought into question, it would be an idle conceit to imagine that anybody can foresee the real course or solution of such multiplied embarrassments; but we shall have so early an opportunity of talking these matters over that it is needless to prolong any comment on them by letter.

"Tucker writes to tell me of Canning's duel with Castlereagh, which is reported to have arisen from a difference of opinion respecting Perceval. He says he never remembers such feverish anxiety upon politics as now prevails in London; and that this has much increased upon the belief that the King had left town without giving any answer to a supposed list of names that had been submitted to him, so that four or five days have already passed without there being any responsible government. He ends with telling me that the Prince returns to town on the 22nd, and that Lord Lansdowne is very ill again. This last intelligence is a very formidable addition to the difficulties of the House of Commons, and makes that gloomy part of the picture still more dark and dreary. Another letter from Trentham tells me that Lord Granville was not to leave there till Thursday last, that he looked melancholy and oppressed, but said nothing of politics to anybody. How unaccountable that he should be passing ten days there, just in the moment that his friend Canning is resigning his office and firing at his brother Secretary! My notion is that Canning, seeing their game up, has broken off from them to take the chance of being separately open to any new arrangements, and this would explain the report of his supposed violent hostility to Perceval. Can he be endured in new alliance with those to whom he has behaved so ill? Could the House of Commons in a new government go on without him? Could it go on with him? Would not his present pretensions take off from us as large a portion of our own friends as he could bring to us of his? How would Tierney look at any such arrangement? How could it tally with Lord H. Petty if he shall still remain in the House of Commons? The difficulties multiply on every side, and one's imagination can hardly furnish the possibility of any government being made which can have it's fair portion of weight and influence in the House of Commons, at a time and under circumstances which require more authority and vigour there than Pitt or Fox were ever called upon to exhibit. Till I can see more day-light, I confess to you that I look with unaffected terror at the possibility of seeing you engaged in scenes of such little hope; and of such dreadful discouragement."

## LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, September 24. Eden Farm.—“ We are just returned from a ten days circuit of family visits to the Speaker, Lord and Lady Chichester, and others. I was consequently too distant from the scenes of battle to be able to send any intelligence of the strange transactions between Downing Street and Windsor Castle, and even now I know little beyond what may be better collected from the newspapers. It had been intimated to me before I went into Sussex, and I mentioned it to you, that a fever of recrimination was raging among the late Ministers; but I did not foresee the delirium which has since taken place.

“ It is now evident that we are without any Government; and to me it is equally evident that there does not exist any rational hope of the speedy formation of a Government that will not be either weak, or wild, or wicked, or possibly a composition of all those qualities. In short I am of opinion with Lord Grey, from whom I have just heard, ‘that with some change of names, the same system, weakened even beyond its former weakness, will struggle on till some dreadful explosion and mischief shall overtake us.’ And I have long seen ground of despair in the levity of the popular mind. Mrs. Clarke, or Catalani or John Kemble are severally objects which supersede all the feelings that ought to prevail respecting the sacrifice of three armies in two campaigns, and the mad waste of 30 or 40 millions; and even those silly ferments about kept mistresses, singers, and play house prices, exhibit a want of sense and of principle.

“ After all, it is not easy to see how a patchwork Ministry can be formed of sufficient substance and connection to bear the tug even of one debate, or of a division; nor can I comprehend how any individual possessing any sense or character, can be induced to lend himself as the prominent figure amidst responsibilities at once so great and so hopeless. Besides, if a new administration should be formed on the ground-work of that which stands now subject to such heavy accusations, it will have to encounter all the hostility of those who are separated from it, in addition to all the force so powerfully exhibited in the last sessions, and now so strengthened by the results of another mad and disastrous campaign. I understand that it was at one time in contemplation to have brought forward the Wellesleys: but the individuals who were trying that experiment will now be among the outs; nor do I think that the Wellesleys, under a sore sense of diplomatic and military failure, would have the courage to come forwards. Another notion is to have a temporary sort of scaffolding, to which men of great property and fair private character are to be called, in order to give time at least to the King to look round. A third mode is to try a coalition with the Sidmouths, Wellesleys, and the remains of the Duke of Portland’s ministry. In these several alternatives, and



in various other concoctions now talked about, I see nothing but imbecility and public mischief. Only one thing is certain; that everything will be attempted even to desperation rather than recur to a strong Ministry, and pledged to a point which has already been made the pretext of a separation.

"We shall probably know within forty-eight hours that something is decided for the semblance at least of a government.

"This weather is bad for the northern harvests. Our crops here have been good; and yet I understand that the wheat yesterday at Croydon market was at fifteen shillings per bushel."

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1809, September 25. Boconnoc.—"I hope your Royal Highness will not disapprove the liberty I take in humbly apprizing you of my having received this morning from Mr. Perceval, a letter of which I venture to enclose a copy.

"The difficulties in the way of such a discussion as is there proposed, with these gentlemen remaining in office as a part of that administration which succeeded those with whom I had the honour to serve his Majesty, will, I am sure, at once present themselves to Your Royal Highness's judgment.

"To have declined, on that ground, coming to town might, I thought, be liable to the possible misconception of my appearing deficient in the respect which I owe to his Majesty's commands. I have therefore resolved to undertake what will, I apprehend, be a very fruitless journey.

"On my arrival in town I most feel myself particularly grateful for being permitted to pay my duty to Your Royal Highness, and to submit such ideas as occur to me in this most difficult and awful crisis; being at all times most earnestly desirous that my conduct should be such as may be honoured with Your Royal Highness's gracious approbation." *Copy in the handwriting of Thomas Grenville.*

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, September 26. Howick.—"I enclose a copy of the answer which I have just sent to Mr. Perceval. As I am by no means sure that I have done right in not going to town, and as you have done otherwise, I have thought it best to send this to Camelford House, from whence I take it for granted it will be forwarded to you if you remain in Cornwall.

"I thought that there could be no proof so good of a positive determination not to treat with the present Ministers, as declining to go to town; and I hope you will not think me very wrong.

"I have not time for more at present, as the messenger who brought Perceval's letter takes this. I shall be most anxious to hear from you; and I have myself much to

say; but I shall not write till I know something of your movements.”

*Enclosed.*

EARL GREY to SPENCER PERCEVAL.

1809, September 26. Howick.—“I have just had the honour of receiving your letter of the 23rd, informing me that, in consequence of the Duke of Portland’s intention of retiring from his Majesty’s service, his Majesty had authorised you in conjunction with Lord Liverpool, to communicate with Lord Grenville and myself for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration; and expressing a hope that, in consequence of this communication, I would go to town, in order that as little time as possible may be lost in forwarding this important object. Had his Majesty been pleased to signify that he had any commands for me personally, I should not have lost a moment in showing my duty and obedience by a prompt attendance on his royal pleasure.

“But when it is proposed to me to communicate with his Majesty’s present Ministers for the purpose of forming a combined administration with them, I feel that I should be wanting both in duty to his Majesty and in fairness to them if I did not frankly and at once declare that such an union is, with respect to me, under the present circumstances impossible. This being the answer which I find myself under the necessity of giving, my appearance in London could be of no advantage, and might possibly, at a moment like the present, be attended with some inconvenience.

“I have thought it better therefore to request that you will have the goodness to lay my duty at the feet of his Majesty, with an humble entreaty that he will not attribute to want of attachment to his royal person, or to diminished zeal for his service, my declining a communication which, upon the terms proposed, can lead to no useful result; and which might be of serious detriment to the country if, in consequence of a less decisive answer from me, any further delay should take place in the formation of a settled government.” *Copy.*

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, September 26. Eden Farm.—“I wrote to you on Sunday night and did not retain my letter when I saw the next morning in the newspapers of government that messengers had been despatched to you and to Lord Grey for the formation of a ministry ‘in concurrence with the Ministers now remaining in office.’ Such a proposition, so grossly inadmissible, could only tend to entrap, and to discredit, and eventually to raise a pretext for botching and continuing the present system.

“I last night received the following note from a private and better authority. ‘Lords Grenville and Grey are put

in requisition to form a ministry on a *broad basis*.' The meaning here also may be insidious, but it is open to explanation before it can be right to presume that it is so. If it were sincere and fair, I think that it might be improved to a possible chance and means of serving and saving the public interests both at home and abroad. There are some obvious measures (especially with regard to America) which might be immediately taken with a most salutary effect.

"I have a communication, marked *secret*, from a friend of Lord Castlereagh's; and the writer cannot be ignorant that I shall think myself at liberty to confide it to you and to Lord Grey. I have therefore employed Mr. Eden to transcribe it. This paper is '*Le mot de l'enigme*.' I shall be curious to learn whether Lord Castlereagh was allowed and encouraged, pending the concealment in question, to recommend the two peerages for Sir Arthur Wellesley. I have reason to believe that this was the case. It seems to be within possibility that this may not find you at Boconnoe."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

1809, September 26. Stowe.—"I have just received your letter of the 24th, and as I conclude from it that you would not leave Boconnoe till this evening, and consequently you will receive this short note to-morrow morning. If you think that I can be of the slightest use or comfort to you, I owe it to you (in every sense of the word) to come away and to meet you there or at Dropmore; but hitherto there can be no question on this most extraordinary proposition, that you should negotiate for an extended administration with Mr. Percival and Lord Liverpool! It will not be necessary for you to consult your friends on *that* matter, on which your own feelings must decide you, even if every friend were inclined to that negotiation as strongly as I am persuaded they are hostile to such an idea. Any negotiation is, God knows, difficult enough with the King; even supposing his intention and his conduct to be all that you could wish; but a proposition so disgraceful to your character does not augur well of what is in any shape to follow. Ministers count much on the clamour that will be raised. I think it will be raised and most loudly against us; but that clamour must be stood unless you are prepared, by losing every point of public character, to facilitate that kicking which would most assuredly be your lot within six weeks of such a new administration, if indeed it could be formed at all.

"The great management will be to put yourself on good grounds, and not to let the King (if he should put the negotiation for a new Government in a shape that could be pursued) break off on the *Catholic* question; which I know he is prepared to do *in the present moment*.

"My earnest wish is that this negotiation may fail, for it promises nothing for the public service, or your private

credit or comfort ; but it must end in a new government unless they can induce both Canning and Castlereagh to resume their offices, which, though improbable, is not impossible. As to the thing being patched by Lord Sidmouth, that I am persuaded cannot be ; and if it could, the result of it would be the increased inveteracy of Canning, and no accession of strength any where, and least of all in the House of Commons. Of the rest I say nothing till we meet in London, which will not be (as I am persuaded) if the King abides by this very novel sort of negotiation. But in that case you will probably leave London as soon as you can after writing your letters to those to whom this explanation will be necessary ; and if you then let me know when and where we can meet for a few hours, I will arrange so as to see you.

“ Adieu, and God guide you ; but I fancy that it is unnecessary for me to remind you that the thing is bad enough even in its best shape ; but in that which is now presented to you, it is so intolerable, that in your place, I should distinctly have refused to have come to town for any communication such as is described in that letter.”

#### EARL SPENCER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, September 28. Northampton.—“ As long as the invitation which has been sent to you from Windsor was merely the subject of newspaper rumour, I forbore to write, because I did not think it either worth your while or mine to pay much attention to such speculations. Being now, however, informed of its having really been sent, and Tierney having communicated to me a copy of Perceval’s letter to you, I can no longer delay troubling you, more particularly as I understand from him that you are likely to be in town to-morrow.

“ My motive for writing to you is not to express any doubts what your answer to this communication will be, for I have none ; but, knowing what it must be, and consequently foreseeing that this pitiful contrivance to lay the foundation of an outcry against you will fail, I look forward to the bare possibility, for I cannot think it a probability, that some other more plausible overture may follow, which perhaps may be so framed as to lead you into discussions on the practicability of forming a new administration. This being barely possible, I think I owe it to the confidence with which you have so long and so kindly treated me on matters of this description thus early to apprize you of the irrevocable determination I have made never again, under any circumstances, to enter into public office. What I experienced, both in mind and body, when I have before been so engaged, has rendered this determination indispensable, I do not say to my comfort, but to my future existence. I have come to it as much on public as on private grounds, though I do not deny that my motives partake of both. I do not think it necessary, when

you must of course be so much occupied, to trouble you with any more details; but, on the present occasion, I felt it was due from me to you to put you in possession of the fact.

"I am here attending on my yeomanry, and that and my other engagements in this country will necessarily require my presence here till the end of next week. I shall then come up to Wimbledon for a few days; and if you are not returned into the country (which I do not think it at all unlikely you may be by that time) I shall not fail to take the earliest chance of seeing you."

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809, September 29. Northampton.—"My letter of yesterday, which I hope you received on your arrival in town, will have anticipated my answer to yours of the 25th which reached me this morning. It did appear to me to be very doubtful whether you ought to have come to town upon such an invitation; but the ground you have put it upon in your letter to Perceval of the 25th, removes any objection that could be made to it. The answer you propose to return to the proposal itself is just what it should be, and what I had no doubt you would return to it. I think it will be conclusive for the present.

"I shall remain in the country, as I told you in my letter of yesterday. If I could see any probability of my assistance being of use to you in your deliberations, should you have any, I should be unwilling to let any convenience or inconvenience of my own influence me to stay away. With respect to co-operation, my letter of yesterday will have acquainted you with my feelings and opinions on that head, and I need not therefore take up your time by repeating them."

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1809, September 30. Camelford House.—"Mr. Tucker is just now come here, and has delivered to me Your Royal Highness's gracious commands. It is with the most perfect sincerity I assure your Royal Highness that the draft of the letter which Your Royal Highness proposes to address to the King, appears to me in all respects admirably suited to the circumstance which have given occasion to it; and leaves to me nothing to say upon it but to express to your Royal Highness my most grateful acknowledgments for the condescending manner in which you have the goodness to speak of those motives by which I have been actuated on this occasion, a condescension of which I must ever entertain the deepest sense.

"When Mr. Tucker came, I was preparing for your Royal Highness the copies, which I now take the liberty to enclose, of the letter which I yesterday sent to Mr. Perceval, and of his reply.

“The latter, as it is not written by the King’s authority, but contains merely his own personal remarks and those of Lord Liverpool on what has passed, does not seem to me to call for any further discussion. His distinction between acceding to this government, and forming an extended and combined administration, is purely verbal, and cannot alter the nature of the thing. In the formation of a new administration his Majesty would no doubt have condescended to honour with his personal commands those whom he thought capable of being useful in that object; and the treating on such a subject exclusively with two of the actual Ministers, must give the transaction the character of a negotiation for an accession to the existing Government.” *Copy.*

EARL SPENCER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 1. Althorp.—“I congratulate you on having put an end so satisfactorily to a negotiation which, I am persuaded, would only have been attended with fresh difficulties every step it proceeded; and am very glad to see by looking at the answers returned by you and Lord Grey (a copy of the latter of which I received from Tom Grenville) that they do not materially differ in their purport, though from the circumstance of his not coming to town, it may possibly be thought by some that there is a difference in the manner in which the proposal was received by you both. I think, as I said before, that the ground on which you rested your coming up removed the objection which might otherwise have existed to paying even so much attention to an overture of such a nature; more especially as it must be evident that no other reason but respect for what you understood to be the King’s commands to come to town, could have made it necessary; your answer being of a nature which might equally well have been returned from Cornwall.

“I take it for granted that we shall now have a curious piece of patch-work, and, though it is difficult to foresee how matters can go on worse than they have lately done, I still fear that we may come even to regret the late Cabinet.\*

“I am afraid I shall now have but little chance of seeing you.”

*Postscript.*—“Since writing the above I have seen yours of yesterday inclosing Perceval’s reply. The distinction he takes is certainly without a difference, and all the rest is mere paper and packthread.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1809, October 2. Cleveland Square.—“Some business keeps me in town to-morrow and perhaps on Wednesday, so that I do not expect to be able to come to you till Thursday, but trust that I shall certainly be at Dropmore on that day.

\* “On reading this over again, I must say that I think *that* is impossible.”

“I hear of nothing but very general approbation among friends and foes of the course taken by you and my Lord Grey, nor is there any appearance of the Ministers having gained any the slightest credit from their unpromising overture. All is now said to be finally settled. Perceval, Treasury and Exchequer; Saunders Dundas, Military Secretary of State; Harrowby the Foreign Seals till Wellesley's pleasure is known; Lord W. Bentinck, Secretary of War. Some people add to this an offer to Melville of the Admiralty, which they mean him to refuse on the score of health. I am told from what seems pretty good authority, that this is merely an attempt in order to gratify the King, but that they will surrender as soon as Parliament meets. I hope not, and indeed I cannot believe that to be the present intention, though it may be the ultimate result.

“Sheridan is very assiduous at Gloucester Lodge, and I find by letters from my midland friends, that great hopes are expressed for such a union as would bring together the eldest and the second brother, and placing them in a compact opposition. One cannot say what may or may not be, but I know nothing so little to my taste as the connection in question, and I do not envy those who are to conduct the negotiation, nor, as at present informed, am I at all desirous of it's success. I know there are difficulties all round, but I know of none greater than a confidential intercourse where you cannot place confidence. The Staffords approve highly, and so does Carlisle, and everybody whom I have heard of.”

#### EARL GREY TO THE SAME.

1809, October 2. Howick.—“I have to thank you for your two letters, from Boconnoc and from Camelford House. Could I have been assured that you would determine upon going to town, my earnest desire that there might be the most perfect agreement between us even in appearance, would have determined me, whatever might have been my own opinion, to set out without a moment's hesitation. But in the uncertainty occasioned by the ambiguous way in which Perceval's letter was expressed, an ambiguity, I am inclined to suspect, studiously devised for the express purpose of producing some apparent difference in our conduct, I could only decide according to probability; and the probability appeared to me to be in favour of the construction which I thought right, and of the measure which appeared to me the least embarrassing.

“The King's *authority* being expressed for the proposed communication, and a *hope* only that we should go to town for the purpose of forwarding the object of that communication, and no other, I considered the subsequent paragraph stating that a similar communication of the King's pleasure had been made to you, as referring to the communication which he had authorised, and not as requiring our attendance

in town unless we were disposed to treat on the basis proposed. For, no ulterior contingency was adverted to ; and, if not for that, it did not appear to me that we were desired to come for any other purpose. This construction, I confess, I adopted very willingly, for it placed the matter on the simplest and easiest ground ; and enabled me, as I thought, with propriety to send a direct negative, unaccompanied with anything but those general expressions of duty by which I endeavoured to guard myself against any misrepresentation as not having acted with sufficient respect towards the King.

“But I will not waste your time by a further discussion either of the meaning of Perceval’s letter, or on the reasons which influenced the particular measure that I took. It is sufficient that we agree in the essential point of refusing any communication with the present Ministers, and the copy of your letter to Perceval relieves me from the fear, which I could not help entertaining, that after your arrival in London the Ministers would have contrived to have engaged you, however reluctantly, in the appearance at least of some discussion, which must have been attended with disadvantage to us. That apprehension is entirely obviated by the decisive answer which you have given ; of which, if it was necessary to say so much, I entirely approve, with perhaps one exception.

“I am, as I trust you know, as little inclined as any man to political proscriptions. But I am not sure that I could go quite the length of stating that I have no personal objections to the present Ministers, independent of the principle of their government itself, and of the circumstances that attended its formation. After all that has passed in the last three years, standing chargeable as they do to the country for the series of crimes and follies by which we have been disgraced and nearly ruined, and exposed as they have been for their want of fair dealing and even of common decency in their conduct towards each other, it must be a sense of very strong necessity indeed which could induce me to hazard my personal security and honour in any connection with them. This applies no less to those who remain than to those who have resigned, or are about to resign their places ; and I am anxious to lose no time in putting you in possession of my feelings in this respect, as, if any new arrangement should be formed, and I agree with you in thinking it will be tried, I foresee approaches from Canning, which I could not bring myself to meet. This however, for the present, is for yourself only.

“I think too that it might have been better if you could have confined yourself, as I have done, to a direct and simple negative without reasons. But to the allusion to the Catholic question (which, whether you intended it or not, I think will be understood as being conveyed in what you say of the principle of the government, and the circumstances attending its formation) my objection is only as to the prudence of now



introducing it. In the sentiment I entirely concur. I feel as strongly as anybody can do, the utter impossibility of our accepting the government, if the King were *bona fide* disposed to commit it to our hands, without a full explanation on that important point. But here, whenever it occurs, will be the King's advantage; and even with a view to the success of that question itself, which must be promoted by any influence we may gain over the public opinion, I think it would have been advisable to confine ourselves, as to the present overture, to that plain and simple ground of refusing to have anything to do with the present Ministers, in which I am sanguine in believing we shall be generally approved by the country. These criticisms are undoubtedly now of no use, but I never wish to have any of my opinions concealed from you on points which interest us both so deeply; and I have written them with the less scruple because, whatever shades there may be in the manner, in which you are much more likely to be right than I am, our agreement in all that is essential is complete; and at this my satisfaction is unbounded.

"I think no further application will be made to us at present. But I confess I do not see the possibility of forming any government that will appear tolerable to this country. Even if they could make it up with Canning, I don't think the thing would now do, as I hear from all quarters that the public are exceedingly scandalised at the duel.

"My belief however is that, however willing the Ministers may be to withdraw themselves from a post which they have rendered almost untenable, the King will not allow them to do so; and that they will be compelled to try some other arrangement, however weak and contemptible. A strong proof of this is afforded in the information given by Lord Lonsdale to Lord Fitzwilliam of the King's having prohibited any further communication to him, after he had sanctioned Perceval's letter, till they were prepared to lay before him a definite arrangement.

"I know Lord Fitzwilliam has sent you a copy of a letter he had received from Lord Lonsdale; and I am sure you will will agree with me in thinking the proposed offer of the Treasury to me, if true, a further proof of the faithless spirit in which this whole scheme was conceived.

"It certainly will be very disagreeable to me to go to town in November, but I feel with you the indispensable necessity of our both attending at the meeting of Parliament."

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 3. Eden Farm.—"It does not appear by the last accounts from the Continent that the Austrians have renewed hostilities, or that the King of Prussia is making an attempt to break his chains. Considering the channel through which that report came, I never gave credit to it; and perhaps it would have tended only to complete and

strengthen the subjugation of the Continent, if such events had taken place.

“I was told yesterday by an official acquaintance in this neighbourhood that to-morrow, at Queen’s House, Mr. Perceval will be declared First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Dundas Secretary for War Department, and Lord Harrowby Secretary for the Foreign Department. If this should be the arrangement, it can only be with a view to take the benefit or chance of unforeseen events till the meeting of Parliament; with the heavy responsibility in the meantime of leaving the gigantic dangers and difficulties of our public situation to float in the storm without masts, sails, or rudder.

“I sent copies of Mr. Perceval’s reply to the several persons to whom, in your name, I had forwarded the preceding papers. I regret that those four papers, together with Lord Grey’s answer, have not been printed *in extenso*. The transaction is abandoned too much to the flippancies and falsifications of the *Morning Post* and *Courier*.

“I have received a long letter from Lord Grey, dated 29th, describing the ‘utter impossibility of his ever joining with men who came into office on the principles of the present Ministers; who have since brought such a succession of calamities on the country; and who now stand chargeable with the consequences of their misconduct.’

“He expresses that ‘he has not had any doubt in his mind except as to the propriety of his not going to town. But that his going might have delayed the means of forming a settled government, which is so essentially necessary in a crisis of unexampled danger to the public safety.’ He adds the following postscript to his letter ‘I have not heard from Lord Grenville for some time, but I have no reason to believe that his answer will be materially different from mine; though, as he is a better judge of these matters, he may in the manner not pursue exactly the same line.’ I transcribe this as I think it not immaterial that you should write fully; some other expressions in the letter seem to imply a disinclination to come to town.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 3. Cleveland Square.—“The arrangement still stands the same, but I believe Canning is less confident of Wellesley’s refusal; and I hear it rumoured that Canning refused to acquiesce in Wellesley being Premier, which had been suggested as a solution to the difficulties between the choice of Perceval and Canning. Ellis said to-day that he rather thought Wellesley would accept. The Duke of Portland was forced into his letter of resignation by Lord Titchfield, aided and seconded by that great man the Dean of Christ Church. I hear from the best authority that the present Ministers do not expect or intend to meet Parliament, but that they only profess their conviction that the King

will not let our new government stand three months, and that they shall then return again to power. Lord Liverpool is now the great favourite at Windsor; last week the King dictated a letter to him in which were these words, which were repeated afterwards by Lord Liverpool, 'you are my eyes, and I know I can trust you that I shall not be imposed upon.'

"Huskisson says that they have barely money enough to go on to January, that they certainly ought not to strain on, but that he believes they can and will. I hope to see you on Thursday.

"I have a letter from Windham most highly approving all that you have done, including your journey to town."

#### EARL GREY TO THE SAME.

1809, October 3. Howick.—"I last night received your letter with the copy of Perceval's answer enclosed. I now send a copy of that which I had received from him by the preceding post, and which I did not think of any importance; but it now perhaps becomes in some degree material from the difference of the tone and manner adopted towards you. It seems to show the different ways in which our conduct will be represented to the King. How to guard myself against it I don't very well know; but there is no kind of unfair dealing that I am not prepared to expect from these gentlemen.

"I think you have done quite right in not entering into any further explanation on the foolish distinction between accession and extension. But I am afraid you will not be quit here. My former suspicion that they would endeavour to fasten some further discussion upon you is confirmed, though they have not set about it very dexterously; and from Perceval's letter I should collect that you will have some further communication, and possibly an attempt may be made to drive you to some explanation, in which the Catholic question may be brought into view.

"I have already told you that I agree with you in thinking our attendance at the meeting of Parliament necessary; but for explanation, if required, and a general statement of our opinions on the state of the country only. I see nothing either in the situation of public affairs, or in the means of acting with a combined party in the House of Commons, which induces me to think a regular Parliamentary opposition more practicable or more expedient than it was last year.

"If any further communication is made to us, either conjointly, or to you separately, which, if at all, I now think the most probable, for the purpose of forming a new administration, I shall of course be with you as soon as I can, after receiving a summons. Then indeed there will be not only the Catholic question, but many points to consider. But upon these I will not enter at present, as you will have better opportunities than I have of collecting general opinions;

and I shall save you some unnecessary trouble by waiting till I hear from you what you think yourself, after having well considered the whole matter."

*Enclosed.*

SPENCER PERCEVAL to EARL GREY.

1809, September 29. Downing Street. "I have had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter of the 26th instant, and I lost no time in laying the contents of it before his Majesty."

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 5. Howick.—"In consequence of a letter from Lord Holland in which he informs me of Sheridan's frequent visits at Gloucester Lodge, and of a hint thrown out by your brother, I have thought it necessary to express to both, what I have already said to you, with respect to a junction with Canning, or indeed any of the leading members of the present administration, but more especially Canning; desiring both not to let the knowledge of this resolution on my part go any further at present.

"I shall be, as I have always been, ready to withdraw my own pretensions, and to stand completely out of the way if any arrangement, in which I cannot personally concur, is thought by you and those in whom I have the greatest confidence, necessary or advantageous for the public service. To such an arrangement so formed, with the confidence that while you formed a part of it, it would be conducted on the principles on which we have acted together, I would give my support out of office. But I feel that I could not with propriety, even while a proposition of this nature may be very distant and uncertain, and with no reason to believe that you would be more inclined to accede to it than I should, leave you in ignorance of a determination which I believe to be too deeply fixed to be changed by any of the ordinary causes which either time or altered circumstances may produce.

"I told you before that, rather than surrender the government, I thought the King would force the present Ministers to try any arrangement however weak and contemptible. But I had no idea of anything so very bad as that which the post of last night has announced to me. It is indeed putting the power of the Crown to a high trial.

"I have had a very civil letter from the Prince."

*Private.* LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1809, October 6. Dropmore.—"I got your letter here to-day. I thought it from the beginning very doubtful whether we ought to come or not. If we came we were sure to be misrepresented as showing an eagerness for office;

if we stayed in the country as showing disrespect to the King. I thought in this alternative it was best to come, because the charge of courting office would easily be refuted by the rest of the transaction; the other accusation could not. Had we both stayed, there can be no doubt that the papers would have been full of the facilities we should have found had we condescended to come.

“The whole is however very immaterial, and the difference has not, I believe, made the least impression on the public mind. I never remember an instance in which the satisfaction of friends of every description has been expressed with so much unanimity and cordiality; and that is some test of the impressions even of those who are not friendly.

“I heartily wished to have had your assistance in framing my answer. On one point, and that the most material, I strongly believe that, on discussion, I should have satisfied you I was right; I mean in not omitting in it to advert to the Catholic question.

“You will readily do me the justice to believe that it was not without full consideration that I determined to touch on this point. My reasons were these. In the first place a full determination, in which I know you concur with me, never again to take office without the most distinct explanation on this point; a determination, by the bye, which I had last week the opportunity to express to the Prince of Wales. Secondly, the certainty which the circumstances of this transaction afforded, that no offer was meant to be made to us in good faith; and that, had we come into discussion, we should have broken off on this point; which, therefore, it was best for us not to appear to shrink from in the very first instance. And, lastly, a strong persuasion that the very worst effects might have been produced in Ireland if the ill-intentioned there had been allowed to tell the Catholics that a proposition of this nature had been made, had been in some degree discussed, and had been finally broken off, without there having been on our part the least allusion to them or their claims.

“The advantage which the Court has on this subject from the foolish prejudices of the country is one of which we cannot deprive them; and, in such a state of things, the more directly we appear to meet it the better I think it is both for us and for the cause.

“With respect to the ex-Minister you speak of, I think there are many of the recent transactions of the government which we must unsparingly condemn, and in which he is deeply implicated. What time, and a course of concurrent conduct on other points, may produce we cannot, I think, now anticipate; but Spain, Antwerp, and America must surely at this time keep all such ideas at a distance.

“The baseness of the project disclosed in the communication I have received from Lord Fitzwilliam must excite as much

contempt as indignation. The same artifice has indeed more than once been resorted to on former occasions ; but the trick is now stale, and we have even from our own personal experience learnt too much to be duped. What I now hear is that the present patchwork is meant to last till the meeting of Parliament ; and that, if it then yields to necessity, we are to be called upon to take the government on our own terms, *but with a fixed determination that we shall not hold it many months.*

“When I reflect what the empire is whose government is made the sport of these base intrigues, what its condition now is, and what the objects are to which the interests of millions are thus sacrificed, I own I do feel more indignation than I usually give way to on such subjects.

“What has passed, and what we have to look to, will at least be pretty good lessons to us as to what to do.

“You will have the goodness to keep this last communication to yourself alone.” *Copy.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October [8]. Eden Farm.—“I have some doubts in respect both to your letter, and to Lord Grey’s, whether either of you brought forward sufficiently the most obvious, and most popular objections to any accession to any part of a Government which, in two campaigns, has disgraced our arms, and has thrown away the lives of at least 20,000 brave men, and has uselessly expended above 30 or 40 millions in measures ill-conceived and ill-combined. That statement is unhappily true, and is beginning to be felt through the country. It will be the game of the ‘*Faiseurs*’ to overwhelm it under other fabricated matters of public attention.

“We shall now hear a knocking at the doors of Lord Sidmouth, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Bragge ; and I shall not be surprised if some of them should be found at home ; or if there should be a *raccommodement* with either Lord Castlereagh or Mr. Canning.”

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, October 12. Eden Farm.—“This is precisely the weather in which I pass the whole of the mornings in the farm and gardens, and I am consequently disposed to give up the whole of the evenings to newspapers, novels, and idleness. I wrote, nevertheless, three days ago to Lord Grey in answer to his letter, and urged three points strongly on his attention. First, that some well-arranged plan should be adopted for preserving the public mind from the mad and malignant influence of the newswriters. Even the papers which wish well to you and to your friends contrive from time to time to do all possible mischief ; and they at all times make themselves the dupes to the swindling system of diverting the attention of the country to Mrs. Clarke and Miss Taylor,

Catalani, Covent Garden jubilees. Next, I urged the necessity of adverting to the chaotic predicament\* of the House of Commons, and of bringing the *discordia semina rerum* into some regular and efficient system. And, lastly, I urged him to pass the winter in London or in the neighbourhood, for his own credit, for the sake of our friends, and from a sense of duty to the public. I mention these particulars that they may have your aid, as far as you may think material.

"The apathy of the country as to all its best interests is disgusting and discouraging; but it might be removed by a conviction gradually awakened towards the insane expenditure of life, money, and national character in the two last campaigns. The government writers are aware of this, and, accordingly, are labouring more than ever to draw attention to the Catholic question.

"With respect to that question, I feel no difficulty in saying to you that, though I do not expect from it either Irish gratitude or Irish tranquillity (but the contrary), I have made up my mind to acquiesce in it, as I see that it will be carried a little sooner or a little later. But those who think it material to be carried should abstain from urging it, or seeming to urge it. Their project would be soonest and best gained by leaving it, and by professing to leave it, to its own course. I dwell on this because I have reason to believe that some little allusions, or supposed allusions, of a contrary tendency in your letter to Perceval, have been converted to bad purposes by the keeper of a certain conscience.

"Our best and most useful writer is Napoleon himself. I exhausted my eye-sight last night in the perusal of his dissertations on our Spanish and Dutch achievements; and though he says no more than we have thought, and had foretold, it makes me 'wince' as coming from him. It ought therefore to cut gallingly on the shoulders of our Generals and Ministers.

"I cannot believe that Mr. Perceval will be able to mend his *demi-saison* suit, so as to make up a warm clothing sufficient to resist the inclemency of the month of January. But he is knocking at many doors for workmen. Will they come when called on? I incline to think not. I shall know more in three or four days, and will then write again.

"I have received a letter from an intelligent friend, who writes, 'you will know whether it be true or not that Canning joins Lord Grenville. I had no doubt that this would, after a certain time, be the case; but I do not see how it can be decorously practicable quite so soon.'

"Mr. Eden brought word yesterday from the Exchequer that the surplus will be about three millions. This is beyond what was expected considerably. The amount of the surplusses of the two preceding quarters was 1,370,000*l.* The amount for the January quarter will be a deficit. On

the whole the surplus for the year ending 5th January will probably be about 4,250,000*l.* It was taken for the year to the 5th April at four millions."

*Postscript.*—"I understand that the mortality continues to be great both in Walcheren and at Elvas. What a responsibility it is!"

*Confidential and private.*

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 15. Eden Farm.—"I think it material that the subjoined paragraph should be made known to you; it came to me from a near connection whose accuracy and friendly meaning may equally be relied on. I will explain to you when we met why it must be considered as peculiarly secret between us.

"Mr. Perceval undertook the premiership at the instance of two of his leading colleagues, and in the hope that they should succeed in drawing over to their assistance several detached individuals of character and efficiency. It was deemed probable that a junction so formed might be able to stand upon the principle that, Lord Grenville and Lord Grey having refused to concur in forming a government on any other grounds than those of admitting the Catholic claims, the King called for the general assistance and co-operation of all who were willing to support him in resisting them. I do not mean to imply that this is a fair interpretation of Lord Grenville's answer, and still less of Lord Grey's. But I can confide to you with certainty that the former has been understood so by very many persons, and especially by the King, to whom it was sent by Mr. Perceval without any observation, and who returned it with a very severe comment as personally offensive to him."

"In other words the nature of communications at Windsor is most unhappily such, that the King's mind has been worked upon to confound the intimation that it must ever be considered as unconstitutional and unprincipled to promise in no event to recommend the Catholic question, and to convert that intimation into a menace to bring forward that question uncalled for, and as the leading measure of a new Ministry. Though Mr. Perceval sent no observations, I have not the smallest doubt that your letter was accompanied by a comment from Bedford Square.

"Mr. Canning's counter-statement is a very curious paper, and places Lord Camden in a predicament of considerable awkwardness. At the same time it seems hardly credible that Mr. Canning could know so little of mankind as to conceive that Lord Castlereagh, whom he daily and hourly conversed with, had been apprized in any degree of what was intended. When Canning talks of 'the difficulties started on the 6th September by the Duke of Portland' I find it difficult to



guess whether they related to Lord Wellesley's admission into the Cabinet; or to the Premiership; or to Mr. Canning's pretensions to the Cabinet. [Premiership?] At any rate it seems to me quite extravagant to suppose that Lord Wellesley can now come into the office vacated by Mr. Canning, in consequence of their having made *cause commune*.

"Nor indeed, if that objection were not so strong, do I believe that Lord Wellesley would risk so prominent a responsibility, which would sharpen the attacks to which his unwise mission, and his brother's calamitous exploits, are exposed.

"You will soon hear through other quarters, and I would not wish it to be known as coming from me, that considerable situations have been separately offered to Mr. Yorke, Mr. Bragge Bathurst, and Mr. Vansittart; to the last-mentioned Mr. Perceval's private secretary was sent and with a King's messenger. The two last declined; I know nothing as to Mr. Yorke's answer. I have reason to believe that Lord Sidmouth (who is now recovering from a dangerous erysipelas fever) was not asked to come into the Cabinet, but was insulted (for so he must have felt) by a flattering communication of the wish to employ his friends, and of the hope that he would encourage their services to the King and to the country.

"I enclose Mr. Eden's minutes relative to the Consolidated Fund.

"This is a letter of great merit in point of length when I add that the sun shines brightly, and that I am just obtaining an addition of eight or nine beautiful fields or copses which were peculiarly desirable to me."

*Postscript.*—"I have just received yours of yesterday. I doubt whether you had perused Canning's paper when you say that there seems to be a strong probability of Lord Wellesley's acceptance."

*Private.* THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809, October [16]. Eden Farm.—"I have been visited to-day by an official friend who knows much of what is going forwards. I collect from him that the following appointments will be declared on Wednesday next:—

|                        |    |  |
|------------------------|----|--|
| Lord Liverpool..       | .. | The War department.<br>(now we shall march to Paris).        |
| Mr. Richard Ryder ..   | .. | The Home Department<br>(we shall have a Cabinet of lawyers). |
| Mr. Manners Sutton ..  | .. | Judge Advocate.  |
| Mr. Saunders Dundas .. | .. | The India Board.   |
| Lord Palmerston ..     | .. | Secretary of War.  |
| Lord Lowther ..        | .. | Commissioner of Admiralty.                                   |

"It is also understood that Lord Bathurst will give up the Foreign Department, if Lord Wellesley can be persuaded to take it.

“These arrangements which are indicative only of weakness have been achieved with difficulty.

“Mr. Manners Sutton (son of the Archbishop) is a modest and sensible young man; but the office to which he is now put requires a knowledge of life and law, and all the weight of established character and experience.

“I reserve other curious details till we meet.”

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809 [October] 17. Eden Farm.—“We now offer ourselves to wait on Lady Grenville and you on Wednesday the 1st November, to stay at Dropmore on Thursday and Friday, and to proceed on Saturday morning to Shottesbroke for two or three days, and thence to Blenheim. If the proposition should be interfering with other engagements you will tell us so without scruple. I think that we shall return from Blenheim on the 13th and go to Baylies.

“In a note which I have this morning from Mr. Tierney, he intimates a sort of wish to arrange to pass a day at Dropmore when we are there.”

*Confidential.*—“The enclosed is evidently of a very private nature. Lady Auckland has been so good as to transcribe it from a private letter which Lord Sidmouth had dictated to his daughter, and sent to Mr. Vansittart. It suggests many obvious and interesting remarks. On the whole, as I was not supposed to be likely to see the letter, it is handsome, and not unwise. I do not believe that Lord Chatham’s generalship will be in this instance more creditable in its results than it was on the autumn expedition. There is some ambiguity in the language of the letter, and in the punctuation; but the corrections are evident.”

*Private.*—“I have received a letter to-day from Lord Grey, in which he says; ‘How long the country will suffer itself to be made the sport of these vile and foolish intrigues I will not pretend to determine; but I am sure that things cannot go on much longer in their present course without certain ruin.’

“He adds in reply to something which I had written, ‘I certainly shall be in town a week or two before the meeting of Parliament; sooner than that, I do not see that I can be wanted.’”

LORD HOLLAND to THE SAME.

1809, October 19. Holland House.—“I am not without hopes of being able to set the press at work in the way in which of all others I know you would think most eligible; but for that purpose it is necessary to do away impressions which very great mismanagement has made, and to show that one considers that branch of labour as important and as *confidential* as it really ought to be. You will think all this very mysterious, but when I see you I shall be able to

explain what I mean ; in the meanwhile I will make it my business to ascertain how an evening paper can be procured, and shall by next Saturday be able to tell you in what the real difficulty of that scheme consists, which I suspect to be chiefly in the expense. With respect to the organization of the management of the press there will, I think, be no difficulty at all, provided the discussion about it is strictly confined to Lord Grey, Mr. Grenville, and ourselves, and those who are actually employed on it. I should hope if you do pass an hour in town in the course of the next fortnight, that you would let me know, as I cannot trouble you with all I have to say on this topic by letter."

*Private.* THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH to [LORD TEMPLE].

1809, October 20.—"You are probably well aware that the Duke of Portland, who was given over on Sunday and Monday last, may yet live a few days. It was less expected that Lord Grenville's chance for his successor as Chancellor should suddenly revive ; yet I conceive that in fact it is so. The Dean of Christ Church removed, and a tottering ministry, are circumstances which, I guess, have effected this change. I know not if Lord Dartmouth, Lord Liverpool, or the Bishop of Durham may be offered from Christ Church, but I judge a large division will be for Lord Grenville. Two or three, I think, I see amongst the canons, possibly more.

"To Brasen Nose College I add friends in Jesus, Wadham, New College through Lord Sidmouth in part, and Oriel if the Duke of Beaufort be not well supported in other colleges, besides Trinity. Circumstances above alluded to offer hopes of Exeter, St. John's, and Worcester. Queens' I think well disposed, provided the Provost sees that the Catholic question can never again separate Lord Grenville from the King, or the country ; which I take for granted from many considerations.

"I have written by this post to request my friends at Brasen Nose College will put up Lord Grenville on the first notice of the event, and have thought it would be interesting to you to have before you the grounds of my hopes."

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 20. Cuddesdon.—"After making some other visits in Oxford, I called on Hall, who at once and of his own accord entered upon the subject of the Chancellorship, telling me that Lord Liverpool was not anxious about it, and would probably not stand ; enquiring what you would do, telling me, as he said, in strict confidence, that you were the fittest man for the situation, but expressing a hope that you would feel, even though Lord Liverpool should not stand, the impossibility of his giving you any support. I told him I supposed the appointment would be very gratifying to you,

and that I hoped, if there should be a reasonable hope of success, you would offer yourself. He asked if you would choose to be proposed by the head of another college. I said that, much as you would be flattered by the support of Christ Church, and particularly of the Dean, I should conceive the want of it would not prevent your coming forward, if you were likely to succeed without it. Having gone so far, with much apparent openness on his part, I asked whether he was aware that any plans had been formed or were forming in the University for filling up the vacancy, and whether he thought that Government would set up any of their own body. He professed that he would tell me all he knew; that the Common Room had been with him to enquire what his views might be, that he returned for answer that he could say nothing decisive at present, but that he would communicate with them again as soon as he should come to any determination. For my further information he added that Lord Eldon and the Duke of Beaufort were talked of, but he believed no plans were forming except for Lord Eldon; that the Principal of Jesus (who is in Oxford) had been canvassing for him for two or three years; and that his own persuasion was that Lord Eldon would be a very formidable candidate, and would certainly have Jesus, Queen's, Magdalen, Corpus, and University. I asked what his line would be in the event of Lord Eldon's standing, and he said, without meaning to commit himself, that he thought he should merely give him his vote, and possibly not vote at all; but that he certainly should not make it a point with his college to support him. From his manner of falling in with what I urged of the unfitness of Lord Eldon, I am inclined to think Lord Liverpool's indifference proceeds from Lord Eldon's strength; but I am fearful also that Lord Eldon will be formidable.

"Hall's language, and the language of others whom I conversed with, satisfy me that, with one or two good colleges, you would be a formidable adversary; but you cannot do without some foundation of that sort, and, with that advantage, you would divide even Christ Church. I have been told it might conciliate Queen's College if the support of Richards at a future vacancy for the representation could be dexterously held out to them; but then such inclination must be cautiously concealed from Magdalen in particular; that Magdalen might be gained through the President, and the President through Dr. Parr, provided the college is not aware of the means by which the President is influenced; that Wyndham also has much influence with the President. This possibility of gaining Queen's and Magdalen does not accord with Hall's account. It has again been suggested to me that you might possibly have Heber's interest. Of that you can best judge.

"I have returned home late, and have unfortunately company at dinner, who are arrived. It has obliged me to

write in a hurry, and I have only time to add that the general result of what I have heard and seen to-day is, that Lord Eldon will be candidate, and a formidable one; but that unless there is much secret cabal, no college is absolutely pledged; that your interest is more, if in good hands, than I had hoped for; that the Catholic question is the only obstacle, even though you are in opposition; but that every possible advantage will be made of that question by your adversaries. The Principal of Brasen Nose is an admirable canvasser. Are you sure of that college?"

LORD AUCKLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 20. Eden Farm.—“I shall therefore confine this note to what occurs at the moment on yours of Wednesday, respecting the eventual opening at Oxford. The object there is, at best, rather honorary than important; but it happens to be intermixed with a consideration which alone impedes the prompt establishment of such a government as might save the empire. My reasonings thereon may seem abrupt and to be lightly brought forward; still I have a self-conviction that they are solid and founded in truth; and that they tend to conclusions which would not be injurious either to your public character or personal consistency. There is a general misrepresentation that you withhold your services until the King shall specifically agree to give up what he has been taught to consider, and considers, to be a point of conscience. That misrepresentation should now be corrected, and it should be known that you wish to postpone the whole discussion at least for the ensuing session. Indeed I am convinced that the best consequences would result on both sides of the channel from its being understood (it is not necessary to proclaim it) that the question stands adjourned during the King's life; under an implied acknowledgment on the part of many (I might say all) that it will then be favourably and temperately considered. In that case it would be carried by a sort of general concurrence. On the other hand it is glaringly evident that the agitation at this moment would create a mischievous and popular clamour detrimental to the question itself; at the same time that it would leave the empire helpless and distressed, and perishing in the hands of a broken and distracted government. Nothing would be easier than to find means for managing such an explanation, gracefully and becomingly, and with the dignity that you could give to it. Some of the hotheaded in Ireland would scold for an instant, but you are not to be influenced by men of that description.

“If this were accomplished, I have no doubt that a government might be formed most beneficially for Great Britain and for all persuasions in Ireland; and, if it be not done, I have as little doubt that the essential interests both of the one and of the other will be irreparably injured. I think

it therefore due to yourself, to your friends, and to the country. *Dixi.*

“If that line were taken, and if the Oxford election could be postponed for a few weeks, there would be little doubt as to the result. Blechston and the clergymen about Blenheim have little weight beyond what is individual. Nor do I believe that my son’s friend Dr. Hall would at present, and in the first moments, lead his college. The times are not quite favourable for Lord Liverpool to make the attempt, and if his power in the state should be small, it will not be great in the church.”

*Postscript.*—“London. The Duke of Portland is ‘very ill’ to-day, but ‘not worse than yesterday.’ Lord Uxbridge is dying in Anglesey. I met Cooke ‘on the pavement,’ and complimented him on being there. He said that he was not yet ‘on the pavement’ and was going to the Office for the current businesses, as he was told that Mr. Dundas now hesitates. He seemed to consider the remnant of a Ministry as utterly impossible to be kept. The Duke of Devonshire has married Lady Elizabeth Forster. There is some puzzle and squabble about declaring it.”

#### THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 20. Stowe.—“I received your letter this morning, and its enclosure, which I guess is an extract of a letter to a zealous friend of your lordship, Dr. Hughes, Principal of Jesus College. It certainly opens a new scene to me, and indicates a change of opinion, the effect of a change in existing circumstances; the removal of the late Dean of Christ Church and the sense of a tottering Ministry.

“When I last conversed upon this subject in Oxford under an impression that your cause there was still desperate, I encouraged the idea of putting up the Duke of Beaufort in opposition to Lord Liverpool, Lord Dartmouth, or the Bishop of Durham, no one of whom I conceive could carry the general voice.

“So much stress do I lay upon Dr. Cole’s letter to Dr. Hughes, that I class with Exeter, St. John’s, and Worcester, the Provost of which was cruelly disappointed by the Duke of Portland by a promise not fulfilled. To these I add the colleges of Brasen Nose, Jesus, New College, and Wadham with whom Brasen Nose is well connected; and Oriel, if the Duke of Beaufort cannot be served. A certain division of Christ Church, where I think Dr. Burton, Dr. Hay, and possibly Dr. W. Jackson among the canons, with some of the Common Room, will join even against Lord Liverpool or Lord Dartmouth. The Provost of Queen’s leans much to you but for a certain question; and listened kindly to Dr. Hughes, who told him from me that, as matter of *unauthorised opinion*, I was confident that question could not well be brought on by your lordship till the Catholics

gave you the same ground which they revoked since you last recommended their petition to a Committee; and that event is not at present very probable.

“Corpus and University Colleges will probably be influenced by Lord Eldon and Sir W. Scott. The Head of Magdalen cannot be counted amongst your friends, nor the Head of Baliol. All Souls must always be *distributed individually*, and so will Merton. Trinity with the Duke of Beaufort, as Oriel. Pembroke, at least the Master, probably with you. Lincoln I know nothing of. Hertford is hardly in existence.

“Upon such grounds I have written by this post to Mr. Hodson, Principal of Brasen Nose College, to leave Liverpool for college without delay; to the Vice-Principal, Mr. Dean, to desire he will put you in nomination the moment he hears of the event; and to Dr. Hughes of Jesus to request his immediate return to Jesus to put you at all events in nomination; because they can at any time, after they meet, relinquish this nomination, if they find it necessary, without committing you at all in credit. I have likewise written to the Bishop at Cuddesden to acquaint him confidentially with these measures, and thus I trust I have done the best for your interests and credit. I am not often too active; but you will have the goodness to recollect I can collect no opinion of any one in the University without a delay that may be fatal to my wishes. I did indeed propose to the Marquis this morning that I should go express to Oxford; but he objected to it as an impolitic measure; and so I believe it would be, on more consideration. Our manners in Oxford will not bear any open interference before the vacancy.”

#### LORD HOLLAND TO THE SAME.

1809, October 21. Holland House.—“If there is a chance of success, or of a good stand, I should think the appearance of your influence in Oxford would be attended with the greatest possible advantages. With respect to Parr, there is no doubt of his zeal, nor of his personal influence with the Master of Magdalen. His discretion is somewhat more problematical; but if told what to do, and what not to do, especially if you would honour him with a letter and a civil expression, he would most religiously obey any injunctions you gave him. The worst is that Martin Routh (according to Parr’s account, and in his language) is a Tory, and a fierce Tory, but he is a gentleman, a scholar, and Lord knows what. Where does the right of election of a chancellor reside?

“I rather despair of an evening paper. It is entirely a matter of chance and out of our control; for, unless Perry can buy one without its being known that he buys it, the establishment of one would be a greater expense than we can manage, especially as in these matters, a little caution is necessary for preserving secrecy. Brougham is gone out of town, and we shall be a little gravelled for paragraphs for

some days. Can you procure me any or give me sense for some? Hitherto the labour has fallen exclusively upon me."

*Postscript.*—"Parr, who has been writing volumes to me of late, sent me two lines to recommend to you, and me, the first ten lines of Horace's *Art of Poetry* as descriptive of the Ministry. Perceval wanted to form with you; and this my friend Parr imagines is so good a joke that he says he hopes Lord Grenville will excuse him 'for relaxing so far from his sacerdotal gravity.'"

#### THE BISHOP OF OXFORD to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 21. Cuddesden.—"My servant was gone with my letters to the post when your packet arrived. I had told you that I had written to Hall; heard from Cleaver, whom I think too precipitate; endeavoured to open a communication with some leading man at Brasenose; and thinking it more satisfactory to see you than to write, told you I should probably be at Dropmore for a few hours to-morrow. As it is, I shall be with you about one on Tuesday, unless I hear by the post that you will not be there, or Hodgson should arrive in Oxford to-morrow night, or be expected early on Tuesday morning. If you wish that I should not be absent even for a few hours, you will let me know. I fear I did not make myself intelligible about the Vaughans. The *Rev. Peter* Vaughan, brother to the physician, is a leading man and tutor at Merton. He is likely to follow his brother the doctor's wishes; and I added that, unfortunately for us, Lord Bathurst had just appointed another brother, Charles, Fellow of All Souls, his private secretary. I said *unfortunately* because I feared the appointment might make the family unwilling to oppose the government candidate. It is to the doctor therefore that Lord Essex must write for his interest with *Peter* Vaughan. I conclude Charles is in London. I will endeavour to see Peter Vaughan to-morrow, but lose no time about him yourself. We have passed the Rubicon, rather precipitately I think; but so it is, and we need be less circumspect, though, till I see or hear from you, I shall not make a general avowal of your intentions, unless it should seem to answer our purpose. The canvass however must begin. Defeat is not disgrace; but I could bear that you should be beat by Lord Liverpool better than by the other.

"I feel the full force of your reasoning about the Catholic question. I wish it could be known, and if known, properly felt where it most ought to be felt and acknowledged.

"I will visit the Vice-Principal of Brasen Nose to-morrow. I had called on Hodgson on Friday as soon as I learned his connections, and attachment to your family; and had he been in Oxford should have made myself known to him."

*Postscript.*—"Will Lord Sidmouth espouse your cause, and can you get at Heber? I mean, can you have his vote? Queen's is likely to be violently anti-Catholic. Bishop Randolph



has influence, I believe; at least his name would weigh with the opponents on the ground of the Catholic question. Would you choose to get an application to him?

"I received Hall's answer, and a note from Dr. Burton, whilst I was sealing up the accompanying note. I enclose them, and I enclose also the Bishop of St. Asaph's, because as your confidential friend, it seems to me he ought to be instructed in your mode of reasoning upon assurances relative to the Catholic question.

"The Duke of Beaufort's nomination may help us with respect to Hall. Lord Worcester is just entered at Christ Church, and it would be therefore doing an ungracious thing to the duke as well as to you to vote for Lord Eldon. I think he cannot vote for Duke of Beaufort.

"I shall go to Christ Church to-morrow, and still *hope* to see you on Tuesday."

#### W. WINDHAM TO THE SAME.

1809, October 21. Pall Mall.—"I enter fully into your feelings respecting the Chancellorship, and shall be happy to contribute any little aid that may be in my power, either in a later stage for the attainment of the object, or in the first instance for endeavouring to learn whether it ought to be attempted. I am afraid my last communication with the President of Magdalen was such as to leave me but little hopes from him for either purpose. It was very friendly, but for that very reason more adverse perhaps in the view in which we are now considering it; inasmuch as with all professions of good will personally to me, he declared the impossibility of supporting a person who thought, as I did, on the Catholic question. I may have a better chance and to a greater extent, with the present head of my own college, to whom I will write without delay; and I know not whether I may not have some weight, and some hopes of a disposition not unfriendly, in Dr. Cooke, head of Corpus, and Dr. Marlowe, head of I forget what college. But since the extinction of my own hopes, my communications with Oxford have altogether ceased, as well as my acquaintance with what is doing or thought there. On this occasion, as upon so many others, I have to regret the loss of our late friend Dr. Laurence, whose influence in the University was not inconsiderable; and whose exertions were never wanting, when called for by those who had any claim to them. Dr. Hall is unfortunately so tied up, that he could not be asked even for advice. I will east about, you may be sure, to find if there [are] any means by which I may be useful, and use to the best advantage that I am able."

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

1809, October 22. [Stowe.]—"Be assured that your kind attentions to all that so deeply interests me are not lost upon me.

There are always points, on which it is not possible to recur for relief, even to the affection of a brother. Some misconception, and much precipitation had left me no alternative; but I had, before I received yours, gladly seized the first appearance of the return of those feelings, which, I well know, are uppermost in his heart; and I wrote to him on Friday a letter, which he will have received this morning, desiring that all further discussion might be dropped, on a matter originally of little importance, but in which he allowed his heat of temper to commit him very deeply. I hope and trust very sincerely that this will be the last thing of the sort, for I have no doubt but that he has suffered very severely; and a vexation like this never fails to operate severely on my sleep and appetite.

“The Bishop of St. Asaph leaves me to-morrow to sleep at Oxford, where he will see proper persons that evening, and will be with you as soon as this letter next morning. After much discussion he thinks he sees his way, so as [to] hold out to you much more than a reasonable prospect of success. My friend Barnard, of Finmore, accompanies him, and remains at Oxford for the purpose of working on the mind of Dr. Marlow, with whom he is most intimate, and for the purpose of collecting information, which he will send to you by the Beaconsfield coach, or post, if material. He is a most indefatigable, and discreet man, and very valuable from his extensive acquaintance there. I see Dr. Hall is gazetted, which is a very material point in your favour. The Duke of Beaufort can have no chance against you, nor can the Bishop of Durham; Lord Liverpool, with all the power of Government, would poll the greatest number. The Bishop seems to have made out to himself a clear view of the subject; and we have written to the new Principal of Brasenose, who is at Liverpool, to come to Oxford immediately; so that I hope that you will gain some advantage by immediate canvass. I would write to Lady Downshire to desire her to canvass her *protégés* Dr. Burton, and *Mr. Reed of Exeter*; the last is material from his influence over his Head; but I did not choose to open a canvass for you without your knowledge, and therefore you must write yourself, or in my name, if you are shy of your own on such a subject. I agree with you that the victory would be material in *such a moment* to you, otherwise I should say that your academical gold would be bought too dear. You will of course employ me whenever I can help you.”

*Postscript.*—“I open my letter to say that Tom is just arrived, and has put some water into our wine by showing by Bishop Moss’s letter, that Dr. Hughes votes for Lord Eldon, who, I should think, will to a certainty succeed; but if your support can be made respectable it is worth your while to stand. As this will find you in town, pray call on Lady Downshire and leave your note for her; men are essential to you. We shall send Bishop Cleaver over to Oxford

to-morrow, but we shall endeavour to make him sleep on Tuesday at Cuddesden, or to come to you very late. We have sent for Charles Williams to assist at Christ Church, which I think will give you good support. Eton College used to have interest at Merton. I think you would find out some of their connexions and might secure them."

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1809, October 22. Cashibury.—"The great goodness which I have experienced from your Royal Highness induces me to take a liberty which, if it should appear improper, will, I hope, meet with your Royal Highness's forgiveness.

"I learn this morning that some of my zealous friends at Oxford have determined to put me in nomination for the office of Chancellor of the University in the event, now hourly expected, of the Duke of Portland's death. I am myself no sufficient judge of the grounds on which this decision is taken, nor of the probability of success; but the object is one in which no discredit can attach upon disappointment, and in which therefore I am disposed to acquiesce in their decision, if it should not appear improper in your Royal Highness's opinion, to which I trust I need not say I should immediately defer.

"I should on every account not think of commencing any open canvass for such an object before the vacancy actually arises; but there is one instance in which it is so materially in your Royal Highness's power to promote the success of this pursuit, that I hope I do not presume too much in humbly apprizing your Royal Highness that I have reason to believe Dr. Cole, the rector of Exeter, well disposed to me, and to think that the least word from his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence would decide him to appear openly in my favour; and an early declaration from him would be of considerable importance.

"I know not how to apologise for taking so great a liberty with your Royal Highness. Nothing could have encouraged me to it but the proofs I have already received of your Royal Highness's goodness. This object can, I am confident, in no degree be considered as political. If it were, I am too sensible of the propriety of the line adopted by your Royal Highness to venture to lay before you any solicitation, a compliance with which might interfere with that line. The choice of the University might certainly with great propriety be guided by motives wholly independent of politics, by considerations of general character, literary pursuits, and habits of life which it would be presumption in me to apply to myself, but which are at least independent of any question connected with political opinions." *Copy.*

LORD HOLLAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 23. Holland House.—"Though I am not without hopes of seeing you at dinner, I shall take my chance

of finding you at Camelford House after seeing the Prince, whom I will not fail to sound on your application. There is however no doubt but he will do all that you could wish on the subject, and his zeal is more likely to require the curb than the spur. I had forgotten Oxford delicacy about canvassing, and have sent another letter to Parr, of which I enclose a copy.

*Enclosing :*

LORD HOLLAND to DR. PARR, Oxford University.

1809, October 23. Holland House.—“I did not forget to apprise Lord Grenville of your reference to Horace’s *Art of Poetry* which I thank you for in his name and my own. You did right in supposing that any classical quotation would not be thrown away upon him. The fact is there has seldom been any public man, and never one so much versed in all the details of business, more sincerely and ardently attached to literature than he is; and this circumstance, joined to other considerations, has induced some of his friends at Oxford to suppose that the learned members of that university would for once sacrifice party and even high church feeling to the interests and credit of learning, and, in the event of the Duke of Portland’s death, elect Lord Grenville to succeed him in the Chancellorship, in preference to Lord Liverpool, whom it is the intention of some more attached to Courts than to the Muses to start on that occasion. Though you and I might be inclined to feel some exultation at seeing a friend of religious liberty at the head of that metropolis of Toryism, yet it is surely possible, and even rational, that many men who differ with us in such subjects might consider a contest of this sort in a very different light from a political election. How would your very worthy and excellent friend the Master of Magdalen act upon such an occasion? Would he not prefer the interest and credit of learning and the university to a sorry and unprofitable triumph even of Toryism at their expense. As a Chancellor of the University has no political influence whatever, it does not seem that political sentiments, but habits of reading, scholarship, and taste, should be the qualifications required for the office. I will thank you to give me your opinions on this subject, and especially on the probability of Dr. Routh’s support of Lord Grenville, as speedily as possible. Of course the whole communication must be considered as strictly confidential, and if you have any suggestions to make on it I shall consider them as equally so.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1809, October 23. Camelford House.—“The near prospect of the Duke of Portland’s death has revived the question as to the choice of a successor to him at Oxford, and I learn from my friends there that they judge the probabilities of

my success such as to induce them to bring my name forward as a candidate. It is certainly on every account natural that I should feel considerable anxiety that their hopes should not be disappointed, and that I should derive much gratification even from the prospect of a respectable support, should I obtain no more, on such an occasion. I trust that these feelings do not mislead me in judging that I ought not to omit to apprise you of the circumstance, and to express to you the great pleasure which I should feel in any assistance that you felt yourself enabled to give me, recollecting, as I do, the kind part which you took on this subject on a former occasion.

“Delicacy and respect towards the Duke of Portland do not admit of an open canvass before the vacancy takes place ; but that I fear cannot be long delayed ; and I owe it to my friends not to omit in the meantime such steps as can with propriety be taken.” *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 23. Stowe.—“I avail myself of the opportunity of the bishop’s going to Oxford and Dropmore to tell you that I found upon my arrival here the best solution of all the domestic difficulties, a letter having been received here, which had been answered from hence by expressing a wish that the whole subject should be completely wiped out of memory ; this is all that could be wished.

“The bishop was aware of Hughes’s engagement for his personal vote, but seems still sanguine enough to make it desirable that nothing should be neglected. I wrote a few lines to Charles ; and I think of writing to-day to Fisher, because it may at least abate the ardour of his University College inclination to Eldon. It has occurred to me that you might perhaps with some advantage write to Lord Sidmouth though in very measured terms, such as saying that ‘your friends having renewed a proposition at Oxford on which you had formerly communicated with Lord Sidmouth, that you had thought it a proper attention to him that he should first hear this from you, although you could not presume upon the part which, under the present circumstances, Lord S. might think it proper for him to take.’ Would not something of this sort be, at least unobjectionable, and possibly useful ?

“The bishop talks of application to be made to Lord Fitzwilliam, Duke of Argyle, and others whom he will name to you.

“I return you the Bishop of Oxford’s letter. I told Charles that if he came up he had better go first to Oxford and Cuddesden, and then to Dropmore. Should you not write a line to Abbot ?”

*Private.* LORD AUCKLAND to THE SAME.

1809, October 24. Eden Farm.—“I find it to be the opinion of my son George, who is not ill-informed as to Oxford,

and who lately took his master's degree, that there would be a very strong disposition towards you on the eventual vacancy in question, 'even in the state of things as they are at this moment.' He thinks that the Duke of Beaufort would be started as the candidate of the colleges and individuals who might be adverse to you ; but that his grace would certainly not be of the description which would meet the general sense of the University.

"I transcribe the following paragraph from a letter the writer of which you will easily guess :—

"*Private.*—'I understand that there will be a change of principles and measures (either for the better or for the worse). Percival sent me by H[awkesbury] a private memoir on the state of the finances which he has laid before the Cabinet. Having declined the proposition made to me, I thought it right to decline reading the memoir. But I understand that it was to enforce the necessity of economy ; and the message which accompanied it was that, he sent it to shew that his views were such as he hoped I would approve.'

"It is a curious circumstance, if it be true, that Mr. Saunders Dundas, at the request and advice of his father, declines the seals offered to him ; but I can hardly believe it. Though the offers, acceptances, declinings, resignations, and appointments, are all a strange medley."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 26. Stowe.—"I enclose to you with Lord St. Vincent's permission two letters to him which you will be so good as to return to me ; they give a curious account of Lord Mulgrave's gold contract, and a frightful picture of Lord Wellington's military position. What a disgrace it is to our national character that a per-centage on Spanish dollars should lead an English officer to threaten to attack a friendly ship of war ; and by that threat should create a spirit of national enmity against us in the very country which, of all others, it seems to be our duty and interest to endeavour to conciliate.

"The little that I have heard of Oxford since my brother wrote is still rather of a favourable cast, and it seems evident that we shall find great advantage in this early agitation of the question. If they are wise they will abandon Eldon, and put up the Duke of Beaufort, and give him all the most active and express support of the Crown. I have written to the Master of the Charter House, but I do not feel inclined to write to Randolph ; he has no vote, and the best one can hope is that his answer will be to say that he has no vote ; an answer which is not worth seeking through the medium of solicitation and obligation. I have not heard from Vernon or from Charles ; I wait to hear more certainly of Parliament before I determine as to Trentham or Althorp."

## LORD GRENVILLE to EARL GREY.

1809, October 27. Dropmore.—“When I communicated to Lord Sidmouth the correspondence relative to Perceval’s overture, as it is called, to yourself and me, he returned it with a letter saying that the result of that step was such as was naturally to have been expected; but adding a hope that we were disposed, ‘to afford satisfaction and confidence’ to the King’s mind on the Catholic question. It did not appear to me that the circumstance of an overture, rejected in the outset and respecting which all discussion was closed, required any explanation on such a point. I therefore let the subject drop there, and returned no answer.

“Two or three days ago Lord Sidmouth wrote to me that he would come here to make some communication to me, and yesterday I saw him. His main object appeared to be to apprise me of what had passed between the present government and himself, which he detailed to me, and allowed me to communicate to yourself, Lord Holland, Lord H. Petty and my brother.

“It is shortly that Lord Chatham came to him to desire to know on the part of the King, and of Perceval, how he was disposed to this government; and to express a hope that he would influence Bragge Bathurst and Hobhouse to take office with them. But, what is certainly strange enough, this desire was not accompanied by the expression of any wish to have the assistance of Lord Sidmouth himself.

“Lord Sidmouth appears to have answered that such a proposal was inadmissible at any time; that his friends would certainly not separate themselves from him; but that, under the present circumstances, no proposal for his or their taking office with the government now forming could be listened to, they being of opinion with him that it was only by the assistance of us and our friends that a government adequate to the crisis could be formed; that it would not be their disposition to lend themselves to any other course *unless it were ascertained* that the formation of an adequate government was rendered unattainable by our adherence to a measure on which the King could not give way; a point which he conceived to be as yet by no means ascertained, notwithstanding what he termed some *ambiguous phrases* in my letter. This answer was delivered verbally to Lord Chatham, and confirmed by two letters written to him by Lord Sidmouth. The communication (I believe) of the conversation (or of the first letter) drew from Perceval a long letter to explain the grounds on which he was acting; but particularly to apprise Lord Sidmouth of the reason why, in desiring the aid of his friends, Perceval made no proposition to himself; which was, *frankly*, because some of those on whose support the new government was principally to depend, had insuperable objections to Lord Sidmouth personally, and would probably oppose instead of supporting any government

of which he formed a part. This explanation you may suppose did not mend the matter much either with Lord Sidmouth or his friends, and there the matter rested.

“But Lord Sidmouth in the course of this narrative (which I have repeated as accurately as I can from memory) several times intimated to me a desire of receiving some answer to that part of his former letter and of this communication which related to our views and intentions as to what he termed setting the King’s mind at ease; and gave me to understand that circumstances might possibly arise hereafter in which this knowledge might be essential for the guidance of his own conduct, and that of his friends; though he repeatedly assured me that nothing of any sort had passed between the government and him except what he now communicated to us.

“My answer was that, with respect to my letter to Perceval I saw no ground for considering any part of it as ambiguous. It was well known that I had originally objected to his government as formed on the principle, and giving effect to the demand of an unconstitutional pledge; a principle to which I must myself have become a party had I acceded to a government so formed. That to any step liable to the same objection my repugnance continues insuperable. But that we were neither called upon, nor was it possible, as things now stand, to enter into further explanations of our views or possible conduct on the subject of the Catholics in Ireland, in all the various circumstances that may arise. Nor could such explanation be given by any general answer to such general phrases as are now commonly used of giving ease to the King’s mind and the like, it not being known what would be required for that purpose.

“That whenever the King may be pleased to signify to any persons whom he may be disposed to call to his service under what restrictions he may be disposed to place them with respect to that or to any other question of public policy, it will then be their duty to answer with equal precision whether on such grounds they can accept office, consistently with their own sense of duty to him, and to the interests of his empire. That the subject in question was one of very extensive bearings, always considered by us as connected with various other measures of great importance, and never yet forced forward by any act of ours, although the contrary had been so studiously asserted. That much consideration would be required respecting it whenever such a deliberation was called for by the state of affairs. And that, however desirous we must feel, and had before proved ourselves, to consult the King’s personal difficulties, we could not on the other hand forget that our decisions, whenever we are obliged to form them, must also be regulated by a sense of our own duty, and of that public consistency and character without which no useful service could be rendered by men in public office, either to the King or to the country.



“That, in short, on these and other grounds I must say that I thought we neither could be called upon, nor could in fact be able to give any explanation of the possible conduct we might hold in cases the grounds and circumstances of which we could not anticipate.

“This is the sum of our conversation. He took my answer *ad considerandum*. I do not believe that *this* ship will ever be launched; we must therefore soon expect some new propositions, and shall be obliged to enter fully into this most embarrassing subject. The Court has hitherto played its game very ill, but experience cannot be so wholly thrown away upon them as not to teach them to do a little better another time, and we must be prepared to counteract their endeavours to use against us the great advantages which the conduct of the Catholics themselves is continually affording to them.

“In these circumstances I cannot express to you the anxiety I feel for your being on the spot. I know that such a proposal cannot be agreeable to you. No man is more sensible than myself to all the motives which must make you reluctant to it. But on the other hand the importance of it is so great that I cannot forbear to press it upon you. It is not for this or that particular object that you are wanted, but because every day and every hour brings forth fresh circumstances on which I feel the utmost anxiety to have the benefit of your assistance.

“The purport of this very conversation I had anticipated, and would have given anything to have had the means of referring to your judgment as to the nature of the answer I should give to it.

“I have decided, in the event of the Duke of Portland’s death, to stand for the Chancellorship of Oxford. It is too long to explain by letter the reasons of my decision. I believe they are right even if I should fail, which is certainly, to say the least, very possible. But I have considerable hopes of success, and I shall be much obliged to you for any assistance you can give me. But *come*, and that will be in this, and in every thing else the greatest of all assistance.” *Copy.*

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 27. Stowe.—“I do not resist the concurrent opinion of yourself and of the bishop, and therefore I write to the Bishop of London, although I do not hope any good from it. I write also to Lord Spencer to canvass Lord H. Seymour, and to Lord Stafford. I have not heard from Charles, which makes me fear he is not at home, but I can add nothing to what I said, which in addition to your own letter to him will certainly produce all that he can produce, if that be anything. I have a very handsome letter from Richards pleading a thirty year’s intimate friendship with Lord Eldon as a reason for his not canvassing against him, though nothing

shall induce him to canvass against you ; if Lord Eldon is not the candidate he will be absolutely devoted to your wishes ; but if he is, Richards must then do nothing. My brother has full promises from Lady Downshire ; he refers you to Temple for Lee, as that is the only channel ; but he can do nothing with Purefoy who quarrelled with Temple about Hampshire ; the other Purefoy is dead. Mr. Barnard has sent no lists as yet. Lord Sidmouth's visit and conversation must be a little curious, and will make some speculation, but none that will not be rather useful than prejudicial."

*Private.* MOST REVEREND DR. MILNER, V.A. to SIR J. C. HIPPLISLEY, M.P.

1809, October 28. Wolverhampton.—*Extract.*—"It is true, that four or five years ago, I wrote to sound *Cardinal Borgia*\* on the subject of a Royal interference, and that I communicated his answer to the *Irish Catholic Prelates* last year, some of whom very improperly laid it before some of the lowest of their scribblers, who garbled and misrepresented it in the newspapers. The sum of what he wrote was 'that the King of Prussia had heretofore solicited in vain *Benedict xiv* to enter into a *concordat* with him, the thing itself being without example ; that it was inconsistent for a Catholic King to choose even among Grand Vicars appointed by the Prelates ; but that there was less difficulty about a *pure negative*, provided there were *due precautions* to prevent its becoming, in fact, a *positive power*. Nevertheless, that there did not appear to be a necessity or good cause for any innovation at all, as the loyalty of the Bishops was unimpeachable ; finally that there was no objection to us Vicars Apostolic becoming Ordinaries ; if the thing were desired.' I earnestly hope (if another *contretemps* is to be avoided) that the Veto may not be again talked of. The Irish Bishops wrote to me that nothing short of a solemn Act of Government will induce them to reconsider their last resolution ; and five parts in six of them, I can take upon myself to say, would, if ever thus called upon, declare the measure to be *inexpedient*. The grand obstacle however is the indisposition of nine-tenths of the Catholic laity ; they say that too much has been parted to England already, particularly in the Union, and that nothing more ought to be granted, especially as the measure proposed looks like an attempt to buy off their clergy. Some of the prelates are very much displeased at the publication (at the end of the debate on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Grattan's motion) of their resolves in 1799, into which, they say, they were tricked by the promises of Lord Castlereagh.

"I lament that so faulty a report of the debates on Mr. Grattan's motion should have been published by some

\* Then Prefect of the *Propaganda Fidei*.

of our Catholics; and that, besides, the resolves of the English Catholics (falsely said to be in the Museum) *that Pandorean box of all our internal divisions*, should appear in the appendix."

*Postscript.*—"Mr. Reeves has favoured me with another letter. Count [Taffe] is gone on an errand from *Government* to the Continent. I can take upon myself to affirm that it was a Scottish priest, one Mr. Robinson, who was employed by Government to induce Romana and the Spaniards in Germany to declare against the French."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 28. [Stowe.]—"I have written immediately to my friend Rose, but I have been so very ungrateful that I have quite forgot who or what he is, and for fear of mistakes have sealed the letter and sent it (with the direction of Carshalton near Croydon) to my son, who will ask Eden whether he is Dr. or Revd., Mr. or Esq., and will frank it to him so that no time will be lost. I have sent to Holloway for his namesake and nephew of Exeter College, and I have applied a second time through another channel to Fernor of Frismore for Windham's vote. I have seen Hodson, who is very confident, and I have taken the liberty to lodge in his hands for the use of Brasenose College, a thousand pounds to enable the College to pay any post-chaise or stage-coach expenses that he may think right. You will remember that to this bribery or corruption you are no party, and the first use of it will be to bring two votes from Edinburgh. I hope all is now safe, but I cannot allow myself any gratification so complete as that of assisting your success even by two votes."

LORD GRENVILLE to VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

1809, October 28. Dropmore.—"I wrote yesterday as full an account as I could to Lord Grey, Lord Holland, and my brother of what had passed between us, and I mentioned that I had your authority to make this communication to them and to Lord H. Petty. Had I retained a copy, I would most willingly have transcribed for you that part which spoke of my answer to what you mentioned respecting my letter to Mr. Perceval.

"It was in substance 'that I saw no ground to impute ambiguity to that letter; that the *principle* on which this Government *was formed*, and to which I had uniformly objected, was that of giving effect to the demand of an un-constitutional pledge. And that by acceding to this Government I must myself have become a party to that principle.'

"This you will not understand as here expressed with the precision and caution of a *public* and *written* explanation on so high and delicate a subject, but as a short summary of a friendly and confidential communication.

“Should any circumstances, as it is by no means impossible, lead to my explaining myself in public on this subject, I must do so with all the attention and care which the unceasing misrepresentation of all my words and actions on this subject must naturally inspire.

“I shall be anxious to hear that you have not suffered from your excursion, and that your apprehensions of a return of your complaint have not been realised.

“I beg you to be persuaded that the papers which you communicated to me could leave but one impression on my mind, that of astonishment at the nature and purport of the overture made to you, and of the propriety and temper with which you had conducted yourself in consequence.” *Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, October 29. Stowe.—“Under the restrictions mentioned in your letter to Lord Grey, I did not think myself at liberty to say anything to my brother of Lord Sidmouth’s communication to you, and I have returned you by post your letter to Lord Grey, which appears to me to be precisely what was best to write. You could not in my opinion make any other answer to Lord Sidmouth than what you made, without more affectation of mystery than was becoming or useful; at the same time I must however observe that his proceeding does not appear to me to be quite correct; he might very well think that the general tenor of his answer might authorise his making to you a confidential communication of it, to which he might feel the more disposed from the very offensive frankness of Perceval’s language to him; but I cannot think Lord Sidmouth in any degree entitled to consult his own convenience in putting to you by anticipation questions obviously of the greatest delicacy, and subject to very considerable embarrassments; nor does it seem to me that he derives any claim for pursuing this very close examination, from the mere consideration that a knowledge of your intentions may assist him in forming his own. I am something more jealous upon this point with respect to him, from the strong persuasion of my own mind that the object which he is driving at in these discussions with you, is precisely that which it is the intention and interest of the Court to pursue in concert with Lord Sidmouth; and therefore, though I would not have the air of concealment or mystery, I should be cautious of admitting such a course of interrogations as could only be justified, if at all, by the direct authority of the Crown to Lord Sidmouth, or by the confidence arising from a community of sentiment; neither of which ingredients are, as far as I know, to be found in Lord Sidmouth’s catechism, or in his notions of the primary duty of setting the King’s mind at ease. I am still persuaded that a short time will send Lord Sidmouth to you with an official or an authorised enquiry upon the same subject, and I do not wish

either him or those who send him to have the advantage of coming to school to you to get their lessons beforehand.

“With respect to Oxford, my brother has as yet no other lists than those, 1807, the copies of which cannot be worth multiplying. I delight in the Archbishop’s letter; and have written a long letter to thank him for the manly and liberal expression of his opinions concerning you, civil and religious, which are, as I think, very honourable to himself and likely to be very useful to you. I have likewise written to thank Richards, whose letter you will return to me with that of his correspondent, from which I suppose the Duke of Beaufort will at least be the Court candidate. I think with you that delay is an advantage to our opponents. I take for granted that your active friends will complete beforehand the appointment of a committee to carry on the election, and will have decided who is to propose you, and will in every respect be quite ready furnished to start as soon as the vacancy happens; and I wish this the more because it is evident that the enemy has as yet no settled plan, and that you are likely to have very great advantage from the early activity of your friends. Did you write to Charles as well as myself? What can have happened that I hear nothing of him? I wrote to Lord Spencer to canvass Lord H. Seymour; you should write a line to Lord Jersey about the Bicester man, for Lord Buckingham knows nothing of him. I wrote on Friday to the Bishop of London. Is it not worth while for you to write a line to the Archbishop of Canterbury to say that, hearing your friends’ intention to be to nominate you, you think it a respect to him that he should hear this from yourself; and perhaps the same to Bishop of Ely. You will know this best; but I should advise every possible communication with the whole bench of bishops, in order to remove the notion of their being considered, as of course, to be hostile to you. I will write a line to Windham to canvass Malone for Boswell, and I will write to Golding as soon as I know how to direct to him. I see a Finch of All Souls has a vote; I do not know him, but I should think a line from you to him, as a relation, would be better than any application to Lord Aylesford.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the VERY REVEREND DR. HODSON,  
Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.

1809, November 2. Dropmore.—“Lord Buckingham has communicated to me your letter in which you speak to him of your interesting conversation with the President of Magdalen, a man whose character gives the greatest weight to his opinions, even independently of that which belongs to his high station in the university. The favourable opinion which he is pleased to express of my general pretensions to the honour which I am soliciting cannot but be in the highest degree flattering to me, whatever be the result of the

particular contest in which I am now engaged. On the subject on which he appears to hesitate, I have, I know, been greatly misrepresented; but I must not for the sake of removing such impressions, even in the most respectable quarter, commit myself in any manner at all inconsistent with my real opinions, or possible future public duty.

“Until the Union with Ireland, I resisted all applications for farther indulgence to the Catholics, beyond what had been conceded in 1793; believing that, under the then separate and independent constitution of that country, such indulgencies might be injurious to the establishment there.

“After the Union I concurred with Mr. Pitt, a warm friend, but not more so than myself, to the established church, that what it had before been necessary to refuse might then be with safety conceded; but accompanied always by such securities and safeguards for the interests of the church as might remove all apprehensions for that object, to which no public men ever were more sincerely attached. Our plan for this purpose we never were permitted to bring forward, and the Government was changed.

“At a subsequent period Mr. Pitt (acting I am confident to the best of his own judgment) thought himself at liberty to engage that, although retaining his opinions, he would forbear to act upon them. This engagement I then declined; and when it was again unexpectedly proposed to me at the close of the last Government, I was compelled by my own sense of duty to adhere to the same refusal.

“This conduct was then construed, and the same misrepresentation is now repeated, as a determination at all hazards to force, as it is called, the conscience of the King. But no two things are, in truth, more widely different than the declining to promise *never* to bring forward such an opinion, and the having determined to act upon it rashly, and at all hazards.

“The agitation of this question in Parliament has at no time been the act of my choice; it has been the act of the Catholics themselves, frequently against my expressed opinions, never by my instigation or advice. When they have decided for themselves to apply to Parliament, I could as an individual, not in office, act in no other manner than such as was consistent with the sincere, though perhaps mistaken, belief that this measure may be so combined with others as to produce not danger but increased security to the established church, with whose interests I have ever held that every other part of the constitution is essentially connected.

“In the late overture made to me by Mr. Perceval for acceding to the present Government, my objection was rested on the principle which I have already described. I am satisfied that by acceding to this Government I must make myself a party to such a pledge as I have already described; a measure

to which no public man can, I think, in duty or in conscience lend himself as the price of acquiring or retaining office. This opinion by no means depends on the merits of the particular question to which such a pledge is applied. It would have been the same if Lord North had been required *never* to propose, under any circumstances, the independence of America, or Mr. Pitt never to acknowledge the French Republic. The pledge itself would be a promise to violate my oath of office, an engagement not to advise the King to the best of my judgment according to the exigencies of the times and the interests of his people. Not one word passed on the late occasion as to the conduct which it might be proper for the King's Government to pursue now, or hereafter, respecting the Catholics of Ireland, under all the various difficulties with which this question is surrounded. No such subject was propounded to me for consideration, much less was any opportunity afforded to me of explaining myself upon it. Nothing therefore can be more absurd as well as more unjust than the imputing to me, as is now done in the public papers and communications of the Ministers, declarations of a character and tone very different, I trust, from the whole course and tenor of my life.

“That pledge which I thought myself bound to decline giving to the highest authority, and for purposes for which none of the King's subjects is more anxious than myself, no one, I am sure, will ask me to give in order to promote any personal object of my own, however interesting to me. Neither would I wish in any manner to imply that I am less strongly persuaded than I was of the perfect safety to the established church with which measures might be proposed and judiciously combined for conciliating the great body of the Irish nation. But this I can with perfect truth declare, that in every consideration which I have ever given to the subject, the security of the establishment has been one of the leading and most prominent features to which my attention has been directed. Of this I never have for a moment lost sight; it formed an essential part of the original plan conceived by Mr. Pitt and myself, when acting together on this subject. It has been mixed in every proposal and every statement I have ever made respecting it, and is, in my judgment, inseparable from it. Such would still be the principles which would influence my conduct if ever I should again be called upon officially to consider what steps ought or ought not to be taken respecting it, and at what time or under what circumstances of accompanying arrangement; a consideration which could not be fully examined or decided upon, in justice to my own character or to the public interests, without a reference to the circumstances of the time in which the deliberation is to be entered upon, and to all the various particulars of our foreign and domestic interests as then subsisting. What may be the decision of the President of Magdalen

as to his conduct in the present contest, it is not for me to anticipate. Sure I am from all I have heard of his character that it will be the result of his own unbiassed judgment. But, be this as it may, I must at all events feel obliged to him for the opportunity of setting myself right, as I trust, in his opinion on many points on which I have been misrepresented; and I must also feel greatly flattered by his expressions of general esteem and good opinion." *Copy.*

EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 3. Howick.—“Your last letter makes it unnecessary for me to trouble you with all the numerous and substantial reasons, as I thought them, both public and private, which I was marshalling to convince you that there could be no real necessity for my going to town at this moment. I certainly will be with you according to my promise some time, that is two or three weeks, before the meeting of Parliament. I have not yet got a house; but as I think the present prorogation, being to the 12th of December, makes it clear that Parliament cannot, on account of the new elections, meet for business before Christmas, I hope I shall be able to provide myself with one in time. But, at all events, I will not delay longer than I have mentioned, and I shall be much obliged to you to give me the earliest notice of any certain information you may obtain with respect to the day to be fixed for the meeting.

“It is impossible that anything could be more judicious than your answer to Lord Sidmouth. I regret, as you know, your having introduced any allusion to the Catholic question in your answer to Perceval, and I should perhaps have had some doubts of the expediency of making a formal communication to Lord Sidmouth of what passed respecting the overture unless your mind is made up to invite him to take a part in your government, if you should be called up to form one. But, having by these circumstances given him a sort of right to put to you the question that he did, I think, as I have already said, that it could not be answered better.

“I suspect you will have other applications from some of our friends on the same point; and indeed, whether you have or not, it is so much for the advantage of our enemies to bring forward, that it is vain to think of keeping it in the background, desirable as it might be to do so, even on the first days of the session. It is therefore undoubtedly of the first importance both that we should have a thorough understanding with one another on this point, and that we should be agreed as to the language to be held upon it to our friends.

“Upon the question itself I cannot imagine the possibility of any difference between us. I feel confident that you must think, as I do, that we could not take office under an engagement, either expressed or implied, not to bring forward *any* measure in favour of the Catholics, without a complete



sacrifice of character, which would enable the Court to avail itself of the first favourable opportunity, for which it would be constantly on the watch, of turning us out, after having deprived us of the means of again becoming either formidable to its own system, or useful to the public. The power therefore of proposing measures for the settlement of this question being, as I assume it, a *sine quâ non*, the next consideration is in what state or under what limitations such measures are to be proposed.

“Here I should say that we ought both to profess and to feel a disposition to give effect to all such regulations as, without danger of defeating the end we have in view, may tend to give satisfaction, as the cant is, to the King’s conscience, to obviate the public prejudice, and to provide real or even ostensible securities for the church.

“I do not know that we can do more than hold this kind of general language at present, except with respect to the single article of the *veto*; subject to which condition, as well as to some other regulations of the same nature, I should have no hesitation in saying not only that the concession of the question would be satisfactory to me, but that it would not even be desirable to carry it without them.

“The result of these considerations in my mind therefore is that, when questioned by our friends, we should declare that we never can consent to take office if a bar is to be put to all consideration of the Catholic question; but that we should feel an anxious desire to annex to any measure which we might propose upon it all such guards as could with any propriety be required, either for the ease of the King’s mind or for the security of the church.

“I have been led to say so much at this moment on this subject both by a letter I have received lately from Tierney; and by what I have heard of discontents and complaints amongst some of our friends on the country’s being left exposed, as they say, to all the mischiefs of such a government as the present, because we insist on a point which it is known can never be carried during the King’s reign. The effect of this language, if it continues to prevail, cannot be doubtful, and with a hope that it may tend to obviate it, I have been induced in writing to Tierney to state in the most positive terms my own determination, even if it should be against the opinion of all my friends, not to take part in any administration which is not allowed to bring forward measures for the settlement of a question so indispensable, as I think it, to the security of the empire.

“I certainly had begun to think that Perceval would not be able to find even names for the different offices, and he certainly has not found much more. I am not however by any means so confident as many appear to be, that even *this* administration will not be able to struggle through the next session.

“I have no doubt that your determination to stand for the Chancellorship of Oxford is right, and I heartily wish you success. I wrote to Mr. Bigge on first hearing of your determination. I have not yet had his answer, but, whether the vote is in himself or his brother, I hope you will have it. If the Chancellor is your opponent, there may perhaps be some danger with respect to the latter, as he is a lawyer. I have also written to my brother to exert himself with his friends; and if there are any other means by which I can assist in this object, you have only to point them out to me.

“Have you seen the papers that have passed between the Prince and the Ministers with respect to the payment of the Princess’s debts? What do you think of Perceval’s having avowed to Adam that a fund in the Treasury of 10,000*l.* for secret service (I don’t know what this fund is) had been exhausted in buying up the pamphlet which he had printed when we were in office respecting the Princess’s case?”

[WILLIAM WICKHAM] to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 3. Oxford.—“I send the enclosed from Charles Hayes, not as containing anything new, but as expressive of personal good will, and as bearing an additional testimony, if any were wanted, to Dr. Goodal’s desire to serve your lordship.

“The attack upon the Eldons has fully answered its main purpose. I think it now quite impossible that he should retire from the poll.

“The paragraph that Hodson sent your lordship last night for insertion in the *Morning Chronicle*, rests partly on his own, partly on University feelings. The latter are very strong, and Woolcombe in particular is most anxious that the disavowal on our part should be complete. In point of policy we ought to abstain from writing in the newspapers, because those to which our friends have access, have no circulation in the university, nor in the country at large; whereas the *Courier*, in which the answers are inserted, is read probably by nine-tenths at least of our outlying voters, and by every resident member of the University. I wish your lordship would read the Cobbet? of yesterday on the subject of Ireland. It seems this paper is only the beginning of a series on that subject.

“The Eldons were making a frightful progress the whole of last week. I think they begin now to be at a stand, and Woolcombe’s list of last night would contain two or three transfers of E’s. to B’s.

“I have only seen Matthews for a moment, as he has, I believe, four churches to attend to-day, after having passed the two last nights on the road. He is a most useful and indefatigable friend.

“As it seems quite clear that we can hear nothing new to-night respecting agents and conveyances, I shall go to

Cuddesden this afternoon to meet Dr. Pett, and, I hope, Wood of Christ Church, who is very zealous.

“The Duke of Beaufort’s friends here persist in their declarations that they will stand the poll. I cannot help thinking that they gain ground, though they must be still very far indeed behind Lord Eldon. I am going now to Woolcombe’s to look over his list, and will send you the result from Cuddesden.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, November 8. Cleveland Square.—“Upon receiving your letter I sent back my chaise; and will stay here till Saturday, on which day I promised to meet Tierney at Dropmore. His general notions seem to be full of some appeal to the party at large, or to a large part of it’s leaders, upon the necessity of convincing the Catholics of the impropriety of now urging their claims; and he thinks their consent may be readily obtained. I have always answered him by saying that any interference of us or of our party for this purpose at present would be so suspicious, and liable to such misrepresentation, as would over-balance any speculation of advantage. This he admits in some degree; but says that he knows of no question in politics that is not comparative; and that if the King and the country are as adverse as he believes them to be to the Catholic question, there can be no duty so strong as to prevent that question being put by; and that he does not know on what principle opposition to this Government can be justified, if the course taken by their opponents renders it impossible for those opponents to form one. This is the general turn of his mind, in perfect amity and harmony with us, but with a strong impression and a desire to act upon that impression. I think too I see an inclination in him to resume the idea of Lord G. Cavendish being the leader; and I perceive him a little less inclined than formerly to the idea of Lord Henry Petty. We shall talk this over on Saturday.

“Your committee here is numerous and actively attended, with more business and less coffee-house conversation than I could have believed. Wood and Heber have both been there the greatest part of the day. I have called in Wimpole Street on Bishop of Norwich, but missed him. I still teach myself to think that the suffering your letter to get into print would on every account be very desirable, you first sending a copy to the Prince. It would cut away from Perceval’s feet the only Catholic ground he has to stand on.

“The letters from Archbishop of York and from Trentham are as good as one can wish; but it is evident they did not know of the Duke of Beaufort when they wrote. I have written to Trentham to say distinctly that I hope they will not let Lord Granville Leveson persuade them or the

Archbishop to relax in their useful and powerful exertions for us ; so I have spoken plainly enough at least.

“ You say nothing of Bishop of Durham or Bishop of Winchester or Lord Bridgwater. Heber tells me he hears that the Eldonites are very much cowed in Oxford ; and he expects them to coalesce, as well as they can, with the Duke of Beaufort. This is what I most fear. *Lord Northesk* has got promises from Mr. Ballard, and Mr. Charles Richards. G. Heathcote has no vote ; he has also written to Mr. Marsh, of Crawley, whom he expects to get.

“ *Commissioner Grey* has got Sangar of Oriel at Bristol.

“ *Tucker* has writ to and expects to get J. K. Fletcher, of Alban Hall, Callington, Cornwall.

“ You will see by my letter of yesterday that Bishop of London has neutralized Randolph of Corpus, who had promised his college for Duke of Beaufort.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 9. Cleveland Square.—“ Temple writes to you and sends a list with the evidence of the numbers that are here conceived to amount to 287. My Trentham letter speaks of the Duke of Beaufort being a candidate, but makes no other remark except desiring a continuance of any suggestion can assist your interest ; and the letter to me which satisfies you from the Archbishop leaves all this as well as can be. I see too that you are sanguine ; the only *per-contra* letter that I have seen is from Shuttleworth of New College to Lord Holland, which states his opinion to be that the Duke of Beaufort will succeed. I have a letter from Lord Egremont full of expressions of kindness to you and to me, though mixed with very adverse political opinions ; I send it for your reading, but you must return it, as I mean to answer it. I cannot yet guess what is the mischief of your Government to which he alludes ; tell me if you can guess, and return his letter. Your opinion may be right about not printing your letter, but I confess I retain the same persuasion, and continue to believe that it would be useful to make it more public. What I propose for your consideration is to send it at least directly to Lord Grey, and to ask his opinion about giving it more publicity. Lord Foley passed all morning at your committee yesterday ; Holland desires you may invite him to dinner ; he complained two years ago that none of your Government had taken any notice of him. Send back Egremont’s letter.”

#### THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to THE SAME.

[1808,\*] November 10. Stowe.—“ I have been very negligent indeed in having delayed so long the acknowledgment of your kind recollection of me in sending me a turtle, which was indeed a more valuable present than you imagined, for it missed H.R.H. the P[rin]ce of Wales by one day, and has

\* Assigned in error to 1809.

fed me for the last month when I could eat nothing else. I have been very unwell all the autumn, and indeed almost ever since I left London, and to this moment have lost my sleep and my appetite. I think that I am now regaining a little more of the first, but as yet I cannot taste meat and very little of game or poultry, but I live entirely upon gruel and milk, and have left off all idea of forcing what is not to be forced. I feel rather weaker than I should, both in body and in mind; but I hope that I shall do well, and as I am not violently reduced by this diet, there is no medical defect.

“I have considered the matter of the Irish Catholics with great attention, and I do not think there is much real difference between us, except that I think you view the possibility of bringing forward that question more sanguinely than I do, who think that they have thrown themselves back so many years, in the eyes of those to whom they must look, that it will not be possible under any circumstances to flatter ourselves with the hopes of healing the rankling animosities of the whole of Ireland, and of part of England on this subject, for a very good length of time. All the old cry or opinions upon mental reservation, upon equivocation and Jesuitism, are revived by this atrocious and treacherous cowardice of the Irish R[oman] C[atholic] Prelates. It is idle however to rail or to act in such a business under the impressions of feelings such as naturally must occur to every one; and after the best and coolest consideration I can give, I am decidedly of opinion that we shall have, under other circumstances than those that now exist, the full co-operation of the Irish Catholics, and all their consciences on this matter at our feet, long before it would be possible for us to hope that the temper of Parliament would bear the proposition, or would entertain any specific plan for this relief. I therefore wish for the object that alone presses upon my mind in this matter (I mean the object of healing the wounds that both countries have suffered) that the door should not be understood to be shut by these resolutions, but that every facility should be given to a new course of opinions and declarations so soon as the thing should be ripe for moving. With these impressions I have laboured to make them explain the word *expediency*; and you will have seen that their Primate (a very weak and timid old man) has been induced to declare in his letter to Lord Southwell and others, that the resolutions in question refer to ‘existing circumstances,’ and I am told that others will speak out more strongly on the same text, which may be defended, but which in truth is not very good ground; though upon the whole it is the best that can be taken in a matter in which they have behaved so scandalously.

“I have heard the whole story of Mr. Ponsonby’s letter to Dr. Milner, for the latter came here on Wednesday very much ashamed of his Irish brethren, and very heartily sorry for the publication in the *Morning Chronicle* of that very

improper letter written by him to Mr. Coyne, and published without his knowledge or consent. The letter, written and printed in the Waterford and Cork papers, refers to Ponsonby's most childish nonsense, of the King being by this negative the virtual head of the Catholic-Irish-Church; a declaration on which so much clamour had arisen, that Milner was induced by the reproaches of friend and foe to the very injudicious and unpardonable step of printing the letter in question. It is most certain that in Ponsonby's first speech, to which Milner and Lord Fingall's acquiescence refers, this objectional phrase was not used, but it was used by Ponsonby in *explanation* late in the debate. I must say that I never saw a man more hurt than he is by the very plain and very angry declarations which I made to him. He professes the most unconditional respect and deference to your opinions, and has prepared a draft (to which I would be no party) stating in the plainest terms the authority under which the Parliamentary debaters who had communicated with him had acted, and avowing that warrant and authority in the strongest words; adding at the same time his opinion unchanged on the thing itself, and his persuasion that the resolutions are and were temporary and refer to 'existing circumstances' that may alter. This is the general tenor of his paper on which I refused to give him any opinion, save that, of being clear and explicit. I have however told him that the ferment of opposition against him and his brethren left him, as I believed, no hopes of any one measure of relief, or even of Parliamentary support. And this is of less consequence, as he tells me that Keogh will not hear of a petition to Parliament, and, as he is all powerful, his *veto* will be decisive.

"It remains therefore for us to tide over this difficulty as well as we can, looking (perhaps at a great distance) to our ultimate object, which I verily believe is the only step that can save both countries. But it is obvious that many of our friends who consider this as a mill-stone that has already repeatedly weighed us down, will be glad to find this moment for disclaiming those who have disclaimed us. My passions would lead me to go with them, my judgment tells me that we are not justified in playing a stake so very deep as that would be. I have shown Tom your letters; I think him much more eager than I am, and not so discreet in looking forwards; perhaps too I am too sanguine in my hopes of any good ever arising out of these little managements for keeping the door a little open."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 10. Cleveland Square.—"You will see upon Charles's fly-list that Lord Fitzwilliam has been very active; he is now at Milton, and I have sent him a good long Northamptonshire list.

“Lord Foley has been here again to-day and has told me of eleven that he has just written to, and has hopes of. All our accounts state that Lord Eldon’s friends are very feverish and swear that nothing will induce him to give up; what I hear of the Duke of Beaufort sounds as if his withdrawing was the more likely of the two; I confess I am afraid of it in either case, though our lists now swell so much that I am very sanguine if all three should go to the poll. Sturges Bourne has written to Charles to say he does not like opposing friends and shall withdraw his name. Lord St. Vincent says that if you write to Lord Hardwick to employ Sir Joseph Yorke, or to Lord Somers for himself, Mr. Davies of St. Mary Hall who officiates at Fareham will be secured. Temple’s list at this moment is 324.

“Tierney knows by the channel of his confidential friend, that Lord Wellesley is considered as having accepted: his letter is described as saying that he had heard from Canning, but that Canning had deceived him. This is just what I expected. It is moreover suggested to Tierney that the acceptance is by some thought equivocal, and that it refers only to the first situation of minister; but the confidential friend does not himself believe in this, but considers the acceptance to refer to the seals that were offered. Tierney thinks he cannot come before Sunday; I shall come probably to-morrow for two days.

“Sir R. Wilson is arrived at Whitehall with accounts of a great success obtained by the Spaniards over the French, Ney’s army is said to have been routed entirely with the loss of 3,000 men, and all the French artillery, and the city of Salamanca.

“Abercrombie tells me that you have been surprised by Lord Braybroke into the support of a Mr. Walpole at Cambridge, who opposes the body of Lord H. Petty’s interest at Cambridge, and that they are a good deal discontented at this.

“Pray tell my brother that Lord G. Cavendish has this moment told me that the Duke of Portland has declined having anything to do with setting up his brother; I then asked Lord G. Cavendish if their friends had any other candidate and he said none that he knew of, nor did he expect any opposition to Lowndes.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809, November 11. Cleveland Square.—“I think you have mistaken Lord Egremont’s letter, because, though personally kind and friendly, it does not profess activity enough to invite a county list; but I have named Johnson his steward’s son, and two or three of those in your list nearest Petworth; if he swallows this dose graciously, *‘repetatur haustus.’* I have also taken this opportunity of desiring him to explain to me what his objections were to our

Administration. I have pressed this a good deal, though I know not whether it will do any good. We have got Sir C. Pole's brother, but I find the Bishop of Winchester is reported hostile from Butleigh. You never have mentioned Durham, nor Lord Bridgewater. I say all this by letter because, as I find Lord Temple is obliged to go to Dover till Wednesday, I had better stay here where I am of more use than with you, particularly as Tierney cannot go to you to-day or to-morrow. I think all looks well, if both the Court candidates poll, but I have more apprehension than you have of the manœuvres of Eldon. Why should he not poll University and Queen's to rob you of all chance of them, and then decline the poll, which would give a large accession of his other friends to Duke of Beaufort that could not be counter-balanced by any that you could pick up."

*Postscript.*—"Pray be so good as to send my saddle horses and groom to town; do not forget. Lord Foley just says the Dean of Worcester has only offered him neutrality, in consequence of strong previous solicitation; but Lord Foley still thinks he shall bring him up; his son has promised for you."

EARL TEMPLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 11. London.—"I return you your list, answered as well as we can. Striking out the names which have been entered by mistake, namely Annesly, Dr. Conybeare, Glubb, Holford, Dr. King, Griff Lloyd, Dr. Loveday, Maud, *Master of Pembroke*, Vaughan of *Merton*, Smith of *Christ Church*, the number of promises, including this day's receipt, is 330. You must always allow a *per centage*, but still so must the enemy. I should like to see 430 promises, and then we might defy their united strength should either decline. We have the most positive assurances from the Eldon party this morning that *he* will at all events go to a poll. I cannot however but think this *verbiage*. If Eldon finds himself too weak to carry it, he is too good a courtier not to assist one of that side who can. The *betting* in London is 6 to 4 in your favour. The language in Oxford is that it will be very hard run indeed, but that if all 3 go to the poll, you will carry it. As I came away meaning to return to Dover, I cannot break up my establishment there without returning, but it will be for only three days."

*Postscript.*—"Ley of the House of Commons can get Button Cox's vote, of *Christ Church*."

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE SAME.

\*[1809,] November 13. Stowe.—"I was obliged to leave off before I had finished my Friday's letter to you. I have very little to add to it save that my hopes of seeing on the part of the Catholic Bishops or of their agent any full or adequate declaration such as in justice ought to be made,

\* Should be 1808.



has very much diminished particularly as with respect to D[octo]r Milner, but I have still the same opinion as I expressed to you that it would be wise to encourage the *mot de guerre* of 'existing circumstances' to which it is clear that a large body will rally; but as to any real assistance that can be given to the Catholic question *now*, it is idle to expect our friends to abide by us upon it, or the people at large to bear with it, after a conduct which, abstractedly from all other considerations, has revived all the odious and execrable tenets imputed to that church. I quite agree with you on the necessity of showing to the public the grounds (in the shape of the Bishops' declaration to L[ord] Castlereagh) on which we made our assertion; and I am the more satisfied of this necessity from the extreme pains taken by the Bishops and by the Irish Government to keep it out of public view; and, in point of fact, no copy of it exists in Ireland (as I am told) though every pains has been taken to procure one from the Bishops or from the Secretary's Office. The mode you propose is most obvious, and I have spoken to Mr. — who tells me that *your lot* of 200, and the *more numerous lot* were all ready three months ago; but postponed for obvious reasons to the end of this November. I have directed him to add this (of which I have given him the copy) in the Appendix as No. 6; and you will send him word when and what use to make of your lot; and if you see no reason for postponing the more numerous lot, you will let me know, and I will direct him accordingly.

"I agree with you most fully in the reprobation of the extreme folly as well as mischief of the Court of Enquiry. It is now quite clear that Government mean to save Burrard and Wellesley at the expense of Dalrymple, who will, I think, make out a strong case. At the same time I have seen no reason for departing from my original opinion of the convention; and I wish to God that our Portugal army was even now besieging Junot's 25,000 men in Lisbon, or in and under Elvas, rather than they should now be upon a march of 716 miles to Burgos in the winter, and in the country where I have reason to think that the dearth is such that the Spaniard exists with difficulty. Any reverse must be fatal to our troops so situated, and in other points of view the feeding those men and *horses* with *provisions, hay, and oats*, from England, is a most tremendous consideration. The stake on the turn of this die is most tremendous, and I cannot but fear that Bonaparte has more means and is more capable of using them than his opponents.

"I *know* that the King has been very unwell for the last 12 days; he did not come to town last Wednesday and has missed his rides. He is very desponding on this Spanish question, upon the state of our army there; and the great opposition declaimer of that *circle* is the Duke of Cumberland, who condemns most loudly the whole conduct of the operations

in Spain and Portugal, not only so far as regards Sir H. Dalrymple, but the distribution and move of the force from England, which he lays at the door of *Government* as in contradistinction to the Duke of York. I am told that the clamour against the latter increases so fast with the public that he is alarmed for his situation.

“That of the Ministers is, I agree with you, ruinously divided by every indecent squabble; but they will be supported by the King, and will only fall from some great national calamity which will be irretrievable.

“I am glad to hear that you are setting your face eastward, for much of all [this] is a very ‘delicate matter’ to send by the post. However, all the world is welcome to know my view of public affairs on these two great points, namely the Irish question, and that of Portugal; in the latter of which, however, I foresee that I may be tied down by my affectionate partiality to Sir A. Wellesley to a case not so clear as I could have wished it; and most certainly very ill managed by him, *without concert with Lord Wellesley.*”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 13. Cleveland Square.—“I am told by Mr. Heber that Lord Grosvenor can absolutely influence Mr. Hanmer who owes him great obligations; if so you had better write a line to Lord Grosvenor.

“D’Oyly’s list of *All Souls* just arrived, gives you 21 names, Lord Eldon 8, Duke of Beaufort 10; and yet Somerville of New College, yesterday from Oxford, says that *All Souls* is reckoned against you. They are covering the walls at Oxford with *No Popery*, but the resident voters there are now out of reach of clamour; they have an advantage in so great a majority of resident voters; we beat them, I suppose, to a great extent in out-voters; great care therefore must be taken to make this superiority tell with proper effect. Our news is that Lord Eldon has gained much on the Duke of Beaufort. At Lord Radnor’s table yesterday the most violent abuse of Duke of Beaufort prevailed, and he was accused of breach of word in terms which do not sound like a junction or compromise. All this is excellent. I have set Lord Lucas, Lord G. Cavendish, and Lord W. Bentinck upon the Duke of Portland, but I know not with what effect. Wood tells me that the Bishop of Carlisle will, as he believes, certainly be brought by Bishop of London’s letter, but he is not authorised to say so.

“Grey writes me word that he does not press the Master of University, and Thorp of that college, because he hears they must support Lord Eldon; but I have writ to Howick to beg him to urge them as strongly as he can, and not to forget to ask second vote for Lord Grenville if he cannot get a first, or if they are engaged.

“No news, except that Ward says Charles Stuart told him from the Foreign Office that they have a *Moniteur* account

of a sea-fight in the Mediterranean, where the French lost six ships, and we four.

“Duke of Bedford, Lord Derby, Tierney, Calcraft, Abercrombie, Heber, Eden, Frankland Wood, Lord Essex, King, and others have all been here this morning; we beat them hollow in canvassing.”

EARL TEMPLE TO THE SAME.

[1809, November 13. London.]—“Dr. Philpott of Bath is canvassing for us, but there are two other Philpotts who have votes, and are now only neutral. *Lord Bath* could secure them *all*. Dr. Gibbes of Bath *has* declared that he will vote for *you*, if you apply to him. I do not know whether you have written to the Duke of Sussex. I have, and he has written a most eager answer in your favour. It would be as well if you were to write to thank him.

|             |    |   |
|-------------|----|---|
| Cooke Leigh | .. | Magdalen C.   |
| Townshend   | .. | Do. C.  |
| Cox         | .. | Worcester C.; entered before<br>in Trinity, and erased. |

“Dr. P. Mayo is neuter; there are two other Mayo’s (Oxford authority) one of Oriel C.; the other, St. John’s, lives near Cheshunt, Herts, neuter.

“Extraordinary as it may appear, the fact is that the Princess of Wales is canvassing for you. She writes to-day to two votes for you. Windham is my authority, who dined there yesterday.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1809, November 15. Cleveland Square.—“Proposed postscript to the circular letter which names the day of election. *The personal attendance of every gentleman at the election at Oxford is very earnestly solicited; and it is submitted to their consideration that, as three candidates have been proposed, any arrangements for pairing off are likely to be exceedingly injurious to the interests of Lord Grenville.*”

“The above postscript appears to me to be the best way of giving general circulation to this caution, and I sent it at one o’clock to Camelford House to be sent to you by the coach. I send this by the post to be quite secure of reaching you. I have talked to Tucker about the papers; he thinks it would not be easy to make a paragraph, but he proposes printing the letter and postscript—if you approve it—in the *Times*. I think this is for the best; pray send us word how far you approve, with as little delay as possible. Heber tells me that the Eldonites talk of their numbers as 400, but that he does not believe it. Queen’s going with Duke of Beaufort is—as I suppose—a jealousy of Brasenose, and a fear of your election encouraging Heber’s hopes and strength; so that we have suffered more from Richards than we have gained by him, however handsome his letter was.

“Windham’s answer from Lawrence is that his *personal obligations* to Lord Eldon make it impossible for him to take any other line; and Griffiths, asked for his second vote, tells Windham that the case is highly improbable of Lord Eldon receding, but that, even in that case, Griffiths cannot promise. Anstey has been here full of anxiety for your success and of eagerness to assist; by his advice I have written and sent lists to a Mr. White, of Bath, who, though no voter, offered to canvass for us. Anstey thinks there are two votes at Bath, well inclined but too poor; and I have authorised him to pay their journey, if he can persuade them to go.

“Lady Grenville should get the Gilberts to urge Vye of Exeter College. Duke of Bedford tells me he yesterday saw the Duke of Beaufort’s brother, who said that the Duke had very little chance; but perhaps Queen’s have put him into spirits. Dr. Hodgson writes eagerly about engaging the Oxford coaches from London and Birmingham; I confess I should have thought this a hazardous measure, and capable of giving great offence; and yet Hodgson must be of tolerable good authority upon this. I am myself a little afraid of the effect of this, and so I see is Charles, and Abercrombie and Tucker. You must decide this, and we will do it in any way that you direct; but you must say for what days, and to what extent; I presume that you would not in any case mean to take all the coaches which pass through Oxford; pray let us understand this distinctly. I have proposed to Charles to begin the whole list, noting as they go, the letters to be written in the separate cases of Eldon giving up, or of the Duke of Beaufort; to be prepared in either case.

“Bishop of London tells me we are in a satisfactory state, though not secure against the effect of coalition.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 15. Cleveland Square.—“By a perverse chance I have not got your letter till it is almost too late to answer it. The numbers appear to me to be such as not to afford security, but yet to furnish fair hope of success, if great exertions shall be continued. The zeal and activity of all your London friends exceeds everything that I could have hoped, and the indefatigable industry of Temple and of Charles is really more than could have been looked for under the influence of any possible motive of affection or interest. I do not know how to speak of them on this occasion with the praise that they deserve.

“I am, as I always have been, to the greatest degree apprehensive of a union of interests in such a shape as will give to the remaining Court candidate more than you will be able to pick out of his leavings. The only parry is to make the warmest possible canvass for second votes for you. I have no joy, I must confess, in the declaration of *Queen’s*; and

I think our friends refine too much in this speculation. If they were sure that the Duke of Beaufort will thus be persuaded to stand the poll, they would be right; but do they not see that *Queen's*, being summoned and arrayed in hostility to you for the Duke of Beaufort, are much nearer than they were to the support of Lord Eldon, if the duke should decline? My persuasion is that he will ultimately do so. I believe with you that Temple's lists are of a sanguine description; and I am glad they are so, because he must be sanguine to be actively interested.

"Our post-letters will have told you that one of the two coaches which Temple sent to engage for the three days, had been engaged already; so that you remain possessed of one coach for the three days of 11, 12 and 13, and of one coach for the two days of 11 and 13. I do not understand how they mean to apply these materials, but I suppose that will be directed from Oxford.

"Lord Holland has just been here to tell me that he had written to you to state the disposition of the City to meet and address; and that the three points proposed are:—

1. Early meeting of Parliament.
2. Enquiry into Walcheren.
3. Removal of present Government.

"Holland seems to think that he may be obliged to give an answer to-morrow before he hears from you, and asked my opinion. I could only tell him that, if I was bound to answer upon the instant, my first impression was to think that if a meeting appeared likely to take place, I should think it very desirable that only the two first of these three propositions should be adopted; as the discussion of the third would only bring out all the Cobbett slander upon all the public men of the country.

"Our political difficulties have increased this day, for Lord Lansdowne died this morning. What is to become of the House of Commons? What is to become of the country and of all of us?"

*Postscript.*—"Lord Monson died yesterday; so did Sir F. Eden, one of our votes. Lord Blandford was here to-day, very eager. I sent on your letter to the Archbishop, and I wrote a very strong letter to him myself."

CHARLES W. W. WYNN TO THE SAME.

1809, November 15. St. James's Square.—"I trust that our return to-day, including the new votes acquired, and those substantiated of which you had previously doubted, must increase your strength to above 350. Still I feel that until we have completed 100 more votes we cannot be secure against accidents and stratagems. We must allow full ten *per cent.* deduction considering the distance which the greater part of our voters are to be brought from, and the time of year,

which of itself may render many of the lukewarm less disposed to move.

“I am very glad to hear from several quarters of the extreme irritation of Lord Eldon’s friends against the Duke of Beaufort, and of the public declarations that they must proceed to the poll whatever happens. I am inclined to believe that the duke is the weaker of the two, which I rejoice at as thinking him far the least likely to lend himself to the artifice of a resignation.

“Wrottesley had yesterday a good deal of conversation with one of Lord Eldon’s committee, who spoke very confidently of success, but owned that we beat them in activity and weight of canvass. They received one answer to their circular letter worthy of preservation. ‘I shall certainly give my vote to Lord Eldon, as I look upon Lord Grenville to be a bigger rascal even than his lordship.’

“My uncle Tom desires me to tell you that he has employed Lord George Cavendish, John King, and Lord Lucan all to press the Duke of Portland to apply to the Bishop of Carlisle. Lord George told me to-day that Lord W. Bentinck had yesterday promised to speak to Bentinck and Jones, so that I trust we shall have their whole strength.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 17. Cleveland Square.—“A letter came this morning from Hodgson to Charles to say that Mathias of *Jesus* had been dispatched by him to Birmingham to engage the Oxford coaches there, and to urge Charles to lose no time in securing the two London coaches, outside and inside, called the *Boater* and the *Angel*. Lord Temple has therefore sent Atkinson his servant, whom he describes as an active electioneerer, to secure these coaches for the 11th, 12th and 13th. The expense of one coach is 10*l.*, that of the other is per day 14*l.*, which makes for the three days 72*l.* This is no trifling expense; but Hodgson’s letter urged this so strongly, and rested so much upon it, that I took upon me to authorise Lord Temple to make this prodigal bargain for you.

“If the Oxford letters to-morrow approve of the postscript, it will be printed, and the circulars sent off immediately.

“I enclose to you the answers made by Lord Temple to your queries, and I subjoin two memoranda. On Sunday Lord Temple proposes to verify all the lists; he therefore begs that you will send Saturday’s fly-list either by that night’s coach or by an early Sunday coach.

“If I said nothing to you of the death of Lord Lansdowne, it was not because I do not think it a great evil, but because it seems so great an evil that I don’t know how to look at it. Tierney’s last report of his visit to Whitbread is not encouraging. Duke of Bedford is expected to bring in Lord R. Spencer for Camelford; and Holland is eager for Brome being brought

in by Lord H. Petty, a proposal which one knows not how to resist at the moment that Brome is actively serving us. But what in the name of common sense is to become of the House of Commons? This to me is the most frightful feature of the many terrors that surround us. Temple's list, while I close my letter, amounts to 405. Morpeth, fresh from Castle Howard, says the Archbishop has a visitation some time in December. This is very bad news, if it should stop him."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809 [November.]—"The hurry of the various things which I have been obliged to do in Charles's absence, and Temple's confinement, leaves me very little time to tell you my opinion upon the Catholic petition. Temple however is now well, and there will be leisure enough before the meeting to give to that very important question all the consideration that it deserves. The cursory reading which I have hastily had of the petition does not suggest to me, at the first view, anything objectionable in the terms or substance of it, though it will be obviously necessary to compare it with the last in order to form a better judgment of it. In respect to the two questions of your presenting the petition, and of your moving upon it if presented by you, I see by your letter to Grey that our opinions are very much the same. In the first place I am clearly of opinion that it is not only unnecessary to make an immediate answer to Lord Fingal, but I entirely agree with you further in thinking that no answer whatever should be sent to Lord Fingal till after the 13th; nor is there any difficulty in this, because Lord Fingal's letter is dated from Newry, and announces his future direction to be at Edinburgh 'if you should have any commands to honour him with'; and the distance as well as the doubt of your having any commands for him, remove all impression of his being in any immediate expectation of an answer. I agree too that your answer to Lord Fingal, when given, must refer to communication with your friends; and I think this reserve the more necessary from the strong objection which I feel to the imperative terms of the Catholic meeting, who, in the use of the word 'shall,' seem to consider you as entitled to no choice or decision upon the propriety of your presenting any thing that they choose to put into your hands. When one recollects the total want of consideration which they have ostentatiously manifested to their English friends, one cannot but be very little inclined to make such a complete surrender of one's self into their hands as they seem disposed to claim from us all, and most especially from you, from whom they are least of all entitled to claim it. You seem however to me to have so precisely the same view which I entertain of this subject that I perhaps need say no more than that I concur entirely in every word which you have written to Lord Grey upon this part of the subject, as well as upon that

of the *Veto*. The only observation that I would make in addition is that, though I entirely agree with you as to the difficulty which may arise if the malignant and mischievous Catholics should inflame the *Veto* into a ground of new national discontent, yet I must fairly say that I am disposed to think, upon a point so much surrounded with dangers as the whole of this question is, one must not be diverted from the course which seems the most eligible, and which offers the best hope, by the apprehension of the wilful and wicked mischief which may be worked out by those whose only object it is to separate Ireland from this country in order to place it under the protection of France. Perhaps I should not originally and individually have been disposed to lay as much stress as many people did—and Grey the most of all—upon the constitutional security which is thought to be provided by the *Veto*; but after the agitation of that question, and after the clear and explicit avowal that the *Veto* was not irreconcilable with the religious opinions of the Irish Catholics, after the unanswerable evidence which we have of their having consented to it and acquiesced in it, I do not think we ought to be debarred from the facilities which the *Veto* affords towards carrying the measure in this country, by the mere apprehension of the wicked and base motives which have led the violent party in Ireland to try to recall that opinion; or by the sense of danger if they should inflame the country upon the false and treasonable ground which there is reason to apprehend that they are desirous to tread in. The bad men in that country will always find some topic which they will try to inflame into rebellion. I believe, as far as I am at present informed, that the *Veto* will afford great facilities in England for carrying the measure; I could almost persuade myself, by what I hear, that it will be impossible to think of carrying the measure in this country without the *Veto*; and if that be anything like the truth, as I strongly suspect it is, it would leave me little doubt as to the propriety of making the *Veto* a *sine qua non* if you present their petition. We shall have time after the 13th to talk this over more at leisure.”

EARL TEMPLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1809, November 18. London.]—“We expected to have heard to-day from Oxford respecting the coach plan, and the form of the letter respecting pairing off. The London coaches are engaged; namely one coach 4 insides 10 out, for the 11th and 13th. It was previously engaged for the 12th. Another, 6 insides 12 out, for 11th, 12th and 13th. The form of the letter which you sent, we have had printed. They will go to Oxford by this night’s mail, and from thence will be forwarded to their directions. Government are canvassing for Eldon *versus* Beaufort; Mr. Nott, who had promised the latter, has been transferred to the former.



George Rose is canvassing for Eldon, and the report is strong that these two parties are quarrelling.

"You must write to Dr. Gibbs, of Bath, who says he will answer none but principals; and to Rev. Dr. Lee, of Sandford, Essex. Our numbers to-day are 410. I am, however, very much afraid of pairing off. In all our letters now we canvass for second votes."

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

[1809, November 19.]—"There seems no doubt whatever that the union which we apprehended is looked to with confidence as the means of excluding you. Mr. Heber, the day before yesterday, was told mysteriously that some arrangement would be made to exclude Lord Grenville. Mr. Goodwin, another of our committee, last night saw two gentlemen from Oxford who told him that all was now determined for the defeat of Lord Grenville, as the other two candidates were to compare lists before the poll, and the weakest was to give his strength to the other.

"Mr. Wheatley likewise was told by Mr. Dean that Dowdeswell his brother-in-law, and one of the Duke of Beaufort's committee, had yesterday told Mr. Dean that this same resolution had been adopted which must necessarily defeat Lord Grenville. Mr. Doyley of our committee heard this from Mr. Dowdeswell at the same time. The names which I have stated should not be repeated; but I have stated them to you to show you that the concurrence of these three different reports leaves no doubt whatever as to the designs of our two adversaries. This design must be fatal to our hopes, if it be suffered to take effect without resistance. The only hope that I see of your counteracting this under-plot is, by making public this intention, and by endeavouring to excite so much indignation against it as may render it ineffectual. At the same time, I must own between ourselves that I have very little hope of being able to avert this danger; we shall very easily succeed in making our own friends very angry, but I do not feel at all confident that any but our own friends will be provoked by this intended manœuvre; and unless we can raise a general spirit of resistance we do nothing. Under these circumstances it is judged right to lose no time in giving you the same information which we have had. Lord Temple sends his groom to you at Dropmore, and takes for granted that you will send on to Oxford to make the same communication there; and to consider with your friends whether any and what measure can be adopted to parry this inevitable danger."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809, November 20. Cleveland Square.—"Soon after I received your answer I went to Fulham to the Bishop who is extremely zealous, and who wished to talk over the present state of things. He is persuaded that Eldon is no party to the

idea of compromise with the Duke of Beaufort, but he thinks that George Rose and others are probably preparing as well as they can for inviting the Duke's force to accede to the support of Eldon; and, upon the whole, my present view of things agrees entirely with this opinion, and I quite admit that Eldon cannot decently in any case retire from the poll, after his printed declaration from University College. But my fear all along has been that, in quality of the weakest, Duke of Beaufort would sooner or later resign; and that management will be had by George Rose and other such, to prepare a larger support to Eldon out of Beaufort's force than we may be able to counter-balance. And I conceive the rumours of which we wrote to you yesterday are connected with the notion (not of Eldon's retreat) of the Duke of Beaufort giving way if his numbers shall not be encouraging to him; and the same idea has made me see with apprehension *Queens* declare for Beaufort, because I think that is half way on their road to Eldon, of whom I am more afraid than Beaufort.

"The Bishop sees nothing to be done except to redouble activity for second votes; and yet Hodgson tells Lord Temple, and the Bishop of London confirms it, that people do not like to be asked for a second vote. Bishop of London is, however, upon the whole, very encouraging in his notion of our prospect of success, for he rather thinks all three will poll, and he deems us the strongest in that case. He regards *Queens* as actuated at present only by their calculation of what course will best assist Richards' future election; and hopes, if Beaufort retires, that we may get strength from *Queens*; but what we have heard of the language of the Head of *Queens* lately gives me very little hope of that college in any case. After all, if your account be justified in considering near 600 as still unascertained, that is a rich fund to work upon, and there is time enough.

"You see our Archbishop is now finally decided to come in person. Wellesley arrived yesterday at Portsmouth, in the *Donegal*.

"The Admiralty finds that there has been no action, and that the French fleet got out of Toulon on the 21st, and have escaped Collingwood. They are sending off Brest to try to intercept them there; but Lord Keith tells me he thinks we shall be too late to stop them, and have not force enough to do it. This is a brilliant onset for Croaker?"

CHARLES W. W. WYNN to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 20. St. James's Square.—"I also hear from all quarters representations of the necessity of circulating your letter to Hodson in order to contradict the calumnies of the enemy upon that subject. Mr. Richards has particularly pressed this, and mentioned to me that, at a dinner at Lord Ellenborough's a few days ago, it was positively asserted that in this letter you had promised not again to agitate the

Catholic question. Would it not be at least desirable that Mr. Richards should himself have a copy to show, with the restriction of not suffering it to be copied or to go out of his sight. At present the reported contents of the letter are doing much harm, and I fear that you will at last be obliged in justice to yourself to make it public when it will be too late to counteract its effects. You will see that Mr. Townsend's vote is obtained to-day, and Mr. Ellerton's name has been sent to him by to-night's post for him to canvass.

"I am inclined from what I heard yesterday to agree with you in disbelieving the reports of junction. I saw very leading men, both belonging to the Duke of Beaufort and Lord Eldon, but especially the last, who contradicted it positively; and Richards told me confidentially that the Chancellor had on Friday expressed great personal irritation against the Duke's friends, accusing them of conducting the contest with an ungentlemanlike acrimony and abuse of his private character, of which he entirely acquitted us.

"Can you not get the Duke of Marlborough to neutralise, if not obtain, the vote of Professor Hornsby, and of his son?"

"While I feel I can be of use I certainly will not think of leaving town, but, from what one can at present see, very little can remain to be done after the close of the present week. I should then go down to Wales, and return to Oxford on the night of the 11th."

WILLIAM WICKHAM TO THE SAME.

1809, November 20. Committee Room, Oxford.—"Your letter of this morning was delivered to me a little before seven. I immediately assembled here Dr. Pett, Mr. Woolcombe, and Mr. Matthews, all of whom like myself have dined at a reasonable hour, and after talking the matter over, we have written to the Principal of Brasen Nose, who only sat down to dinner at six, to interrupt his festivities and to request his immediate attendance. In the meantime we who are assembled, having discussed the subject fully this morning with the advantage of the Bishop of Oxford's opinion and advice, are unanimous and clear in our opinion; (1) that it would have been better to have left the voters to find their own way to Oxford; (2) that this not having been done, but on the contrary, measures having been taken in certain parts of the kingdom, and *in part made public*, for transferring that care from the voters to your lordship, it had become expedient to inform all such voters of whatever means had been provided for their conveyance, and to instruct them how and where to apply for information and assistance; and that this resolution could not be affected by the determination of the Vice-Chancellor that the polling should continue for more than one day; (3) that putting out of the question for the moment what your lordship says respecting the proceedings

of Lord Eldon's committee, with a view to a monopoly of post horses, the circumstance of the poll being now to last for more than one day has very much diminished or rather altogether taken away the necessity and the expediency of any *extraordinary* exertions for bringing up your voters; and that no such ought to be made in future. (4) That it will be impossible to carry into execution in a satisfactory manner the measures that may be necessary for informing the respective voters of the means provided for their conveyance in manner above-mentioned, unless the London committee send down here immediately some one or two persons thoroughly acquainted with the measures that have been taken there, and who understand as thoroughly what it is that it is wished to do. They will find some laborious fellow-labourers here, who will work hard in any way that may be desired; but they cannot do the thing of themselves, partly because they do not thoroughly understand it, partly because they meet with practical difficulties in their way that of themselves they are not able to encounter, and which can never be overcome, particularly at this late period, by a correspondence only."

10 p.m. "Having discussed the subject thoroughly with the Rector of Exeter, the Principal of Brazen Nose, and Mr. Woolcombe, we are all of opinion, that the thing cannot be *well* done here unless you send down persons of the description that I have mentioned to carry the plan into execution; and that, after all, it would be much better executed in London.

"The Principal of Brazen Nose undertakes to write to your lordship fully on the subject, whilst I am engaged in writing some letters that cannot be delayed beyond this mail. I must therefore refer your lordship to his letter, and shall only add that Mr. Woolcombe and myself concur in what the Principal says on the necessity of securing post horses, only in consideration of what your lordship has said of horses having been engaged to a considerable extent by Lord Eldon's committee."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 22.—"The post of to-day brought me a letter from the Archbishop of Monday, which tells me that his secretary *thinks* his ordination papers are advertised for the 4th; and, if so, he will attend unless you can excuse him. I have again written to thank him for this, which I treat as a final promise of his attending; and have said that, painful as a long winter journey is to him, I must, as an honest man, press him to that hard service from the conviction which I have of the extreme importance of his personal appearance. I have likewise forwarded your letter to him.

"I enclose a letter of Lord H. Seymour to Lord Spencer to shew you how much more like a man than a Conway he feels upon the Catholic question.

“Eldon’s letter has been sent to the paper with an introduction shorter, and nearer the exact fact, as to the cause of the letter.

“If you have a spare moment, pray write a line yourself to thank the Bishop of London; it will gratify him, and he is so zealous in your cause that it is right to thank him.

“We hear that Lord Eldon was to complain to-day at the *levée* to the King of the Princess of Wales using her influence in your favour in the case of Mr. Loek. This is rare sport!”

LORD GRENVILLE to REV. DR. HODSON, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.

1809, November 23. Dropmore.—“I have this morning received your letter, in which you mention the reports circulated for purposes hostile to my interests at Oxford, relative to the Catholic petition now preparing in Ireland, which it is asserted I am to present. Yesterday I should have answered you that I knew of no such wish existing any where. This morning I learn from the newspapers that the petitioners mean to apply to me for that purpose.

“To present to Parliament a petition if couched in proper terms, and to ground upon it any motion or proceeding for giving affect to its prayer, are two questions perfectly distinct, but which have, I suspect, been a little confounded at Oxford. The truth however is that, with respect to both these questions, I remain, as I before described myself to you, perfectly free to act according to my own sense of duty at the time, whenever any such application shall be made to me. On the step taken by the petitioners in now renewing their petition I never have been consulted; of their previous proceedings I know only, and through the same channels, what has been published to the world; and with the tenor of the petition I am still totally unacquainted.

“My situation and sentiments are therefore exactly what they were when I troubled you with my former letter. They cannot be affected by a resolution adopted without my participation or knowledge.

“My general opinions on the subject are well known; they are to the best of my judgment not only not injurious but very highly conducive to the interests and security of the established church; my warm and zealous attachment to which cannot, I believe, be seriously doubted by any man well informed either of my public or of my private life.”  
*Copy.*

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 24. Cleveland Square.—“I agree with you that the Irish Catholics are provoking enough, and the English Protestants vexatious enough in their proceedings at the present moment; it was, however, so obvious an opportunity for misrepresentation, that I do not wonder that your

enemies with the V[ice] Ch[ancellor] at their head, should begin their Papal clamours again when they read over the last Irish resolutions. The substance of your last answer to Hodgson I do not object to ; if any formal answer was necessarily to be given, or if any such formal question was necessarily to be put to you. It appears to me that after your *first* letter to Hodgson on the Catholic question, your friends would do more judiciously to refer to what you have written than to perplex the cause with renewed questions and examinations. The renewal of a Papal clamour was evidently, from the first, the only manœuvre of your antagonists to fly to : you gave in your first letter an answer quite sufficient to satisfy any fair or candid enquirer ; but having once done that, it is your business and that of your friends to treat the renewal of these fresh attacks as nothing more than a mere election stratagem. I could therefore have wished that Hodgson had seen this in the light that I describe, and had not come to you with so solemn and alarmed an appeal upon a matter that should have been held cheap by him as an election trick, of which he would not make himself the dupe. In my eyes the only danger upon this subject arises from giving way to the desire that your enemies have of inflaming this question by renewed discussions of this sort just before the election. I am so persuaded that my view of this is right that I have not named this *second* ground of controversy to anybody, nor shall I do so ; and if you take my advice you will lose no time in putting Hodgson upon his guard against these insidious provocations, which would fall to the ground and burn out like a squib if you let them alone, but will burn your fingers if you take them up or meddle with them. I return your letter, and have not mentioned it either to Charles or to Temple or to anybody. The *first* letter I will show as opportunity occurs ; but in the present state of the canvass, my advice to you *now* would be to stir those discussions as little as may be. When the letter was first written I was desirous of giving it more publicly, in hopes of deriving advantage to the canvass by it ; but in the present state of votes and promises, I am clear that you are more likely to lose than to gain by these discussions, and therefore it is that they are renewed and brought forward by the enemy. My only answer to all such provocations *now* would be to state them as the last refuge of a beaten adversary ; and where I could not use that language, I would content myself with referring to the letter which had originally been written by you upon this subject.

“ Temple remains in town to look after the committee, and I have desired Charles to write to his brother for leave to continue the committee at his house.

“ Temple is quite indefatigable ; pray write a line to show him that you have a just sense of the invaluable service which he is rendering you.

“Keep your friends at Oxford to a judicious contempt of these fire-and-faggot tricks of the enemy, and we shall have the pleasure both of beating them, and of laughing at them.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 25. Cleveland Square.—“Huskisson has just told Tierney that he, H., had originally betted a guinea upon Lord E[ldon's] success, but that he heartily hoped he should lose his guinea; Tierney's answer was an offer of a guinea bet on you, with the additional remark that he thought you sure, if no trieks should be played of an understanding between the Duke and Lord Eldon; Huskisson's answer was 'that he could venture to say the wit of man could not now bring about any such junction; and that even if the Duke would consent (which he knew the Duke would not) he must in that case be content never to go home to his wife.' This is curious, because you may be sure that what Huskisson says of this, he hears from G. Leveson, and from Canning.

“Lord Camden's cards of thanks for enquiries are out, and *therefore*, as H[uskisson] says, Canning's case will be circulated among all his friends on Monday; and I suppose we shall soon see it in the papers. I had been desired to press Grey to press Mr. Moncrieff, who had been described to us as shabby and hesitating; I have Lauderdale's answer to set this right, and to say that Moncrieff not only attends for us, but has been actively canvassing for us ever since the beginning. Lord Grey, at the end of his reply to some of my lamentations over the House of Commons, agrees with me in my melancholy prognostics, and says he sees no solution unless a good understanding could be established between Whitbread and you, and he ends with asking me if I know on what footing things stand with G. Ponsonby; Lord Grey for himself says *he knows nothing of it*. Very recently Tierney told me that Lord Ponsonby had described G. P[onsonby] as having *told you* that he meant not to attend next session as leader; I never understood you so to have understood G. P[onsonby], and I had desired Tierney to ask from Grey the explanation of this misunderstanding; but now that I see Grey knows nothing about it, I have advised Tierney to write to Lord Ponsonby to beg him to get a letter from G. Ponsonby to show for himself what his own conceptions and ideas are upon this subject; till we know that, we know nothing; when we do know that, we shall have one difficulty the less. The impression of those with whom I talk is that there had better be no question now of any leader; Tierney and Whitbread are the two natural candidates, and though the first in conversation always puts himself out of the question, and perhaps prudently, I do not at all know that the second could be received as leader even if we had no difficulty in seeing him as such. Has it not however occurred to you

that if G. Ponsonby has not as yet distinctly explained his own intentions, he may be tempted to retain his situation of leader now that Petty's peerage has left no rival candidate for the lead except two whom he will consider as not likely to command even so much of party influence as himself. In thinking over these difficulties I have sometimes fancied that the best immediate solution might be if G. Ponsonby should persist in retaining the situation of leader, because that would at least save the question of the choice of any other without furnishing to anybody any new cause of complaint. If this should strike you as it strikes me, perhaps you will agree with me that a few lines from you to G. Ponsonby to make this enquiry would be safer for a hundred reasons than the letting this enquiry pass through the hands of T[ierney] and of Lord P[onsonby] who are both of them too adverse to the person concerned, to be the safest questioners and interpreters of his intentions. At all events I have persuaded myself that in any view of the question, a few lines from you to G. Ponsonby are indispensable under all the circumstances of the case.

"Temple's list an hour ago was 440, and he makes out besides 100 ascertained neutrals, and a close enquiry by Mr. Franklin into the correct list of voters produces only a sum total of 1,280. Now the boast of Lord E[ldon's] is that they have 350 sure promises, and the Duke of Beaufort's friends call themselves a sure 300; but whether these two last numbers are accurate or not, it is clear to me that if the two go to poll, and that we go there with 450 promises and 100 neutrals out of 1,280, there must be gross mismanagement indeed if you do not carry the day.

"This is another reason with me for wishing our Oxford friends to abstain from all discussions in the present stage, and to regard all provocations to new questions as the last stratagem of a beaten adversary."

SIR J. C. HIPPESELY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 27. South Easton House.—"Mr. Phelps of Montacute, has just left me (who left Oxford yesterday morning); he tells me that great management is expected from your lordship's adversaries to keep off your friends, and throw impediments in their way, by securing *post horses for 2 or 3 posts from Oxford*.

"Phelps has been very active among our Somerset voters, and is to give a great party to voters next week at Montacute."

*Postscript.*—"He confirms what I had heard that the Duke of Beaufort's friends begin to be angry at the interference of Government against him; and that he is considered stronger than Lord Eldon."

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

[1809, November.]—"I dined yesterday at Holland House and showed your Catholic letter to Lord H. Petty, Holland,



and Tierney ; they all approve it—the last not particularly—Holland objects to nothing, but says truly enough that he does not admit the necessity for himself of so much stress upon reconciling positive *claims of justice* with the interests of the Church ; but he praises and approves the letter.

“ I am very anxious, however, that you should send it to Lord Grey, who ought to read it for himself and not hear of it from the judgment of others.

“ Brome has read Canning’s statement, and says it does not mend his case in any degree.

“ If Hodgson’s account of residents is correct, it makes us quite sure.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1809, November 26.]—“ Temple thinks your list too much narrowed if you consider the 439, G[renville] as including *all* promises ; but whatever be the state of that question, the numbers are to me in either case perfectly satisfactory.

“ Long has just said at Stafford House that by all he hears he thinks Lord G[renville] sure of success.

“ Taylor of Kensington being canvassed by us for a second vote, writes on 24th to say that a letter of that day from the Duke of Beaufort’s committee shows him that the Duke’s declining at all is entirely out of the question.

“ Duke of Cumberland rode over yesterday to Taplow to urge some friends of Courtenay to make him come for Eldon. Courtenay still says he will not vote at all ; but I tell you this to show you how earnest the Court are.

“ The naval news will be in the evening paper—it confirms the Spanish accounts in this morning’s papers. Nothing escaped but one frigate ; but only 3 of the line, 2 large and 2 small frigates came out of Toulon.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, November 28. Cleveland Square.—“ I am still persuaded that the danger which your friends describe as belonging to the Petition cannot but be prodigiously exaggerated ; and however perverse it may appear, I am satisfied that there would be no danger at all if they would hold these reports cheap, and that if these reports can be rendered really mischievous, it is only by the anxious importance which your friends give to them. Look at the list of resident voters among whom these dreadful impressions are so fearfully looked for, and ask yourself whether in as eager a canvass as this has been, your 60 resident voters, warmed by contention and encouraged by hope of success will suddenly turn round upon you and fly at you instead of voting with you, and this without the temptation of any new political speculation to make them believe this Cabinet more fixed than it was a month ago. One of the great features of your strength in Oxford is in their expectation

of a change of government ; everybody sees and knows that this speculation sustains you against the overbearing influence at Oxford which any fixed government would have ; and what is there that can have happened to change this their expectation ? If you could show me any ground of a new opinion of the permanence of this government, I could easily believe in the shabbiest possible pretences being adopted for pursuing a new interest in the face of an old promise ; but there is none ; no change of opinion in this respect can be operated unless your friends create a new force against you by promising that they will run away at the first mention of Percival's war-whoop of *No Popery*. If they will invite this attack by proclaiming their dread of it, and engaging themselves to run from it, undoubtedly they may easily beat themselves, and leave the field to the enemy ; but nothing short of absolute suicide can in this case give the victory to your enemies. Have your friends forgot that the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London are coming to vote for you in person ; do they not believe enough in themselves to follow the heads of their own clergy ? See, too, the animated eagerness with which this contest has been pursued into the farthest recesses of the country, the new and sanguine hopes of success which your friends have conceived, and then tell me how it is possible that the few remaining days of canvass can undo these expectations, and counteract the promises on which our hopes are founded. The time which is left would not give the possibility of communication enough to change or stop the engagements that have been made. The only possible shape that I see in which the over anxious fears of your friends could help them to defeat themselves would be if these exaggerated terrors should induce the two candidates to join their forces in support of the one or the other. This may be invited by the unwise alarm of your over-timid friends ; and yet I can scarcely believe this possible, for, as late as yesterday, Lord Stafford told me that Lord Granville Leveson had spoken to him of the Oxford election, and had expressed some doubt of the Duke of Beaufort's success, but had added that, if the Duke failed, it was to be hoped that Lord G[renville] would succeed and not Lord Eldon. Entreat your friends to be only quiet till the 13th, and not to stir any new question or invite any new point of controversy ; let them but have the patience to wait for their victory, and the prudence not to run from their enemy upon a false panic, and the success is certain. Everybody here thinks it quite certain, and such accounts as we receive from Oxford describe the same expectation there. Princess of Wales told Windham that she canvassed everybody for you, *because* she could not bear the shabby trumpery cry of *No Popery* ; and very eagerly has she been canvassing accordingly. I am sorry they worry you with all these feverish fears, for I am sure your cause is safe, if your own friends would think so.

“Canning’s case seems to make very little impression ; there is no answer to the plain question why, if he was so constantly impressed with the impropriety of concealment from Castlereagh, why did he not take care that the concealment should be put an end to by his telling him what his opinions were.

“Lord Henry Petty has desired the Chancellor to write to Lady Lansdowne to make the necessary enquiry, and she has as yet made no answer.

“Tierney wrote his letter to Lord Ponsonby ; you do not tell me if you have sent your letter to Grey ; pray do not neglect to send it.”

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

[1809,] November 29. Stowe.—“I hope you agree with me in grieving over the lesson taught to the disaffected in Ireland, by this mismanagement of the trial of Dr. Sheridan, and the exulting on the blow to the No Popery cry, by the verdict of a Protestant jury. I had been assured that the Irish Government was prepared to prove the *malus animus* of the meeting and of the delegates by intemperate declarations prior to, and at the meeting ; and if the jury had found that *malus animus*, the principal of the convention bill would clearly have applied. Judge my surprise at reading the evidence, and at this additional proof of the utter folly of Mr. Pole. The Duke of Richmond expects to be moved, and it is more than probable that this will hasten it. To that, or to any of the other newspaper arrangements, for new governments, I have no objection, so long as your name is not included in a patchwork arrangement such as I am persuaded will be now formed ; at all events, I do not envy the new Ministers any part of their foreign or domestic task.”

R. VALPY to THE SAME.

1809, November 30. Reading.—“The probability of the manœuvre, to which you allude, had early occurred to me ; and I took the liberty to suggest it to Lord Temple, with whom I have had much correspondence on the subject. I have therefore obtained the promise of some of my friends, who were engaged to Lord Eldon, to support your lordship in case of a coalition of your opponents.

“I have omitted no opportunity of exerting the little interest I have ; and I have been far from unsuccessful. The respectable and independent characters who support your cause are a circumstance highly gratifying to liberality.

“I beg you will be persuaded that I shall use every endeavour to increase the number.”

THE EARL OF MOIRA to THE SAME.

1809, November 30. Domington.—“Mr. Pidcocke and the others whom I have secured, will not fail to be at Oxford

by the day fixed for the election. Learning that the Reverend J. Wolfe, Master of Dilham School to which I nominate, had his name on the books, I have ensured his attendance to give his vote for you; though it has been usual for his college to go in a body, and they are in an adverse interest. I lament exceedingly that I was not earlier aware that the power of voting lay with others than the Fellows of Colleges."

WILLIAM WICKHAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, November 30. Committee Room.—“The bishop will write to your lordship all about this foolish business of the visit to the Vice-Chancellor, and the determination taken to make the election last at all events two days. It is not possible now to undo what has been done, we must therefore make the best of it, and consider what good may arise from it. Now it appears to me that, with all its probable evils, it carries with it this obvious advantage that it will serve as a sufficient excuse for our giving up the plan of agents and carriages, and trusting our voters to themselves with the aid of a general circular letter advising them to procure early means of conveyance, and to be here as soon as possible. This at least is the joint opinion of the bishop, Dr. Pett, Mr. Woolcombe, and myself; and also of the Principal of Brazen-Nose, subject to one or two particular exceptions. It is entirely to this proposed plan of agents and carriages, about which a great deal has been said more than the truth, that we owe this unfortunate decision of making the poll last two days.

“We shall not, however, act upon the opinion above expressed until we shall have received your lordship’s approbation; and, at all events, we approve the Principal’s exception, and shall consider well whether it may not apply to more cases than those which he may point out.

“I have got access to Leycester’s letter which commits him distinctly to approbation and support of Lord Eldon; all that I can do therefore will be to insist on his neutrality, and on that I am confident you may rely. I have desired therefore that he may be noted in the books as neuter.

“I am sorry to say that there has been a difference of opinion between Woolcombe and Hodson on a practical point of no light importance, namely the policy of immediately canvassing Lord Eldon’s voters *in the university*.

“The one thinks that we ought to do nothing here *as yet*, and canvass only among the out-voters; the other is clearly of opinion that no time ought to be lost in making a secret canvass at least in the university, and an open one in a day or two. Woolcombe, who is of the latter opinion, mistrusts Lord Eldon’s people altogether, and thinks that they will go in a large body to the Duke of Beaufort rather than support your lordship. Hodson, on the contrary, is persuaded that there will be a strong sense of indignation in the university

in case Lord Eldon should retire, which will turn more to your lordship's advantage than anything that you could gain by a premature canvass. I incline to think with Woolcombe that the Principal is much too sanguine; and if your lordship should continue to have the same opinion on the subject which you seemed to me to have formed last night, you will perhaps do well to express it plainly to Hodson in your answer to the letter which you will probably receive from him this evening. He has construed what you wrote to him yesterday as rather checking an immediate canvass; though to me and to the bishop your words appear to convey a different sense.

"Lord Eldon's committee here is or affects to be very confident, but Wooleombe has no trust in them, and thinks they would most of them do whatever Lord Eldon should desire.

"He is of opinion that if you could gain a hundred of Lord Eldon's voters you would be safe. He reckons only on about 60, but admits that his calculation is made on the lowest scale. I ask of him the average of 3 for every College and Hall, exclusive of Christ Church and the lawyers. Some reckon upon 8 in Christ Church, and you may add what you please for the lawyers not of Christ Church; this will give you  $72 + 8 +$  lawyers, and this number, with the host of neuters that you would necessarily have, will leave a very fair chance of equality at least with his grace.

"The Beauforts have certainly the majority of residents; Beaufort 72 or 73, Eldon 69, Grenville 66."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1809, November 30. Cleveland Square.—"As soon as I received your letter I did all that I could respecting it. I wrote to [the] Bishop of London, Lord Holland, Lord Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Carysfort, Mr. Herbert, Lord Essex, Duke of Norfolk and some others.

"Temple has written to his father, and the whole committee have been incessantly active in canvassing the Eldon voters, for their second votes, and in sending to all our grandees the general description of our apprehension of coalition. In the meantime Mr. Wheatley wrote to Dowdeswell, one of Lord Eldon's committee, and received the enclosed answer which, as you see, disclaims it from authority. Sir T. Plomer too (one of Eldon's committee) told Mr. Wheatley that there was not the least truth in it, 'that Lord Bathurst had earnestly pressed Lord Eldon to give up, but that he had not the least thoughts of it, and that they had just been completing their measures for bringing up their voters.' It seems to me clear therefore that nothing is concluded upon this subject, but as the Court will move heaven and earth to throw you out, I still feel that some coalition will to the last be urged by the Court, and perhaps the King will himself be urged to press Lord Eldon to give way. I therefore think it quite

right to continue the canvass for *second* votes, upon the avowed apprehension of intended coalition. This must be our safest course, and is not only the likeliest to prevent it, but the safest remedy against the consequences of the mischief, if it should happen.

“ Temple is impatient for the Oxford arrangements respecting the bringing up the voters, for we have heard nothing to-day from Charles. My bachelor notions are not as sentimental as they might be if I was married ; I heartily wish Charles back again, for he knew so much of all the names that he saved much laborious research, and his loss cannot be supplied.

“ I quite agree with you in thinking Lord Buckingham’s determination, as far as it regards you in this election, liable to some misrepresentation ; at the same time, as I have long known that his opinion and that of Lord Temple had long ago been expressed in the same sense, I cannot wonder that, with his ardent and eager wish to serve you, he should express what he honestly feels when he believed that expression could assist you at Oxford.

“ I am myself jealous of the slightest word respecting the Catholics being imputed to you as arising from the Oxford canvass, and in that view I had rather this should not have now been done by my brother, because no man will separate your opinions from his in this particular view. There are other reasons which, at another time, would have led me to think this language rather desirable than not from Stowe, where so much is imputed to a Catholic sense.”

F. HODSON, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 1. Brasenose College.—“ As soon as Mr. Wickham communicated to me your lordship’s view of the possible attempts that might be made to disturb the election, on the score of the adjournment being unstatutable, I waited, with his concurrence, on the President of Trinity, and the Master of University, and have received from them both the most distinct and explicit assurance that they would discountenance and counteract any such attempt. The former told me that the same difficulty had crossed his mind, and that a few minutes before I entered the room he had been conferring with the Provost of Queen’s, who assured him that the Vice-Chancellor was unhesitating both as to his power and his determination of adjourning.

“ The Master of University, and (though I think he has not been, like himself, *simplex duntaxat et unus*) I believe him, declared that his only object was to afford a better chance of arrival to their distant voters ; and that if they could have been assured of their being actually here on Wednesday, he should not have wished for an adjournment. If no resignation should take place before the 13th, and your lordship should not think the precautions that were promised sufficient

to prevent collusion, we have further means of prevention in our power by polling only a certain proportion of our force the first day, and thereby concealing its real amount.

“I am fearful that a direct canvass here would give serious offence to the friends of Lord Eldon, who certainly do not contemplate his resignation. Perhaps, however, we are deferring to them too much; and if your lordship thinks there is nothing to hope for from the governing part of University College, I should feel liberated from a great restraint, and would commence an active canvass at once.”

*Postscript.*—“The Vice-Chancellor rates the members of Convocation at 1,305, the Master of University at 1,289. Both calculations are, I think, exaggerated.

“I have written to Mr. Carey requesting him . . . to favour us with the names of the gentlemen; I wish they may be *really* members of Convocation.”

*Enclosing :*

G. STANLEY CARY to COMMITTEE.

1809. Follaton, near Totnes.—“Having been applied to by a relation of the Marchioness of Buckingham to procure votes for the election of the 13th; and being favoured with the promise of six or seven (or more) gentlemen who do not find it convenient to be at the expense of a journey from Devonshire, I will thank you to inform me if it is consistent with the plans of the committee to defray these expenses.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 1. Cleveland Square.—“There is nothing that appears to me so pressing as the arrangements for bringing up your voters, and scarce a day has passed in which this has not been urged to Oxford. Charles also was full charged on this subject by Temple, and there has been great impatience to hear the result; but, notwithstanding all our clamours, not a word has yet reached the Committee here upon the subject, except that a letter to-day from Mr. Woolcomb to Mr. Franklin says, *that as the poll will be an adjourned poll, they have not thought it necessary to name any agents.* What this can mean I profess I do not comprehend. If the poll lasts two days instead of one, it is a second reason for not losing a moment upon a matter of so much importance.

“You see by what I told you yesterday of Sir T. Plumer saying they had just finished all their arrangements for bringing up their votes; you see by this how much our adversaries feel the importance of these arrangements. They must originate in Oxford; and it is now above a week that we in London have been daily urging the final arrangements on this matter at Oxford. Considering you have but 60 resident out of 450, that state of numbers alone describes the great urgency of the best modes of bringing up the absent votes;

and considering the immense distance of some of them, it seems to me that it is quite ruinous to defer doing whatever is thought best to do. Temple writes to Oxford on this same subject; but, if you think as I do, you should lose no time in pressing them.

“I hope to be able to prevail upon Lord Gower to move the amendment, supposing it to point to question and examination into failures at Walcheren. He is well disposed, though he has not yet absolutely promised.

“There is a vague report of Lord Wellesley having insisted on Canning being to replace Mulgrave, which I do not believe. The King, as I find, had last week said he would not come this. One of the Eldon committee has just told Stanhope that Beaufort is 400, and is a-head of Eldon. Another of Eldon committee told Abercrombie that nothing would induce Eldon to give up; and that the only real contest is between Eldon and Grenville.”

Reverend C. GODDARD TO LADY GRENVILLE.

1809, December 1. Eastey's Hotel, Southampton Street, Covent Garden.—“Mr. Goddard has the honour to enclose and to request Lady Grenville's acceptance of a copy of the catechism, bound in a manner similar to the copy which has been presented to the Archbishop.

“He hopes soon to have the honour of paying his respects at Dropmore, from which he has hitherto been prevented. In the meantime, if Lady Grenville could assure Mr. Goddard of the fact that a letter, with which Mr. Goddard had occasion to trouble Lord Grenville last Saturday, had been *safely received*, he would feel much indebted to her Ladyship for condescending to indulge him with the information. Lord Grenville's silence upon the particular subject of that letter would be equally understood by Mr. Goddard with a written intimation of his lordship's sentiments, and will equally prevent Mr. Goddard from any further thought of the matter. But as the letter (for greater security as he meant) was sent to London to be put in the post, rather than in the Uxbridge Office in which Mr. Goddard does not place much confidence, he is apprehensive that the very precaution he took may have caused its miscarriage. Mr. Goddard will be in London for the next week in his usual pursuit after books. If Lady Grenville should have any commands here Mr. Goddard would be happy to execute them. Not having looked over the former copy of the catechism before it was sent, Mr. Goddard was sorry to find in it afterwards some inaccuracies which he has now corrected, so as to render a very unworthy present less unworthy at least of acceptance.

“What his hopes and wishes are respecting Oxford need not be stated. The two persons whom he flatters himself he could have influenced, one his former tutor, the other a canon of Christ Church, are already on the right side and



zealously so. If it had not been to his leaving Christ Church so early that Mr. Goddard was indebted for his introduction to Lord Grenville, he would regret that, on the present occasion, he had it not in his power to offer a personal mark of the interest he takes in the event; an event indeed which may be honourable for Lord Grenville, but, as he conceives, infinitely more so for the university."

The Reverend F. HODSON to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 2. Brasen Nose College.—“The letter in the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday has given us some anxiety, though I trust the different explanations we have had will, at last, pacify every one. Next to preventing it from making an unfavourable impression on the University, my attention was directed to the President of Magdalen, whose retired habits shrink from a newspaper explanation, and who yet ‘for the sake of truth desired there might be a public contradiction.’ He added that ‘he would rather it came from your lordship’s committee than from an opponent’s, because the one might be acrimonious and the other would be more satisfactory to himself.’ The President would have been glad that the three falsehoods had been distinctly noticed; 1st, that he had addressed a letter to your lordship; 2ndly, that your lordship’s reply had removed all his Catholic fears; and 3rdly, that he was now supporting your lordship. For obvious reasons I thought it better to generalise the misrepresentation, and to gratify all the duke’s friends, who are unquestionably more disposed to your lordship than to Lord Eldon; and to appease some of them who thought there was an *éclat* in the President’s name which we ought, after it had been denied, explicitly to concede to them, we added that he supported the duke. I hope your lordship will approve of the enclosed disavowal, which was drawn up with a view to calm the feelings of a most honourable man, as well as to conciliate a committee in whose dispositions there are, I am confident, the elements of support. The present determination of the other candidate does not indeed afford much promise of our being benefitted by those dispositions; but as there is no knowing what unlooked for event may occur, I thought it right not to lose sight of such a contingency, and to avow the truth in the way that both Presidents would be best pleased with.

“If the London committee, of which there can be little doubt, can join us in disowning all the letters, perhaps it may be better to substitute for ‘Oxford Committee,’ *committees*, and to add after disclaim, ‘on their parts.’ Perhaps your lordship would send it forward to the London committee, and request that when it is fortified by their concurrence, it may be pressed on the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* to insert it, if possible, on *Monday morning*. I have sent a copy of it, with Mr. Wickham’s approbation, to Magdalen

and Trinity, and told them that we intended to have it printed in the newspaper that had published the offensive letter.

“A fellow of a college (whose name, if it be necessary, shall be communicated to your lordship), now a neutral, has written to a friend here, stating that if he had not been inflexibly determined on neutrality, he would have come down to vote against your lordship, because he had been insulted with the offer of his expenses. It is not indeed likely that a member of the committee has been so unguarded as to do it without reconnoitering his man; but it is at once imputed to them, and certainly does harm.”

#### F. HODSON TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 3. Brasen Nose College.—“Mr. Wickham is passing the day at Cuddesden, so that I lose the benefit of his advice; but the moment I close my letter, I will send your lordship’s servant there, and have no doubt that early in the morning Mr. Wickham, as well as the bishop, will be here. If the result of our conference should be that it is thought advisable to submit the opinion against the legality of the adjournment to the Vice-Chancellor, it shall be previously shewn, as what is due to the liberal conduct of the one and to the office of the other, to the President of Trinity and the Master of University College. In the meantime I beg leave to trouble you with my reasons for thinking that it may be as well to suppress not only the opinion, but the fact of any opinion having been taken.

“In the first place, though there are bigots amongst us hostile enough to stop at nothing that could prevent your lordship’s election, I do not believe there are any who would attempt to unsettle it when once proclaimed. But if, to the disgrace of themselves, such individuals should be forthcoming, and should actually set aside the election, I am quite sure, for the credit of the place, that there would be a triple alliance formed between the committees of the present candidates, and that the one who had been elected under the adjourned poll, would be, with the concurrence of all parties, re-elected by the more statutable one.

“In the next place, I think that nothing would be more likely to make those who, upon general grounds, or upon this particular question, oppose the Vice-Chancellor, rally round him than a notion that his official determination was to be resisted by unacademical authority. Dr. Swabey, indeed, is a member of Convocation, and in his place there would be listened to with respect, and would find many supporters; but his name, united with the highest legal authorities, would not make an *unmatriculated* interpretation of the statute acceptable, or ward off, at least temporary, unpopularity from those who had resorted to it. Inasmuch, therefore, as we cannot suffer from the malice or bigotry of the few, but might, I think, from the imputation of wishing to interpose external

authority, I do very humbly, but very firmly, express my conviction of the impolicy of allowing the opinions that have been given to transpire.

"I will not fail to wait upon the President of Magdalen to-morrow and read to him your lordship's letter. I am quite sure that I read his feelings correctly, and that he will be highly gratified.

"I have been taking steps to ascertain the preparations our Brasen Nose voters are making for their journey, and am happy to say I hear of only two invalids, and both of their cases hopeful.

"I trust that the London committee are directing their attention to that point. It appears to me to be now the only effort that remains to be made."

*Postscript.*—"If Woolcombe, whom I cannot wait to consult without detaining your lordship's servant, differs from me, I will write again by the post; and it occurs to me that it may be as well to leave your letter open, enclosed in one to Mr. Wickham, to request him to tell your lordship whether he assents."

LORD GRENVILLE to Reverend F. HODSON, Principal of Brasen Nose College.

1809, December 3. Dropmore.—"I need not, I am sure, express to you my utter disapprobation of the newspaper publications on the subject of this election. I consider them as highly injurious to the honour and decorum of the University. The London committee will, I am sure, most willingly join their disclaimer to that of my friends at Oxford.

"I have been, as long experience taught me to expect, assailed from the very beginning of this contest with newspaper abuse, and anonymous publications circulated with no little industry both in and out of the University. I early expressed to my friends my earnest desire that no such methods might be resorted to in return; and particularly that the election might not be made the subject of newspaper controversy. Those with whom I live in the habits of confidence know that my principal reason for restricting the circulation of my letter to you respecting your conversation with the President of Magdalen, was the fear that it might otherwise get into the newspapers pending the election. I thought such a publication in that form would have been indecorous and disrespectful to the University, and I therefore determined, to prevent it. Nor do I even now regret this determination, though a contrary course would have protected me against the gross and contradictory falsehoods which I know to have been circulated respecting that paper.

"I saw with real concern the particular publication to which you advert, inasmuch as it involved, not my name only, but also that of a most respectable man whose character I very much esteem. But I am not sorry for the opportunity

it has afforded to you and my other friends of publishing that disavowal which you have so properly given to it." *Copy.*

F. HODSON TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 3. Brasen Nose College.—“I have stated to Woolcombe the substance of my letter to your lordship, and am happy to say that he entirely coincides with me. I shall rejoice to hear that your lordship does so.

“The President of Trinity told me this morning that they had received a bundle of squibs against your lordship; and that though his wish that they should instantly be sent to Brasen Nose had not been acted upon, he yet could assure me that they were all put out of the way.”

*Postscript.*—“The Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Leominster, may be had by Lord Essex.”

WILLIAM WICKHAM TO THE SAME.

1809, December 3. Cuddesden.—“Your lordship’s servant has brought here your letters to the bishop and to me of this morning, together with the enclosed letter from the Principal of Brasen Nose to your lordship. This last was accompanied by a note requesting the bishop and myself to go over to Oxford early to-morrow morning and consider with him what measures should be adopted with respect to the legal opinions that have been taken in London.

“The bishop, Dr. Pett, and myself having considered the point as far as we could do in a conversation of an hour, without having either the report of the lawyers, or your lordship’s letter to the Principal before us, can only now say that we feel ourselves incompetent to form an opinion on the subject without first consulting openly some of our *resident* friends, and feeling the pulse of others. We shall therefore appoint Woolcombe, Corne, and Wood (this last as in some sort representing the Bishop of London) to meet us before we go to Brasen Nose, and we shall also take some measures for ascertaining whether there is any real foundation for the suggestion of the Principal of Brasen Nose that the mere fact of your having taken what he calls an unacademical opinion would be unpopular in the university, and tend to make the present enemies of the Vice-Chancellor rally round him on this occasion.

“As at present advised, we incline to think that it would be right to communicate the opinion to the Vice-Chancellor; and we think so, as well for some other reasons, as because it is scarcely to be supposed that the fact of a legal opinion having been taken can well be kept secret; and that, in that case, to say nothing of the imputation of want of candour that will be urged against us, we know not how we could in any way justify the having concealed the existence of such an opinion, should the legality of the election be hereafter called in question. Nor can it escape your lordship that,

as the opinion is against the legality of an adjourned poll, it would be imputed to us that we had concealed it for the very object which your lordship and your friends particularly deprecate.

“But, as I have said before, we shall form no decided opinion on the subject until we have consulted our best and safest friends; and should we be obliged finally to differ from the Principal, we should do everything in our power to express our reasons for differing from him in the manner that may most strongly testify our respect for him, and the regret that we feel in not being able to agree with him upon a point respecting which he seems himself to have formed so very decided an opinion.

“We incline to think that the best mode of proceeding would be that the Principal of Brazen Nose should communicate the opinion confidentially to Dr. Parsons, as a matter that concerns the character of the Vice-Chancellor and of the University, as much as it affects the interests of the respective candidates; but this we fear cannot be done, as the Principal of Brazen Nose has always declined going to the Vice-Chancellor; and has preferred communicating with him on this subject either *with* or *through* the Head of University, and the President of Trinity.

“With respect to the newspaper communications and contradictions, I need not say that the bishop and myself are as adverse to anything of the kind as your lordship can be, and that we would at all times set our faces against anything of the kind; but the case in which Hodson thought it necessary to make a disavowal was of a very particular kind, inasmuch as two of our friends composed the deputation from Magdalen entreating that, for the peace of mind of their President, we would disavow the publication. I was not present when they came to the committee room, but I was induced to give my sanction, however unwillingly, to the measure, from the very divided opinion of its necessity that I found entertained by Woolcombe as well as by the Principal.

“I had written that very day to Perry to desire that he would not suffer any more of these foolish letters from Oxford to be published in his paper.

“I ought to mention to your lordship before I conclude, that it was the earnest wish of Mr. Woolcombe and myself, which we pressed very importunately on the Principal on Friday night, that he should go himself to the Vice-Chancellor before the determination to adjourn the poll could be made public in the Oxford papers, and state to him confidentially, but very distinctly, that your lordship had great doubts as to the legality of the proposed measure, and that it was your intention to take legal advice respecting it; and further to add that those doubts were confirmed by the decided opinion of Corne, Wood, and Woolcombe. The Principal, however, would not comply with our wishes, chiefly, as he said, on

account of the Vice-Chancellor's present state of health; and contented himself with communicating your doubts to the Head of University and the President of Trinity, and then returned to us with the assurance of those two gentlemen that they would set their faces against every attempt to take advantage of the illegality or supposed illegality of the proceeding, whoever might be the successful candidate. With this assurance, as it had been accepted as a sufficient answer by the Principal, we were obliged to rest contented.

"I like the state of the canvass much. I have been over the book with Woolcombe this morning, and what follows is the result of our examination. It is not quite correct, but very nearly so :

|   |    |       |         |
|---|----|-------|---------|
| Grenville, without any mark of doubt  | .. | 428   |         |
| doubtful—chiefly as to power of coming to the election  | .. | 16—   | 444     |
| Eldon, ascertained  | .. | ..    | 318     |
| Beaufort, including some few unascertained votes at Lincoln and New College, which will probably go to B. | .. | ..    | 222     |
| Neutral   | .. | ..    | 148     |
|   |    |       | <hr/>   |
|   |    |       | 1132    |
| Unascertained   | .. | ..    | 155     |
|   |    |       | <hr/>   |
|   |    | Total | .. 1287 |
|   |    |       | <hr/>   |

"From this account you can afford to give two-thirds of the remaining unascertained votes to Lord Eldon, without very great danger to yourself.

"As your measures with respect to his lordship have produced their full effect, we may allow his friends to rest and scold, and himself to be in a passion, without our troubling our heads about them. They will not gain a single vote now by either ill-temper or evil tongues, and it would be no particular advantage to us that they should remain quiet."

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 4. Cleveland Square.—"It was thought advisable to offer to the Duke of Beaufort's committee to assist reciprocally the bringing up of his votes and ours. Mr. Wheatley went to-day to them with this offer, which they received courteously, but declined on the ground of its appearing too much like concert between Duke of Beaufort and Lord G[renville]. As soon as you send the names of the houses where Botham has secured the horses, Temple will have the advertisement inserted in four evening London papers, and in all the county papers.

"Temple is urgent to send Goodwin into Staffordshire; I have told him fairly that I see no good in it, but he and Goodwin are so eager upon it that I suppose he will go.

“Our news is that Lord Wellesley has the blue ribbon ; but that he has stipulated to have nothing to do with defending Walcheren expeditions and so on.

“Lord Gower has agreed to move the amendment.

“Ward has just shown me an answer to the *Courier*, written by Copplestone, which he desires Ward to put in the papers, and it will appear—I mention this to show you that while the Oxford Committee are sending up a formal disclaimer of all letters, by the very same post one of them writes a letter in the papers. The letter is a good one ; you must not speak of it as Ward tells it me in confidence ; I repeat it to you from the singularity of this letter coming by the very same post which desired a formal disclaimer of all letters.”

*Postscript.*—“Tierney has just shown me a letter received to-day from Grey in which Grey says things look unpleasantly as to G. Ponsonby ; for that he G[rey] wrote about the time of the last overture to P[onsonby] asking him what his notion was in a change of government, and whether he looked to return to the Irish Chancellorship or to any other office ; P[onsonby] answered that, as the thing did not press, he would decline answering for the present, and since that he has never written to G[rey].

“Tierney’s remark was ‘that all this looked damned unpleasant, as if he meant to come back.’

“I was just sending to you the letter which accompanies this, when your servant arrived. He will take my former letter about the more material object of horses and carriages which has been so unfortunately delayed.

“In respect to the literary warfare, I am strongly of opinion that it would be more prudent and manly to abstain from it altogether ; and, if it be pursued, I am the worst possible channel, as my aversion to all editors is such that I never had nor ever will have any communication with them. As you seem, however, so anxious to have the paragraph inserted of which you have sent two copies, I have despatched a messenger for Tucker to see what he can do about the insertion of them in the morning and evening papers of to-morrow, if (as I suppose) the evening papers of to-night are out of the question. You are quite mistaken about Walter ; Tucker called to day to tell me that Walter had been to him to say that the first long letter in the *Times* having been sent to him as a letter from Lord Eldon’s committee, he had refused it ; that they then sent it as an advertisement, *paying* for it, and he put it in. The second letter (Oxoniensis) was sent by Lord Eldon’s committee, and Walter at first refused to put it in unless with a line to say that it came from Lord Eldon’s committee ; they objected to that addition, and seem to have threatened him with a charge of partiality if he refused it, *and so* he gave way ; but he assured Tucker that he would put in anything that any of your friends wished.

“I do not, however, suppose that he will announce in his paper the fact of his having been paid for the long letter. All that I can do for you is to urge Tueker to do what he can (from himself) to get your paragraph inserted in as many papers as may be ; but for myself I never did have and never can have any communication with newspaper editors.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 5. London.—“Everybody here is surprised beyond measure at hearing that the Oxford committee have determined to do nothing with the legal opinion on the question of adjournment. In the first place the real risk of your being sent back to a new election by this invalid proceeding is too important to be put by without some better ground than that of general convenience. But, besides, there is another very powerful motive with me. We have, by Dr. Hodgson’s consent, made ourselves party to this measure of adjourned poll ; and, being party to it, we privately take a legal opinion which satisfies us of the incorrectness of the proceeding ; and then we put that opinion in our pocket, without communicating it to the Vice-Chancellor and to the other two candidates who are joint parties with us in this measure. I own I think this so uncreditable that I have desired Temple to urge Dr. Hodgson upon it ; and Mr. Franklin, who agrees in this, has written to urge Mr. Wooleombe upon it. It looks as if we had given our consent to the Vice-Chancellor through Dr. Hodgson, merely to entrap him into a breach of the law, while we kept our knowledge of this snug in our pocket, to spring upon him with it at a convenient opportunity. Nothing would satisfy my sense of right but our communicating the opinion to the Vice-Chancellor and the two candidates. If you agree in this, and I know not how you can differ, do urge this at Oxford ; for I really think it to the last degree important to your own honour, as well as to the interests of your election.

“We do not yet know the houses for the horses ; it is very material to learn them without delay, in order that sufficient notice may be given in all the town and country papers. Tierney writes an unsigned notice to members to announce an amendment, and he writes to G. Ponsonby and to Grey to say he has done so.”

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809 [December 8]. Monday morning.—“I have just received the copy of your Oxford letter which I suppose I am to show in confidence where it is useful.

“My present intention is probably to go down to you to-morrow, *after the post*, unless you think or I think I can be of more use here.

“My only fear of Duke of Beaufort is that he or Lord Eldon will resign to each other just at the poll, and will then transfer to one of themselves more than you will get from their leavings.



The letter you send me from Trentham is of Thursday, in which they still speak of their exertions there, and desire a printed list to be sent, which I send to-day.

“They have sent Dr. Buckeridge to canvass round Birmingham. Lord Stafford has written to Dean of Litchfield about Bailey.

“Lord Gower has written to C. K. Sharpe, Esq., but has no answer yet. I am glad to see Lord Glastonbury has such good hopes of Winchester. I am still afraid of next post announcing some neutrality from York and Trentham, but if we do not hear that soon, I shall be bold again; at all events I shall send them lists to-day.”

*Postscript.*—“The alphabetical list printed is promised for this evening. I am going to send names to Lord Egremont with a letter, though I am not very sanguine about it.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the Reverend, the VICE-CHANCELLOR,  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

1809, December 8. Camelford House.—“I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 6th instant, and am much obliged to you for the communication which you are so good as to make to me of the steps which you have taken on the matter to which it relates. I beg you to be persuaded that I most sincerely lament a circumstance which has been the occasion of additional trouble and anxiety to you under the pressure of severe disease.

“It is, I trust, unnecessary for me to assure you that nothing could be farther from my intention than to convey, in the short statement submitted to counsel, any misrepresentation of your conduct. The expressions there used were not meant to imply that the measure had originated with you, but merely that in adopting it you had wished it to be carried into effect with the consent of all parties; a desire perfectly consistent with the strictest impartiality. That was then the impression of my mind, and in order to bring the whole case fully before those who were consulted, it was necessary to call their attention to the question how far such consent might be deemed to cure the informality, if such it be, of the proposed adjournment.

“I have, however, no doubt that the statement which you have been so good as to make to me is, in all its parts, perfectly accurate; and I shall at all times be ready to declare that such is my conviction.

“Allow me to add that no man can more sincerely lament than I do the inconveniencies likely to result from the lateness of the period at which this discussion has arisen. You will, I am sure, do me the justice to bear in mind, in all that may pass on the subject, that there has not on my part been the smallest delay, either in the steps which I took for the satisfaction of my own mind, or in those which I afterwards thought due both in personal attention towards yourself, and in candour and fairness to all who were concerned.” *Copy.*

LORD GRENVILLE to H.R.H. [THE DUKE OF CLARENCE].

1809, December 9. Dropmore.—“The great kindness and condescension which I have experienced from your Royal Highness on this occasion encourage me to take the liberty of asking your Royal Highness an additional mark of the same flattering sentiments, by endeavouring to prevail upon the gentleman whose letter I take the liberty to enclose herewith, to adhere to the promise which he had given in terms so very distinct, of voting for me. It is reported that some influence has been used with him to retract this engagement; but your Royal Highness’s opinion would, I doubt not, be decisive with him to prevent his departing from an engagement so very distinctly stated.

“I hope your Royal Highness will allow me to express my wish that the original letter may be returned to me, as I should wish, especially in the event (very improbable I hope) of your Royal Highness’s intervention failing of its effect, to be able to have recourse to it to show the nature of the steps taken against me.

“I hardly know how to apologise to your Royal Highness for the presumption of this request. I trust to the goodness you have already shown me, and to the nature of the occasion which encourage me to hope that your Royal Highness will not think I am abusing your condescension.” *Copy.*

THE SAME to [a GRADUATE OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY].

1809, December 10. Dropmore.—“Your trouble approaches to an end, I trust a successful one; but, be that as it may, my obligation to you and my other friends for your unwearied kindness must be the same. I have every reason to feel proud of the testimonies of good opinion which this contest has called forth; and whatever be the issue of the election, this gratification I cannot be deprived of.

“Among these I must undoubtedly reckon the paper which I have this day received from you. It contains, from a person to whom I am known only by character, a spirited and just defence of my conduct in a case where I have been greatly calumniated; and a very effective retort against the person whose friends have resorted to modes of attack very unworthy both of themselves and him.

“And yet shall I not use the freedom of saying that, if the choice be left to me, I had rather the paper were not published. The Catholic question, as it is called, does not in my opinion justly belong to the merits of this election. It is most unfairly mixed with it by my opponents, in the hope of profiting by prejudices widely diffused on that subject. To remove those prejudices must be the work of time and reason, seconded perhaps by favourable circumstances; and if we allowed ourselves at this time to be drawn into the discussion, this would perhaps be to favour the designs of our opponents.

"To the latter part of the paper there is but one objection that can reasonably be made. It is one relating purely and exclusively to my own feelings. The measure there spoken of affords no doubt a just ground of attack, particularly originating as it did with the pretended champions of the church. A more absurd, or a more iniquitous measure never was proposed, nor one more directly militating with that sacredness of private property, the application of which to our church establishment is a main bulwark of its security.

"But I should earnestly wish to have it to say at the end of this contest, what I can safely say at this hour, that, however provoked by calumny and falsehood, I have not in any single instance made myself a party to that course of personal attack in which Lord Eldon and his friends appear to have placed their best hopes of success. I have rested my pretensions, such as they are, on my own character and conduct; and have wished to succeed because I am thought worthy, not because others are thought unworthy, of the honour to which I aspire.

"I should be very sorry if this expression of feelings, I trust not ill-suited to such an occasion, could convey any impression of my being otherwise than deeply sensible of the good opinion which dictated the paper in question, and of the ability with which it is drawn. I trust to you to obviate any such idea, very inconsistent certainly, with what I really feel on this subject." *Draft.*

#### EARL TEMPLE to H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

1809, December 11. Grosvenor Street.—"I am ashamed to trouble your Royal Highness upon so worthless a subject, but I cannot refrain from taking the liberty of communicating to your Royal Highness the result of Dr. Morgan's promise to vote for Lord Grenville. After having voluntarily, and and without any application being made to him, promised his vote to Lord Grenville, which promise he confirmed by the letter which your Royal Highness has seen, he has finally, upon deliberation and after remonstrance, withdrawn it, stating in a letter to Captain Fremantle of the 11th instant, that in so doing he has obeyed 'the command' of the illustrious person whose chaplain he has the honour to be. As Doctor Morgan has also the honour of being your Royal Highness's neighbour, and as you were graciously pleased to direct the expression of your wishes in favour of Lord Grenville to be communicated to Dr. Morgan, I think it my duty to lay before your Royal Highness this trait of Dr. Morgan's character. He probably has preached to his parishioners the advantages of a good example. The knowledge of the fact I have had the honour of laying before your Royal Highness would be of importance to them, as they may perhaps attach more value to a notice by which a bad example may be avoided, than to an exhortation

which has not the benefit of the illustration of the preacher's practice to recommend it."

*Private.* MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 11. Apsley House.—“As I heard that you had become a great farmer, I have brought you a ram and an ewe of the true merino breed from Spain. They are now safely deposited in my stables; and if you would let me know when you would wish to receive them at Dropmore, I will send them to you by a proper conveyance, with directions for their management, which will require attention during the winter.

“I conclude that you are in a great bustle upon the approach of the election at Oxford. I cannot help wishing you success, and I should certainly give you my vote (if I possessed one) although you be a Papist and a Traitor; so you may perceive, that I have not been at Mass, with a taper in my hand, both at Cadiz and Seville, to no purpose. Pray remember me kindly to Lady Grenville.

“Richard remains in Spain for a few weeks; he is very well.

“I think you had better leave the merinos in my stable for a week. If you ever send a covered wagon to town, it would afford them the safest conveyance, as they will require warmth, and an easy carriage.

“You will be glad to hear that Goodall succeeds our poor friend Davies at Eton.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1809, December 12. Cleveland Square.—“All seems to go on prosperously; I take for granted that the election will go into Thursday; that I may have the earliest possible intelligence, I send my groom to Dropmore, and beg that you will not forget to give him a line with the result at *whatever hour of day or night you first receive it*, that he may instantly return to me with the intelligence.

“I have no reason to believe in Lord C. and Lord M.'s resignation, except the confident manner in which the papers assert it. Cooke denied it this morning, and so did Lord George Seymour.

“I showed your letter to Lady Downshire, and she sent yesterday to beg to borrow it again to show it to the P[rin]ce of W[ales], who dined with her; I sent it observing that I should have felt sure that you would have wished me to wait upon his Royal Highness with it, if you could have deemed it of sufficient importance to have justified you in intruding with it upon his Royal Highness; and I added that I took the liberty of reminding her that I relied upon her original assurances to me that no word of it should be copied. She returned it an hour afterwards with the strongest expressions

of the satisfaction which the P[rincc] as well as herself had derived from reading it.

“Lord and Lady Holland are gone to Whitbread’s, and to Lord Cowper’s, and I believe to Woburn; Whitbread came up yesterday for Wardle’s trial, and Tiernay describes him as very sulky this morning, partly at Wardle’s disgrace, and partly at the general state of things upon which he was less communicative than usual. He seemed not to relish the notion of a short amendment, and Tiernay is persuaded that his own speech is already made, and will be his profession of faith upon all subjects of reform. My opinion is that in this case we had better break with him on that first day; if he would abstain *for that day* something might be conceded for that object, but if he will pledge himself to all his reforms on the first day, nothing is left but to separate from him on the first day.”

#### EARL GREY TO THE SAME.

1809, December 12. Howick.—“I have purposely delayed answering your letter till the Oxford election should be over.

“This, I hope, will find you relieved from all your fatigues, and satisfied with their results; and that I shall have in my next to congratulate you on being appointed Chancellor of the University, in spite of all the means, fair and unfair, that have been employed against you.

“I now return the copies of the correspondence between you and Lord Sidmouth. It is almost unnecessary for me to add that all the sentiments expressed in your letters to him and to the President of Brazen-nose are such as I must highly approve. You have assuredly done right in declining to give any further explanation with respect to the Catholic question, at present. But we must expect to be strongly pressed on this point, and it is necessary to consider whether it would be either right or useful for us to avoid stating with perfect openness the whole extent of our opinions upon it. I certainly would not allow this to be made a principal topic in the debates at the beginning of the session, if it is in our power to avoid it; but the subject must necessarily very soon occupy the attention both of Parliament and of the public; and when properly introduced, my mind being made up, I think unalterably, not to take office unless the power of *immediately* proposing measures for the conciliation of Ireland be conceded to us, I feel much disposed to make that avowal; subject always to those reserves with respect to possible changes of time and circumstances, which no prudent or honest man would willingly omit. I know the inconvenience and general impolicy of such declarations, but this is a subject on which, less than on any other, there seems to me to exist a probability of alteration; it is one on which the public and particularly our own friends have, perhaps, under circumstances such as the present, a sort of right to demand

from us a fair explanation ; the advantage of giving it may in some views be considerable ; and any reserve, whilst it would be treated by our enemies as evasive, might excite suspicion and distrust where it ought to be our peculiar care to prevent the existence of such feelings. I have merely thrown this out for your consideration, as it certainly is a point which ought not to be decided upon without much and serious reflection.

“ But though I feel the necessity of a settlement of the Catholic question so strongly that I think it cannot be postponed with safety ; and though the power of immediately entering upon such a settlement ought in my opinion to be an indispensable preliminary to our undertaking the hazardous duties of government, yet it is a very different question whether it would be advisable for us, situated as we now are, and after all that has happened, to bring forward a new discussion upon it in the approaching session. And I feel disposed to concur with you in the opinions you throw out on both the questions of presenting the petition, and of following it by a motion in Parliament.

“ I have always thought there was a sort of obligation on the members of both Houses to present petitions, being previously satisfied that the object of them was legitimate, that the necessary forms were observed, and that in the terms there was nothing objectionable. There would otherwise be some inconvenience in the forms of both Houses, which confine the presenting of petitions, except in a few cases, to their own members.

“ I should therefore think it clearly right for you to undertake to present the petition of the Catholics, if after stating what you might have to state on the subject, their delegates should still desire you to do so. And this would necessarily connect itself with a consideration of the second question, namely the propriety of following the petition by a motion. On this point, if I were convinced of the expediency of making such a motion, I should certainly say that you were the fit person, and the only fit person, to make it. But there are two points to be considered ; 1st, the fitness of the thing to be done ; 2nd, the expediency of doing it now. If my mind were satisfied on both, there would of course be no difficulty ; but if I were of opinion, with the strongest conviction of the general justice of the Catholic claims, that the renewal of the discussion of them under the present circumstances, and *by me*, was likely to be attended with more of prejudice than of benefit to their cause, my answer, in your place would be this. ‘ I approve the general principle of your application, and if it becomes the subject of Parliamentary discussion I shall express that opinion, as I have always done, subject to those explanations and conditions which in my mind necessarily accompany it ; but thinking the introduction of the question at the present moment not likely to be productive

of any useful effect, I strongly advise you not to press it, and, at all events, I must decline being the mover.'

"This would undoubtedly require some further explanation. The principal ground, of course, would be that which you state in your letter, namely, the certain disadvantage under which any new application must come before Parliament, unless the Catholics should previously manifest a disposition to assent to all such provisions as the Parliament may think necessary for the security of our own church and government, and as are not inconsistent with the known and avowed principles of their religious faith. This, you may remember, I proposed saying in a much more decisive tone last year. But the circumstances are now much less favourable for the sort of declaration I then advised; and any manner in which you can decline making the motion, if such should be your determination, will probably be subject to some misconstruction. But this mode seems to me the safest and the best. It will secure you (if you can be secured against wilful and interested misrepresentation) from the imputation of having abandoned your former opinions; and it will prevent your appearing as a ready instrument to bring forward the Catholic question, whenever it may be intemperately urged, without any regard to your opinions either as to the time of bringing it forward, or the conditions you may think necessary to be annexed to it. And you might, I think, as an additional reason to your declining, not only without any appearance of soreness, but with the most perfect propriety, state the disclaimer of the bishops, whilst it continues in force, as putting you under a degree of embarrassment which much affect the question itself, if moved by you.

"This is the line of conduct which I should advise, on which much more remains to be said that it is possible to comprise within the limits of a letter. It seems to me so obviously right that I hope, when it comes to be considered, it will be very generally approved by our friends. But I am not sanguine in my hopes that you will not find amongst some of the members of what was the party, considerable differences of opinion on this, as well as on other subjects. This would lead to considerations which must occupy us when we meet, and till then I am the more willing to postpone them, as, though I have plenty of difficulties to state, I do not feel able to suggest any probable means of obviating them."

J. PARSONS, Vice-Chancellor, to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 13. Balliol College.—"It is my duty to acquaint your lordship that the poll for the election of a Chancellor of this University, which commenced at nine o'clock yesterday morning, and was continued, without adjournment, through the whole of the night, and of this day, has just now closed; when the numbers were found to be:

|                                |     |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| For your Lordship .. ..        | 406 |
| For Lord Eldon .. ..           | 393 |
| For the Duke of Beaufort .. .. | 238 |

“Your lordship has accordingly been declared duly elected; and I lose no time in despatching Mr. Hall, the Esquire Bedell of Divinity, with this letter, for your lordship’s information.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 13. Cleveland Square.—“I enclose you a letter from Hodgson to Temple. As soon as I had opened it I went to Agar, and desired Mr. Wheatley to go to Spitalfields; but observe and pray acknowledge the zeal of Mr. Wheatley. He found Wheldale was out, but he learnt from Wheldale’s servant, that his master’s objection was to the mail, and that he should go in any gentleman’s carriage. Wheatley, without hesitation said he would take him down himself, and he goes in his own carriage this moment to take down Wheldale, and to endeavour to tempt Agar by the same conveyance, if that will fix him. Agar would not absolutely promise me, but I think will be tempted by a chaise at the door. See what a zealous friend Wheatley is!

“Lord Lansdowne begs me to tell you that he will call upon you at his return from Lord Ilchester’s, if you should be at Dropmore as he comes back.

“I have taught myself to take fright about the Beaufort anti-Catholics being, in the course of the poll, seduced for Eldon, by the danger of your success; and sanguine as I have been, I am now more afraid and less confident.”

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1809, December 13, Noon.—“I send by my groom the two last fragments of the election correspondence. I conclude the Bishop of London is gone. Do not forget that, whatever be the result, you must have the trouble of writing several letters of thanks, particularly to the Fox wing of the army, such as Lord Foley, Lord Thanet, Lord Derby, and Duke of Norfolk. Wheatley and Franklin too should have a line from you; and I think Mr. Goodwin, who, though half-mad, has been very indefatigable and very useful. If all goes right shall you not of course have to name a new High Steward? Who do you think of? Would it be right to propose it to Lord Stafford? Or who else is there? I live in a fever till my groom returns. Pray write a line by to-night’s post.”

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1809, December 13. Eden Farm.—“It would be idle to offer conjectures or to say anything on a subject which will be decided and known to you a few hours after you receive this; but I am disquieted and on tenter-hooks till I learn the decision.



“Napoleon’s speech offers abundant matter for meditation, and presents a mortifying contrast between his occupations and those of our Princes, four of whom appear by the same paper to have passed fourteen hours in a trial (not absolutely unconnected with them) relative to a parcel of fools, rogues, and a prostitute.

“If Lord Chatham and Lord Mulgrave can for a time be put behind the curtain, we are to be told that it is a new Ministry.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, December 14,  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 p.m.—“I send you this letter from Wheatley to show you how successful he had been with our two votes. I hope they will turn the election; but if I am to judge from the letters that you send me, I think there is more to fear than to hope. The Chief Baron is more sanguine.”

*Postscript.*—“I like your printed paper very much. I sent it to Tucker immediately.”

*Enclosing* :—

JOHN WHEATLEY to THOMAS GRENVILLE.

1809, December 14 [13], 4 o’clock a.m. High Wycombe.—“I am happy to inform you that I have brought Dr. Agar and Mr. Wheldale thus far, and that I am instantly about to proceed with them to Oxford. But a stage coachman is just come in to this house from Oxford, who says that a gentleman whom he is taking to town told him that the election is likely to be in Lord Eldon’s favour, in consequence of the accession of the Duke of Beaufort’s friends to his party. This was always what we had to apprehend, but I shall hope for the best. The gentleman who informed him of this circumstance is of Exeter College, and a friend of Lord Grenville.”

LORD GRENVILLE to the Reverend J. PARSONS, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

1809, December 14. Dropmore.—“The letter which you had the goodness to write to me to acquaint me with the flattering result of the poll for the election of a Chancellor of the University, has just been delivered to me by Mr. Hall. I entertain the deepest sense of the great honour conferred upon me by this distinction. Nothing could be more grateful to my feelings than to receive from the University such a testimony of good opinion, and to see myself thus connected with a body whose interests are essentially united with those of learning and religion.

“I beg you to accept my best thanks for the trouble you have taken in communicating to me this intelligence. I hope you will allow me also to express my earnest hope that

your health will not materially have suffered from this troublesome and fatiguing attendance under circumstances of bodily indisposition which must, I fear, have rendered it particularly irksome to you." *Copy.*

THE EARL OF JERSEY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 15. Middleton Park.—“Allow me to add my congratulations to the many which you will receive on this occasion, and to express my regret that I was not able to contribute more essentially to so signal a triumph.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1809, December 15. Cleveland Square.—“It would be vain to try to tell you my delight, it is quite unspeakable. Have you writ to the Prince of Wales? if not pray do. I send you his answer to me which is very gracious.

“Tyrwhit is an old friend of Lord Wellesley’s; the Prince has told Tyrwhit that he, Tyrwhit, must have no connection with Lord Wellesley. This is *quite between ourselves*, but I know it.”

LORD GRENVILLE TO [SIR CHARLES SAXTON], Dublin Castle.

1809, December 15. Dropmore.—“It was not till you were actually arrived at Oxford that I was informed by my nephew Charles of the very peculiar circumstances under which you had undertaken to appear there in my support. I know not in what terms to express the sense which I entertain of what you have done on this occasion. The feelings of dignified independence under which you have acted are such as in all cases carry with them the highest of all gratifications. But I trust it will not be indifferent to you to be assured that I entertain, as I ought to do, the highest sense of such a testimony of good opinion and regard. At the same time I beg you to be persuaded that had I been earlier apprized of the circumstance, I should have made it my own personal and earnest request that you would not put it in the power of my opponents to do an act which must indeed cover them with disgrace, but which would at the same time lead to a sacrifice on your part, such as I should be sorry indeed to have occasioned; and to a real and considerable injury to the public interests exactly in that quarter where they are, in my judgment, the most exposed to hazard.” *Copy.*

SIR H. C. ENGLEFIELD TO THOMAS GRENVILLE.

1809, December 16. Petersham.—“I do not feel sufficiently intimate with Lord Grenville to trouble him with my congratulations; but I cannot refrain from expressing to you how sincerely I am rejoiced at his brilliant triumph. It is equally honourable to himself, to those principles he has invariably *in office* and *out of office* professed and acted on; and to the

University which has shown itself superior to the vulgar and wicked cry against him and his principles. May this be the prelude to another defeat of the present Ministry in another House, and may the country at last find out that the word of insult on Lord Grenville and his friends was, like Balaam's prophecy, true in their own despite. If the Opposition have not *All the Talents*, it is not certainly because that the present and late set have any of them.

"I trust in your friendship that you will express to your brother how very happy I am in his success."

COUNTESS DE LA WARR to LADY GRENVILLE.

1809, December 16. Kedleston.—"Having this moment heard that Lord Grenville has gained his election at Oxford, I cannot resist troubling your ladyship with a few lines of congratulation upon this subject. I have really done all that has been in my power to do respecting soliciting the votes of all I knew likely to be of use; and I beg you will believe that it must ever give me the greatest pleasure to hear that Lord Grenville succeeds in the attainment of his wishes.

"George was well when I last heard from him; I am sure he will be delighted to hear how right all things have gone for Lord Grenville."

DR. SAMUEL PARR to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 16. Hutton.—"My heart is at this moment afflicted by the severe sufferings and approaching dissolution of my only remaining child. But I think it my duty to make one effort, for the purpose of sending to your lordship my most sincere congratulations upon your election to the Chancellorship of Oxford. May you long live to adorn the station which you have most deservedly obtained, and to triumph over the deplorable prejudices, which for a time obstructed your success."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, December 16. Cleveland Square.—"I am still so eaten up with congratulations and kindnesses of friends that I do not yet find leisure enough to enjoy our victory at my ease. You will readily believe this when, in answer to your question about letters, I send you a list of those which I despatched yesterday, the greater part of which you will probably think necessary to repeat from yourself as fast as you may have time for it. What other names there are you will more readily find from your own correspondence; but there must be many, such as Lord Hardwicke, Lord Somers, Lord Essex, Lord Kinnaird, Mr. Eden, Mr. Frankland; if this list can be added to it must be by Charles and Temple, to both of whom I write to-day to desire them to send you word of any names which occur to them for letters of thanks.

You should, I think, direct Chisholm to write to Mr. Wheatley for an account of any expenses that he may have incurred, and especially for the journey to and from Oxford in carrying his two voters. The same enquiry should be made of Mr. Franklin, and of Mr. Goodwin; I do not know where Goodwin's direction is, but probably Sir Watkin's porter can find out. To Sir Watkin's porter you should likewise give 5*l.* or 10*l.*; he had all the trouble of our numerous committee upon his shoulders for six weeks, and was very indefatigable, very willing, very useful, and very much used. Chisholm should likewise apply to Tucker for any expenses he may have incurred, particularly with Walter for the newspaper insertions. Our adversaries can put no face upon their defeat, and do not attempt to conceal their mortification and disappointment. I wish you now again to consider the propriety of letting your letter to Hodgson get more into public view; and this the rather because, as the discussion of this subject must soon be revived by your answer to Lord Fingal, I think if that answer be such as we had talked of, I mean if the *veto* be referred to, as I still incline to think it ought, that reference would seem to be in consistence with your letter to Hodgson, and would have some advantage in bearing that character. Undoubtedly you will find that, though many will not consider the *veto* as a sufficient security for the established church, there will be few in this country who would be disposed to admit that, *without the veto*, there could be any security at all for the establishment; and if this opinion be as widely diffused as I believe it to be, it matters not whether it be correctly formed or not; if it prevails it will operate forcibly and perhaps irresistibly. What makes, too, your decision more important on this head is, that this is the only opportunity that can offer any peculiar fitness for taking that ground. You are entitled to take it now, because it is the same ground on which so much stress was placed by many of our friends and particularly [Lord Grey] in the very last discussions; but if you present a new petition, after their disclaimer of the *veto*, without any protest on your part, you seem to adopt their disclaimer, and by doing so you will increase those English difficulites which are already almost too great for the success of the question."

*Postscript.*—"I hope your dear little wife has not over-tired herself in your service. Fagel tells me she would not go to bed till the news arrived."

#### THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 16. Buckden Palace.—"Most heartily do I congratulate you upon your success at Oxford. It is indeed a very great triumph to you, and I am confident that it will be felt to be such not only by your opponent, but government in general. Lord Westmorland said here, 'if Lord Grenville does succeed, it will, to be sure, be a confounded

slap of the face to us.' I was greatly afraid that the Duke of Beaufort would have withdrawn; and particularly as I understood that his committee in town were fully aware that they were fighting your battle. The duke and his party were probably indifferent whether you or the Chancellor succeeded.

"When I was in town Rose told me that Mr. Perceval offered him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; and two days since I heard from unquestionable authority that the same offer was made to Mr. Milnes; and that when he declined it, he was pressed to accept some other situation. I do not recollect an instance of the First Lord of the Treasury, when in the House of Commons, not being Chancellor of the Exchequer. Is it possible that Perceval's object in wishing to get rid of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer was to make the retention of the Chancellorship of the Duchy less obnoxious? From what I observe in my neighbourhood (at Hinchbrook) I suspect that Lord Castlereagh's friends are very uneasy about the enquiry which must take place into the Walcheren expedition."

*Postscript.*—"I have lately heard, but not from authority upon which I can quite rely, that it has been in contemplation to place Lord Wellesley at the head of the Treasury; for Perceval to be made a peer; Canning to be made Chancellor of the Exchequer with the conduct of the House of Commons; Lords Camden, Chatham, and Mulgrave to retire. All this does seem to me very probable."

C. W. W. WYNN to THE SAME.

1809, December 17. Acton.—"From all that appears the effect of our triumph throughout the country surpasses expectation. The very circumstance of the smallness of the majority is favourable, as it convinces each individual voter that his personal exertion has decided the contest, reconciles him to the distance he has travelled, and the inconvenience he has suffered, and redoubles his zeal in your general cause. Many of the parsons will return from Oxford metamorphosed into advocates for your politics, and for the Catholic question, by the principle of self defence, in order to resist the attacks which will be made upon them by the friends of Government.

"Pray send me word what day your installation is to take place; for, as so *much stress* has been laid in the canvass on the excellence of your cook, I feel bound to assist him as far as in my power lies to cherish the good dispositions of our friends and assuage the mortification of our foes by procuring him some pheasants from Watkin's keeper, if any can be got at in this weather.

"The Principal of Jesus has certainly *bona fide* observed the neutrality which he professed in the beginning, for he showed me letters from most of our Jesus friends desiring to know his wishes, to which they promised implicit obedience

before they engaged themselves ; and he lodged some of our friends in his own house.

“Our whipping-in certainly succeeded beyond all expectation. The Duke of Beaufort appears to have been so much weaker than anybody had supposed (for nobody rated him so low as 250) that one can scarcely avoid believing that some of his votes must have been got over to Lord Eldon.

“I am ashamed to tease you with another letter when you must be so nearly overwhelmed by the number of congratulations showering in every morning, but I cannot avoid mentioning how gratifying to my feelings your letter of this morning was, and to repeat that the invariable kindness which I have experienced from you and Lady Grenville would have been but ill returned if I had shrunk from exertions which have been equally participated by those who never knew you ; and who have been actuated only by what they felt to be the interest of the nation at large.”

#### LORD CARRINGTON to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 17. Bath.—“Our long suspense was most agreeably terminated by the arrival of Mr. Eden on Friday night with the news of your success. We were not aware that the proceeding was rather an inscription than a poll, and were therefore disheartened at receiving so many accounts during the continuance of it, without the least information. I congratulate you most sincerely on obtaining an object of such importance, but still more on the success of an attack against bigotry and intolerance in its fastnesses. We seem almost all on the same side at Bath, and have therefore determined to have a public dinner at the White Hart on the 26th, which we hope and expect will be numerously attended to celebrate the event.”

#### COUNTESS OF CARYSFORT to THE SAME.

1809, December 17. Elton Hall.—“I congratulate you most sincerely and with the greater pleasure from my never having been sanguine in my hopes of so many honest voters among the black coats. They must all be made bishops. Adieu, I trust we shall meet at Stowe ; I mean to go there the 23rd.”

#### EARL OF HARDWICKE to THE SAME.

1809, December 17. Wimpole.—“Though it is rather unreasonable to add to the number of letters which you will receive on the occasion ; I cannot avoid congratulating you upon your success at Oxford. As an academical distinction, it is highly honourable and gratifying to yourself personally ; but from the example and opinion of those whose attachment to the Establishment cannot be doubted, I consider it of great importance in the tendency it may have to keep down the

prejudice against the Roman Catholics in Ireland, which so many people in this country were desirous of increasing."

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE SAME.

1809, December 17. The Grove.—“With whatever apologies may be necessary for the trouble of this letter, allow me to offer your lordship my sincere congratulations.

“Though educated at Cambridge, I feel (if I may so say) an *hereditary* sort of attachment to the University of Oxford; which, I trust, will always make me alive to whatever affects it's honour and welfare; and, consistently with those sentiments, I cannot but be much gratified with the event of the recent contest for the office of Chancellor. It is no affectation of private or public virtue to say also that there is a distinct satisfaction, upon this occasion, which results to one's mind from the triumph of liberality over every unjustifiable prejudice and obstacle opposed to it. Such consideration *alone* would afford me great satisfaction in your lordship's success; but that satisfaction (permit me to assure you) cannot fail of being much heightened by my personal feelings of long regard and very sincere esteem.”

EARL SOMERS TO THE SAME.

1809, December 17. Reigate Priory.—“I heartily congratulate you on your success at Oxford, which, in addition to the private satisfaction it must afford you is, I trust, a public triumph also.”

EARL OF DARNLEY TO THE SAME.

1809, December 17. Brighton.—“I cannot resist the inclination I feel to add to the many letters of congratulation you must receive on the late event at Oxford, which has not only given me the highest satisfaction, as it personally concerns yourself, but which also appears to me likely in it's consequences to promote the best interests of the empire, in it's present most arduous and difficult situation.

“In addition to this, which I consider a most important event, there have appeared within these few days some gleams of light amidst the general gloom which have somewhat revived my hopes, almost extinct. If the country once begins to *feel*, we may hope that it will enable us to *act* with effect in delivering it from these *nuisances* in the shape of Ministers, if they should venture to meet Parliament. But I am sure you will agree with me that every exertion on our part at the opening of the session will be necessary for that purpose.

“I have been unexpectedly brought here on account of Lady Darnley's health, but hope to settle again at Cobham before the first of January; and if you and Lady Grenville could spare a few days before the 23rd, we should be most happy to see you there.”

## EARL FITZWILLIAM to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 17. Milton.—“Considering the event at Oxford, on account of its important bearings, more of a public than a private nature, I should not congratulate you upon it were it possible to suppose that on such an occasion the individual could divest himself of private feelings. Accept therefore my warmest congratulations on an event that must be highly gratifying to you in every point of view; but I must confess that while I participate in your feelings for your own sake, I take joy to myself on public considerations.”

## LORD BRAYBROOKE to THE SAME.

1809, December 17. Audley End.—“You cannot imagine the delight of us all on the receipt yesterday morning of your triumph at Oxford over prejudice and calumny. I had the post very early on purpose (other plans having failed by coach) and as soon as I had the news, I took myself *undressed* to three adjoining bedchambers occupied by Watkin, Henry, and Dick. The female part shared in our joy, and we all join in most sincere congratulations. Catherine is out of patience with Mr. Holland Edwards for not going to Oxford, but he is very stingy, and perhaps was too proud, and too rich, to fall in with some of the conveyances set apart for your friends. I regret Hodgkinson’s absence, but his wife, (I fear dying) could not part with him. I think I told you he is in the island of Madeira, for her health.

“Though I had long intended to be satisfied with my honorary degree of A.M. I feel an ambition to be promoted to LL.D. on the occasion of your installation next summer; and flatter myself I shall not be hissed by the Eldonites or Beauforts. Ashley of Brasenose, Duffield of Merton, and Milles and Frankland of All Souls, sent me frequent accounts and the final result at last. I know really of no event so interesting to real Englishmen, or one presaging in my mind so much good at this most alarming period.”

## EARL OF CARYSFOOT to THE SAME.

1809, December 17. Bath.—“I cannot refrain from rejoicing with you on your success at Oxford. It appears to me the greatest and most honourable triumph which could be obtained. Your friends here have determined to dine together to celebrate the victory, and have pressed me to stay for that purpose till after the 26th, the day they have fixed for their meeting. I could not resist their general and earnest wish, though I have doubts whether it is expedient to do what may tend to give a party character to what is truly attributable to the general esteem in which you are personally held. But those who have put this forward are truly attached to you, and my judgment may perhaps be warped by my horror of a public dinner, especially when I am not perfectly strong in



health. I mean to be at Stowe on the 27th or 28th; and Elizabeth, who meets me there, gives me hopes that you and Lady Grenville will join the party."

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK to THE SAME.

1809, December 18. Blandford Park.—“In acquitting myself of the claims of private friendship and personal regard, to have contributed also to correct, in any degree, the public opinion on a point, respecting which it has been so grossly misled, will ever be a most gratifying reflection to me. I desired the Bishop of Oxford to express to you the pleasure I should have felt in accepting your kind invitation to Dropmore; but I was anxious at this particular moment to avail myself of the opportunity of calling here, in my return into Yorkshire, for the purpose of satisfying the Duke of Beaufort (who I had reason to believe had expected that I would not *appear personally* as his adversary at the election) that my engagements to you would not have admitted of my absence from the poll, unless I had been able, after submitting to you, for your determination, his *distinct wishes* on that individual point, to obtain your consent to it.

“You will be glad to hear I have been able to set all right by plainly stating to him how I was circumstanced when I first heard of his entertaining those wishes, and which was not more than a week previous to the election. I have delivered your message to him, and am charged by him, in return, to assure you, that he feels much indebted to you for it; and sincerely rejoices that the conduct of his friends has accorded so entirely with his own views, and his disposition personally to yourself. Some of his voters (I believe about 30) went over to Lord Eldon, but this could not be avoided. Of the rest, it is the firm opinion *here*, that by *far the greater part* would have joined you had the Duke withdrawn from the contest at any period of it, notwithstanding the assertions of the Eldonites to the contrary. The latter are, or pretend, to be very angry with the Duke for having come forward. Of course, they are desirous that their defeat should be attributed to that circumstance. I have written in so great a hurry, that I fear I may not have made myself intelligible.”

THE REVEREND R. VALPEY to THE SAME.

1809, December 18. Reading.—“I do not congratulate your lordship on your election; but I congratulate the University of Oxford on a triumph over bigotry and illiberality. That election I consider as a greater security to Ireland against the effects of internal jealousy and discontent than an additional army. It will impress the Catholics with the certainty that the cause of political union and Christian charity must at last succeed, and make them wait with patience for that event. Of the other causes of

congratulation to the University I need say nothing, because they are obvious. This success will induce me to remain a member of Pembroke College, where I hope to have the honour of receiving your lordship at the installation, when the Master addresses a Latin speech to the Chancellor, who makes a short reply in the same language.

“Permit me to request your acceptance of some verses written by a son of mine for the Chancellor’s prize. If they have not superior merit they are at least a curiosity, as being printed by the author, who, after taking a degree with some credit, is just settled in London in the line of the Aldus’s and Stephens’s, and who laments that he has not yet a vote in the University.”

VISCOUNT BULKELEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 18. Stanhope Street.—“No post going out on Saturday from Englefield Green, I had no earlier opportunity of congratulating you on the event at Oxford, so honourable to yourself, and friends for their exertions, of which I never yet saw the like in all the elections I have ever seen. I will own to you the result has been a most agreeable surprise to me, for I thought a Chancellor supported by the King and Court and the Ministers, with a number of livings purposely kept vacant, would have succeeded against even a man of your lordship’s high and exalted character. I am most truly happy in having been mistaken in my guess, and I may say with truth that my desponding notions did not relax every effort I could make to serve you, and I actually polled five votes; honest persons not afraid of the Pope. I am come up for the Westminster play, and return to The Green to-morrow, from whence one of these days, wind and weather permitting, I shall pay my regards at Dropmore.”

*Postscript.*—“Jemmy and the General are arrived, and in very high feather, but full of complaining as usual. I dined with them yesterday, and your brother Tom, at Metcalf’s. Your friend the Duke of Cumberland has been boring the General to-day with his anathemas against your majority, interlarded with a good deal of ‘profane cursing and swearing’; and, like the *Courier* paper of last Saturday, using the King’s name most improperly and disrespectfully.”

THE REVEREND G. RICHARDS to THE SAME.

1809, December 18. Bampton.—“In the numerous congratulations which your lordship will receive upon the successful termination of the late contest, it will, I fear, appear presumptuous in me individually to join. Yet I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of conveying to your lordship my sincere and heartfelt expressions of joy upon the happy event. I had the honour of nominating your lordship because, for exalted birth, distinguished talents, great literary acquirements, political eminence, and exemplary moral conduct, I considered

your lordship as unquestionably the most proper person whom this kingdom offered, to preside over one of the first literary establishments in Europe.

“It was painful, in the course of the contest, to observe that endeavours were made to withdraw the attention of the electors from these high qualities, which alone ought to influence the decision, and to fix it upon another object, irrelevant to the question, and to be discussed in another place. It is, indeed, a source of the highest satisfaction to find that the majority remained uninfluenced by these attempts.”

THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE SAME.

1809, December 18. Cleveland Square.—“You know that I am no great winter traveller; at the same time Tierney has expressed so much desire that I would go with him to Dropmore to talk with you *de summâ rerum*, and, in truth, there is so much to be talked of, that I yesterday agreed with him to propose to you that we should come to Dropmore on Thursday next. The post of this morning has meanwhile brought me a letter from Lord Buckingham at Stowe earnestly pressing me to meet him at Dropmore, where he hopes to be *at the time of the deputation*, if he can so manage with the festivities of George’s birthday. By some words of his letter I see that he is very uneasy about the Catholic petition, and I certainly would do all I could to meet him when he so much desires it; but he names no time, and I know nothing about the deputation, when it is to come, or how long it is to stay, or how far it can be found practicable either for us to be in your house at that time; or, if there, to have any conversation except such as may be in common with ‘all the Doctors, both the Proctors, all heads of colleges and halls’; yet as my brother seems to make a point of being there I suppose he must. Pray have the goodness to send me a line by return of post (this night if possible) to say what I can settle with Tierney in respect to Thursday, or with my brother in respect to the time of the deputation, of which I know nothing. Of course I shall not wish to give myself two separate journeys for these two objects, but must unite them as well as I can into one visit to you.

“I hear no news. Lord Melville is at Wimbledon. Broome is out of humour at having been taught by Holland to expect the Duke of Bedford’s seat, and having found that there is some demur upon the subject, which he does not brook. I suppose, however, he will have it now that Lord R. S—— and P—— have both declined it. Did I mention that you should by all means write to Lord Ilchester, who was very zealous and very useful. I take for granted you have written to your ten pair of lawn sleeves. Elliot is in town, waiting for a summons to his Peterborough constituents as usual.”

## J. PHILLIMORE to the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

1809, December 18. Gower Street.—“It was a great mortification to me that I was under the necessity of leaving Oxford without having an opportunity of congratulating your lordship on the successful close of the contest in which you were so deeply interested. It was my first intention to have brought the intelligence of the termination of the election to Cuddesdon, but I was prevented from so doing partly by the lateness of the hour, and partly by my own exhausted state; and as I was to argue a cause in the Prerogative Court at nine o'clock on Saturday, I was obliged, on the day following the election, to make the best of my way to London. Our anxiety was exceedingly increased at the last, not only by the suspence in which we were necessarily kept during the interval which elapsed between the close of the poll and the counting of the votes, but more so by the information I received from my brother scrutineers of the desertion which had taken place from the Duke's party to Lord Eldon's. This was first mentioned to me by the Duke's scrutineer and was afterwards confirmed by Dr. Lawrence, who filled the same post for Lord Eldon. This certainly was an alarming circumstance, as one could not tell to what extent it might have been carried; but on the other hand I knew the more honourable part of the Duke's friends set their faces strongly against this base proceeding, and I had also every reason to think that we must have polled at least 400, out of the 1,036 who had voted. However, under all the circumstances, it was as nervous and anxious an interval as ever I remember to have passed through.

“The Vice-Chancellor is undoubtedly a person of a coarse and vulgar manner; he was also during the whole of the election suffering exceedingly from a very painful attack of the gout; and unquestionably also he had a very strong bias against us; but, at the same time, I really think that it was his intention, and his endeavour, to act with fairness and impartiality; and I feel it my duty to state this to you, because, as, from the beginning to the close of the contest, I was constantly present while he was, perhaps I had a better opportunity of judging of his conduct in this respect than those of our friends who were actively engaged in other departments of the common cause.”

## EARL GREY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 18. Howick.—“I congratulate you most sincerely on your success at Oxford, which I will confess has exceeded my hopes. Such a triumph over the misrepresentation of your enemies, and such a victory over all the powers of the Court, will not be less gratifying to you personally than it is important at the present moment in its public effects. Even in the University itself I hope it will

be found to be the commencement of an era of greater liberality of opinion than has hitherto prevailed there.

“Lady Grey’s health has not been good lately, and it is possible I may be detained here longer than I expected (I am not making excuses) on that account ; but if no obstacle of that kind occurs, I hope to be in London about this day fortnight.”

LORD GLASTONBURY to THE SAME.

1809, December 18. Conduit Street.—“As I am writing to the Chancellor of one of our Universities, it may be more respectful to address him in Latin ; I must, however, have recourse to plain English to assure you of the gratification which I derive from the success of an election, so very interesting and important in various points of view, and so very honourable to you in all. I congratulate you most sincerely on this occasion, and you will not suspect me of flattery, if I likewise congratulate *alma mater* herself on her good sense and taste. I will not add farther to the folios of letters, with which you must have been assailed in consequence of this event ; mine requires no answer.”

LORD CLIFDEN to THE SAME.

1809, December 18. Grove House.—“Allow me to congratulate you on your success at Oxford. I do so with great sincerity ; and as the no-popery yell has so completely recoiled on the heads of those who raised it, I hope we shall hear no more of it.”

PHINEAS PETT to THE SAME.

1809, December 18. Oxford.—“With the most cordial joy I avail myself of the opportunity afforded me in acknowledging the honour of your lordship’s very obliging letter, to offer my warmest congratulations upon the issue of the contest. It is not flattery to express my persuasion that when the animosities of the moment shall have subsided, every real and considerate friend to the University will discover the futility of the subsisting misconceptions, and will partake of the same sentiments of satisfaction.

“For myself (whatever had been the event), I profess it to be my pride and happiness that my situation here has happened to be such, as to give propriety to the public avowal of those feelings of respect and attachment towards your lordship’s high character, which, as a private individual, I have from early years never ceased to entertain. My humble though most willing services are appreciated by your partiality infinitely beyond their merit. If they have had any effect in the particular line in which they have been chiefly directed, it is but justice to my Christ Church friends, and above all to Mr. Corne, that I should attribute that effect to their zealous and judicious co-operation.

“I ought not to conclude my letter without acknowledging very thankfully your kind solicitude on account of my ill-health, which I wish that I could attribute to the fatigue of the occasion. It is of very long standing, and it has been very materially alleviated by the satisfaction naturally attending the success which has so justly terminated the late struggle.”

REVEREND F. HODSON, Principal of Brasen Nose College,  
Oxford, to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 18. Brasen Nose College.—“I enclose, for your information, the Vice Chancellor’s answer, and though I continue to think that his eagerness to show his respect has been less manifest than his hostility, with your lordship’s approbation, I will leave all that remains to himself.

“I have seen the Bishop of Oxford since I returned, and am happy to say that he is quite well.”

*Enclosing.*

(1) THE PRINCIPAL OF BRASEN NOSE to the VICE CHANCELLOR  
of Oxford University.

1809, December 16. Brasen Nose College.—“The Principal of Brasen Nose College presents compliments to the Vice Chancellor, and deeply regrets to find that he is suffering under increased indisposition.

“The object of the Principal’s call was to have paid his respects to the Vice-Chancellor, and to have availed himself of the opportunity of enquiring whether it had not been the usage of the University to confer by diploma the degree of LL.D. on the new Chancellor.

“Perhaps the arrangements necessary for such an act of Convocation, as well as for the private installation of Lord Grenville, cannot be fixed in a manner satisfactory to the Vice-Chancellor without those personal exertions, which are of course dependent upon the Vice-Chancellor’s recovery; and if so, as indeed in any case, the Principal hopes he shall not be soliciting what may subject the Vice Chancellor to a degree of trouble that can retard his recovery, if he requests the Vice-Chancellor to have the goodness to inform him whether he has been able to give his attention to the further honour of the degree, which Lord Grenville’s friends trust it is not presumptuous in them to hope for; or to the time at which it may appear to the Vice Chancellor most proper that his lordship should be invested with the honour already conferred.”

(2) THE VICE-CHANCELLOR to the PRINCIPAL OF BRASEN  
NOSE COLLEGE.

1809, December 17. Balliol College.—“The Vice-Chancellor presents compliments to the Principal of Brasen Nose, and

returns thanks for his obliging enquiries after his health. The Vice-Chancellor has experienced a very considerable aggravation of his indisposition, under which he still labours; he is very sorry that this circumstance rendered it inconvenient to him either to see the Principal of Brasen Nose when he called yesterday, or to answer his note.

“The Vice-Chancellor, most assuredly, has never been inattentive to the subjects which the Principal has been so good as to place before him. He has been, and he ever will be, sincerely anxious that the University should testify its respect for its Chancellor by every testimony of its favour which has been usual on such occasions. But he ventures to think that no delay has yet taken place, which might not have been easily and satisfactory accounted for, even without any reference to the state of his health; and he certainly feels that no admonition can be necessary to induce him to bring forward, for the consideration of the University, the particular measures above alluded to, as soon as circumstances will permit him to do so, in such a manner as he conceives to be most fit and proper.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 19. Cleveland Square.—“I return you Ponsonby’s letter which is pretty much what I expected him to write, as I had told Tierney ever since the death of Lord Lansdowne. I see no difficulty in your answer, because I take for granted that you will not wish to express to him any decided opinion till you have talked it over with Lord Grey, whose arrival in London will probably precede that of Ponsonby. As I did not see the House of Commons last year I can form no opinion worth the giving; but under all the present difficulties as between Tierney and Whitbread, I do not know but that Ponsonby may offer the best solution in the moment; but then he will never do in a change of Government to be the Minister in the House of Commons, at least if the same opinion continues to prevail among all our friends; and I know not how Lord Grey and you can propose to him to take this *new lease of the lead* for the purpose of dislodging him in case of a change of Government. If he will go on, and can go on, as he did, with the previous explanation of his taking the Irish seals in case of a change, that might be the best upon the whole for the present and the future; but it cannot be proposed to him now to take or to continue the lead without a distinct explanation of what that lead is to lead him to. Do not think by this that I am more of a believer in a change of Government; inasmuch as the public expectation of it is increased, the King’s resistance to it becomes something more difficult, but not a whit less decided. But though I personally do not expect a change, it would be quite childish not to consider the question of Ponsonby as it bears upon that matter; and for every reason that question must, as

I think, be reserved for full preliminary discussion with Lord Grey, and till that is obtained it must stand still. I am so much persuaded of this that I am more than half inclined to invite Tierney to put off his journey and his conversation with you, and to wait till after Lord Grey's arrival in London.

"I am surprised to hear that you must have any grantees about you to receive the Oxford deputation; if so I should advise you to receive them in London, for I know not how you can have any chance of getting any down to Dropmore. The Duke of Somerset is out of town; Morpeth is more than half gouty at Chiswick; the Chief Baron could, as I think, hardly find time for a second departure from his sittings; and I do not believe in Lord Stafford's going."

THE REVEREND CHARLES HENRY HALL, Dean of Christ Church,  
Oxford, to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 19. Christ Church.—"I beg you will permit me to congratulate you upon the successful termination of your contest for the Chancellorship of the University. I am myself thoroughly persuaded that our real interests and welfare cannot be placed in better hands; and in my present situation as head of this society, it is a circumstance of peculiar gratification to me, that the choice has fallen upon one of our own body, whose distinguished talents, and learning, have always reflected the highest honour upon the place of his education."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, December 20. Cleveland Square.—"Tierney agrees with me in thinking that it is of no use for us to go to Dropmore to talk to you of what you can do nothing in till you shall have seen Lord Grey; Elliot concurs in this opinion, and is quite as much impressed as I am with the persuasion that in fairness to Ponsonby he must be told *now* if he is not to be the Minister in the House of Commons; for to give him *now* a new lease will in all fairness entitle him to expect to be the Minister of the House of Commons in case you are called upon to make a new Government. How he can fill that situation I do not guess; and therefore I incline to think that, whether he now takes the lead or not, he ought to be invited (in case of change) to take the Irish seals with a peerage, an arrangement which I think he cannot complain of if it be *previously* announced to him.

"Tierney to-day expressed a hope that Abercrombie might succeed to Secretary of Treasury, and upon my observing that Fremantle had a sort of possession, he answered that he had reason to believe that Fremantle would like anything else better, and that as late as a week ago, when Fremantle assisted him with the anonymous circular letters, Fremantle said to him 'do not think I do this in reference to any desire to resume my former office; I do not wish to give any positive



opinion as to my resuming it or not ; but I do this because I have the means of assisting you about these letters. Of course I could only say that if Fremantle was not, I did not know of any objection to Abercrombie, to whom I perceived many of our friends to be well inclined.

"I enclose to you a letter from Sir H. Englefield, which I have answered.

"Tierney writes again to-night to Lord Grey to press his coming up before the rest of his family. Lord P[onsonby] tells Tierney that he can swear to G[eorge] P[onsonby's] having said 'he only wished to retain his seat to vindicate himself about the *Veto*' ; but Lord P[onsonby] tells Tierney that Lord Lansdown's death has changed his uncle's mind, and has led him to a different determination."

#### LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1809, December 20. Roehampton.—"As you mention in yours that you have been occupied in letters of thanks, I send a minute from my writing box of some names to whom I have thought it desirable to transmit some expressions of our thanks ; and perhaps there are several in the list who ought to have a line in your name ; such particularly as Mr. Bleckston, whose steadiness was material and made a most useful impression ; and Mr. Vansittart, who came under circumstances of great inconvenience ; and Mr. Richardson who travelled nearly 700 miles ; and Lord Henry Seymour to whom it was a most extraordinary exertion ; and William Vansittart who brought us two votes besides his own ; and Robert Moore, whose Windsor connection naturally might have turned him against us.

"In truth your committee should have told you of all these details in respect to the whole 406.

"We must have had many shabby deserters ; but on the whole the result is as good as could be wished, and makes a great impression of the most useful kind.

"I understand from good authority that the Treasury people do not expect a considerable majority. What is called the Circular Note of Opposition is criticised for saying that 'an amendment will certainly be moved' (to an unknown address) and that 'a division will certainly take place' (though the amendment may possibly be accepted).

"Lord Sidmouth told me that when it was proposed to Robert Dundas to come into the War Department, Lord Melville was at the same time offered an earldom, and was invited to town (I presume to superintend). He declined the offer, and said that under the circumstances he could not pledge himself.

"The great hope of the Ministers is in the chaotic state of the House of Commons, and in the driving the expeditions into the Serbonian bog of a Parliamentary enquiry.

"We resettle to-morrow at Eden Farm."

## THE EARL OF BRISTOL to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 20. Wenham.—“Now that the number of letters which you must have been daily receiving is likely to be diminishing, I must trouble you with a few lines to express the very great and sincere satisfaction which I have derived from the happy result of the late contest at Oxford.

“Before I left home I had ascertained that my express had reached Bury in time to secure Mr. Davenport’s attendance at Oxford, and I cannot deny myself the pleasure of giving you an account of the zeal which Mr. Kedington showed on this occasion, as it in some degree compensated to me for the cold reception which my application had met with in another quarter. When my servant reached Mr. Kedington’s on the Sunday previous to the election, he was unfortunately just gone to Norwich. This made so great a delay that it was 7 o’clock on *Tuesday evening* before he could get Mr. Davenport and Mr. Gooch into his post-chaise at Bury; and lest Mr. Davenport should loiter on the road, and so defeat the object of the journey, he went with them himself, and by travelling all night just arrived in time to vote for you.

“I have been so much hurt by Mr. Clare’s conduct that you must forgive my troubling you with this anecdote of a kind and perfectly independent country neighbour.”

## C. W. W. WYNN to THE SAME.

1809, December 20. Acton.—“The events of last week seems so like a dream that I can hardly yet believe that the object of so much anxiety is really attained. My uncle Tom has desired that I will mention to you the names of those who appear particularly deserving of your personal thanks. Probably I have already stated the claims of most of them in other letters, but those who now particularly occur to me are the following:—

Mr. Franklin.

„ Wheatley.

„ Phillimore.

„ D’Oyley of All Souls, very active both in London and Oxford.

„ Wrottesley.

Sir Charles Saxton.

Lord Yarborough.

Marquis of Townshend.

“I do not mention the long list of those whose successful exertions will appear from our fly lists and folio book, as I conclude that you have already written to them, as well as to Lord Thanet, whose endeavours, though unsuccessful, I told you of when at Dropmore. Lord Kinnauld and Sir G. Warrander appeared also to be very active.

“Charles Saxton returned to Dublin, on Sunday. I scarcely can think that they will venture on accepting his resignation,

though I have no doubt from his former letters and conduct that Pole will strain every nerve to get rid of him.

"I regret much that your installation must take place before I am within reach of Dropmore, as Crowe's speech and your answer, together with the placid countenances of the Vice-Chancellor and Brickenden, would be well worth a moderate journey.

"We agreed in Christ Church Common Room that among other reasons why your success was necessary for the credit of the University was the array of *all the talents* on your side, and that it would be impossible for either of the other candidates to find any poets to furnish tolerable productions for the *encenia*. Crowe, Heber, Coplestone, Herbert, and Simmonds, are infinitely above all other performers in the University to sing your triumph.

"Is it true that the Eldonites were sanguine enough of success to have printed letters ready to announce their majority, and to have offered the High Stewardship to Lord Radnor. Charles Saxton was the first who undeceived them at University, and found several of those who as victors were willing enough to shake hands with him, so much mortified by their defeat as scarcely to speak to him afterwards. Coker, I hear, on the declaration of the numbers, stood forth in the convocation house and declared the university to be ruined.

"I am now sitting in Mary's room, who is going on delightfully well, as well as the babe. She begs to send her best love to Lady Grenville, and to inform her that we judged it expedient to prefix another name to *Victoria*, lest the portion of Welsh blood which runs in the young lady's veins should procure her the elegant abbreviation of *Vixen* or *Vic*.

"I add an extract from a letter from Madras, dated July 12, though the fact it mentions may probably have already reached you. 'The army here are but one step from open mutiny, one regiment has gone so far as to confine it's commander, and place a person from among themselves at it's head. This principle is not confined to one regiment, but *rages throughout the whole army.*'

"Phillimore informs me that both our antagonists' inspectors told him towards the close of the poll that there had been a defection from the Duke of Beaufort to Lord Eldon. Have you at all heard it's amount?"

#### EARL GREY to THE SAME.

1809, December 21. Howick.—"By the last post I received the letters, copies of which accompany this, from George Ponsonby. The embarrassment with respect to him certainly is not diminished by the manner in which Tierney's letter to Lord Ponsonby has been communicated to him. It was not to be wondered at that he should be very much struck by the demand of a decisive answer upon a point on which, as it appears, he had no reason to believe that any previous

doubt existed. And perhaps there may appear to him so much difference in the tone of Tierney's letters to Lord Ponsonby and to himself as may excite some unpleasant feelings.

"I really never felt so much perplexed in my life as with respect to the answer that I must write to him; and I shall put it off till to-morrow. But I probably shall avoid saying anything very explicit; accounting for Tierney's letter by the different understanding of Lord Ponsonby and yourself with respect to his communication with you at the end of the last session, and deferring every thing else till I can have an opportunity of discussing personally with him and with you all the circumstances of our present situation. I will send you a copy of my letter when I have written it.

"All this is extremely unpleasant, but I really do not know how to take a more direct course, till I know your opinion. The general opinion of Ponsonby's failure was undoubtedly very strong; but I don't know what means we have of supplying his place; and there might perhaps be less disadvantage in continuing to act with him as the leader in the House of Commons, than either at present to attempt to appoint a new one, or to leave the party there without an ostensible head, and consequently deprived of all the established means of general communication. The first object however must be to conduct ourselves with perfect fairness to George Ponsonby, who, whatever the disadvantages attending his situation in the House of Commons may have been, has always acted most honourably. I will thank you to send the letters as soon as you have read them to Tierney. I shall leave this place about this day sen'night, and shall hope to be in town on the Monday or Tuesday following."

THE REV. F. HODSON TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 21. Brasen Nose College.—"Our meeting passed off without any unpleasant occurrence but a spar between the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Tatham, and which turned rather upon the general unstatutableness of the mode of transacting public business than upon the particular object of the meeting. The result was, that it shall be proposed to convocation on Saturday at 12 o'clock to confer upon your lordship by diploma the degree of LL.D; that the Vice-Chancellor, by the post of that night, shall communicate the further honour conferred, and at the same time consult your lordship as to the time and place where you would wish to be installed. He said that he would have called our attention to these subjects sooner, if his health would have allowed him; and that, subject to the same contingency, he should wish to assist at the ceremony of installation, as the more respectful way of proceeding. Possibly in your reply you might think it not unfit to fix the earliest day that will be compatible with his personal attendance; the earliness of the day showing

the value you attach to it, and the consideration of his personal attendance respecting a wish to be introduced to one with whom you must have some hospitable, and much official intercourse.

“The meeting this morning was very fully attended, and the temper that prevailed, just what you would wish.

“I enclose an extract from an old Oxford paper, though I do not flatter myself that it can be in any respect useful.”

*Postscript.*—“The names of the Heads of Houses who attended this morning; President of Corpus, Master of University, Rector of Exeter, Provost of Oriel, Provost of Queen’s, Rector of Lincoln, Warden of All Souls, President of Trinity, Principal of Jesus, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Principal of Magdalen Hall.”

#### LORD GRENVILLE TO THE EARL OF FINGALL.

1809, December 22. Dropmore.—“I have the honour to acknowledge your lordship’s letter enclosing to me a copy of the Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and informing me of the wish of the Petitioners that I should present it to the House of Lords. Previously to my taking any decision on a subject which involves so many important considerations, I feel it indispensably necessary to communicate with those persons with whom I have had the happiness to concur in all the steps which have hitherto been taken respecting it, and by whose judgment I must always be desirous of regulating my conduct in so far as may be consistent with my own sense of duty, and with the principles which I hold in common with them.

“The opportunity of such communication will probably not occur till a period near to the opening of the Session. If your Lordship is likely at that time to be in London I shall with great pleasure avail myself of the advantage of conversing with you upon the subject; if not, I take the liberty to request to be informed where I may address any further letters respecting it.” *Copy.*

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 22. Cleveland Square.—“I had no other hesitation about coming with Tierney to Dropmore than what arose from our apprehending that nothing could be done about what presses most in relation to G[eorge] P[onsonby] in the House of Commons, till Lord Grey comes in the first days of January; but if, nevertheless, you wish us to come to Dropmore, I will ask Tierney to go any day that you will fix in next week, unless you go to Stowe, which is perhaps a better use of your time. I think you have not rightly considered the whole of the question respecting the state in which G[eorge] P[onsonby] now stands, when you seem to describe his going on as the natural and ordinary state. In the first place you seem not aware that the first difficulty

as to G[eorge] P[onsonby] going on, is found in Tierney himself having formerly declared to G[eorge] P[onsonby] that he, for one, thought the party broken up by what passed last Session, and that he, for one, would not again engage in that firm ; and Tierney in his last letter to G[eorge] P[onsonby] referred to that declaration, and repeated that his sentiments continued to be the same. Tierney is also persuaded that many of the party have the same objection with himself to G[eorge] P[onsonby] continuing to take the lead. Here then is a new feature in the case which must either be braved by our telling Tierney we care not what he does, or must be overcome by Tierney and the others being persuaded (I know not how) to withdraw their objections. Another new difficulty which you seem equally to have overlooked is in the intention which G[eorge] P[onsonby] shows of not returning to the Irish seals in case of a change of government ; or, in other words, the evident project which he has of being the Minister in the House of Commons in case of any general change. Whether this ought or ought not to be tried, whether if tried there is any hope of its succeeding, whether our friends could be induced to make that experiment, or whether any other experiment could be tried with any better hope, are all very important questions ; but they are quite new questions ; because up to this moment both Lord Grey and Lord Lansdowne and you had all agreed and understood that, in case of a change, G[eorge] P[onsonby] was to go back to the seals with a peerage ; and, if you recollect, Lord Grey had distinctly expressed his sense of the necessity of this arrangement, and his approbation of it whenever the case should arise. All that I wish you therefore to remark is that the new difficulty arises, not from any letter of Tierney's, but from the evidence of G[eorge] P[onsonby] now showing that he is by no means ready to go back to the Irish Seals ; and this appears, not from any correspondence with Tierney, but from Lord Grey's correspondence with G[eorge] P[onsonby] when he sent to him to Ireland the account of the overture, and asked to know his wishes in case of a change of government in respect to the Irish Seals ; a question which G[eorge] P[onsonby] declined to answer, and which manifested that he had other views than those of the Irish Seals.

“ I have stated to you thus shortly what appears to me to be the two great difficulties of G[eorge] P[onsonby] continuing in the lead ; first the difficulty of Tierney having explicitly declared that he and many others will not so go on ; secondly, that G[eorge] P[onsonby] having been considered as holding the lead now, to resume the Irish Seals, has shown pretty plainly that in case of a change he thinks he may continue the lead in Government in the House of Commons. These are each of them such important differences in his position, as make at least a new question as to the expediency and the possibility of his continuing leader ; and do not by any means

leave it as a matter of course, although I very readily admit that great difficulties will also be found in every other shape that I can think of.

“I am glad you have determined to receive your Deputation in town, because you can more easily dispose of them, and dine them, and have done with them in Camelford House than at Dropmore.

“I don’t well see how to circulate your letter, if you object to the chance of it’s getting into print; there is no way of circulating it but by multiplying copies, which at last always reach the columns of *The Morning Chronicle*. My notion was that your future correspondence with Lord Fingal respecting the *Veto* would not inconveniently be prefaced by your letter to Hogdson getting into print; but if you think your letter to Lord Fingal will, with better advantage, go by itself into public, there can be no objection to that course; but, of the necessity of adopting the *Veto*, I am every day more and more persuaded. No news beyond the increasing report of Wellesley making war upon Castlereagh, in order to invite Canning back into office.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1809, December 23. Cleveland Square.—“The enclosed speaks for itself; Lord St. Vincent was so earnest in his exertions in the Oxford Election, to which he carried more than one voter at his own expense, that I am sure you will be glad to assist his friend Mr. Taylor if you can. A line from you to Lord St. Vincent would be handsomest, but if you prefer it, write me such a line as I can enclose to him. The reports of Wellesley bringing in Canning increase. I suppose it will end so, though I know not how soon or how late.”

*Postscript*.—“Hester writes me word that some of her country neighbours, and those above par too, have ‘taken the liberty to ask her ladyship whether it is not true that her ladyship’s three brothers are Roman Catholics.’ This is a pretty good proof that where a good deal of dirt is thrown, some always sticks. I was not aware that any of us need have made a protestant profession; but I suppose now it will not be believed if it be made. I have a great dislike to be thought a Roman; I suppose my brother and you don’t care what you are thought.”

#### THE REVEREND F. HODSON to THE SAME.

1809, December 23. Brasen Nose College.—“The degree of Doctor in Civil Law was conferred this morning with an unanimity which, I hope, is a pledge of future harmony. Dr. Hughes acted as Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Parsons being still confined; and one of the Pros for S. Proctor who has not been in the university this week. Considering that it is now vacation the convocation was well attended; I should

think not fewer than 50 ; and amongst them some that I was very glad to see ; the Master of the University College, the Dean of Christ Church, Canons Jackson, Hay, and Howley.

“The Vice-Chancellor’s professions of respect, and of a desire to manifest it by his own attendance, may possibly induce your lordship to have the period at which you would receive the delegacy dependent in some measure upon his recovery. But still would it not be desirable that the investiture should take place *before* the meeting of Parliament ; and would not a range of three weeks for him to choose in imply sufficient consideration for the Vice-Chancellor ?

“Has it occurred to you to consider whether, in the event of the ceremony taking place in town, it might not be right that the Lord High Steward and the members for the University should be invited ?

“As the three Esquire Bedels are graduates, it is usual to allow them a separate table ; the Yeomen Bedels will fancy themselves well off by dining with your lordship’s steward.

“The newsman’s address, which I take the liberty of enclosing for Lady Grenville, is supposed to be versified by Crowe, who tells me that the dialogue which is introduced actually passed.”

*Postscript.*—“Dr. Gibbes left full practice at Bath for three days ; and it has been hinted to me that a line from your lordship would be valued as it ought !”

*Private.* SIR CHARLES SAXTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 24. Dublin Castle.—“At my return to Dublin I have the honour to receive your lordship’s very kind and flattering letter of the 14th instant ; and, in reply, can with great sincerity assure you, that the satisfaction I have felt in testifying the sense I entertain of your kindness to me, and claims upon the University, has been greatly enhanced by the manner in which your lordship has condescended to receive what was, on my part, but an act of duty and gratitude.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE SAME.

1809, December 26. Eden Farm.—“We are re-settled here till about the 1st February, and shall then go to town till the beginning of May ; three months sacrificed to the purposes of education. That consideration alone prevents me from selling my house in Palace Yard.

“I this morning received a letter from Lord Gwydir, in which he says, ‘I give you joy of Lord Grenville’s success, to which I was delighted to have contributed my mite ; but as I am a Cambridge man, my means were not equal to my wishes.’ Perhaps it would be worth while to write a line of thanks to him.



“Mr. Blechston writes a *private* line to me to say that ‘Lord Francis Spencer is *visibly* turning against the present Government.’ I trust that you will have the public support of that whole family and connections; for though it is in some degree divided against itself, there is no reason why it should not unite under your banners. I have just written to Lord Francis to recommend to him to insist on the issuing of a new India Commission; it is a sort of swindling proceeding to keep him under false colours.

“You will hardly decide on the words of the amendment till after a conference with Lord Grey and others (including perhaps Lord Sidmouth); but I conceive that it should be generally worded in terms ‘expressive of regret and indignation respecting the calamities and councils which have brought such loss, danger, and disgrace on the interests and character of the British empire.’ Those terms to be so managed as to evince a withdrawing of confidence from the present Government, and yet not to compromise the consistency or prejudices of individuals who hitherto had given their support, and are now satisfied that there must be a change.

“The ministers are clearly wrecked, but beyond that wreck I see nothing satisfactory.”

*Confidential.*—“It is most desirable, if it can be done with your strictest sense and conviction of what is due to character, that you and Lord Grey should find some mode of declared postponement of the Irish question; such a postponement (which may be conjectured, but should never be admitted, to be limited to the present reign) would eventually best secure your ultimate objects respecting Ireland, and in the meantime rescue the country from the miseries and mischiefs of weak Ministries.

“The next point is the alarming wildness of the House of Commons. It might perhaps be in some degree remedied by a proper explanation and understanding with Mr. Whitbread, who, if in office with men of right principles, might see that he is pursuing ideas very dangerous to the country.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, December 26. Cleveland Square.—“If upon similar occasion it has been usual to invite the Lord H[igh] St[eward] of the University, that invitation should not be withheld because he was a rival candidate for the Chancellorship; but if custom does not prescribe it, one should naturally avoid it, because there is a necessary awkwardness in your inviting him to meet the University, when there is nothing for him to do but to be a witness of his defeat and your triumph over him; this appears to me to be so natural and obvious an objection, that nothing short of indispensable usage would induce me under similar circumstances to invite him. If custom so much requires this invitation from you, as that the omission of it could be construed into wilful neglect, then

and only in such a case would I invite him. Is it quite sure that, before you have received the Deputation and have been invested by them, you can in your card of invitation designate yourself chancellor and give yourself that title in your proposed card?

“With respect to Homer, I believe Dr. Hodgson will look for very different acknowledgments from you, and will not give you a receipt in full for the L. P. Adelphi edition; but whatever he will take as an act of kindness from you I shall be too glad to concur in, and whenever you will send me a warrant countersigned Buckingham I will execute your commission; I should in that case be tempted perhaps to let him have my copy, which is too much decorated to please me, and I would then have one bound with more classical simplicity to suit my fancy.

“By the bye it has struck me that perhaps poor Kidd, whom you have more than once been good to, may from his gratitude have put himself to the expense of a journey to vote for you; if that be so (and you can easily learn it) the Adelphi could not do better than renew their joint mite to make him a little purse of 50*l.* at Coutts’s, of which he has perhaps at least as much need as usual.

“I hear no news—I am going to show your letter to the Primate! which is a high trial of it.”

#### EARL ST. VINCENT to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 26. Ratchetts.—“Many thanks for your obliging letter; and I beg leave to assure your lordship that few events of a long and chequered life have gratified me so much as your well-merited success at Oxford.”

#### THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, December 27.—“I had scarce read your letter when Tierney arrived with the papers which you had transmitted to him from Grey. He is not surprised at the tone of irritation in which G[eorge] P[onsonby] writes concerning him, for he now for the first time discovers that Lord P[onsonby] has never told G[eorge] P[onsonby] a word of his having himself quoted G[eorge] P[onsonby] to Tierney, for having himself declared to Lord P[onsonby] ‘that he did not mean to continue the lead next session, but should be sorry to give up his seat, as he thought he ought to be in Parliament to defend himself upon the *Veto*.’ When Tierney wrote to Lord P[onsonby] Tierney reminded Lord P[onsonby] of his having used these words, as having heard them from his Uncle, and desired him to write to his uncle to know if he still retained that intention, or if you had better understood him when you described his conversation to you as conveying no such idea; a week after this Tierney wrote a second note to Lord P[onsonby] to remind him that the time pressed for obtaining an answer

to his former letter; but Tierney had not the smallest suspicion that Lord P[onsonby] would send to G[eorge] P[onsonby] either of his, Tierney's, notes; least of all did he suspect that Lord P[onsonby] would send to G[eorge] P[onsonby] the *second note only* which expresses an impatience to hear upon the subject, without sending to G[eorge] P[onsonby] any of the grounds on which this enquiry was made. Tierney therefore is not surprised that, in this state, G[eorge] P[onsonby] should be displeased at an enquiry the grounds of which he could not understand; but he is very justly surprised and displeased with Lord P[onsonby] that he should be potatoe-headed enough to send to G[eorge] P[onsonby] only the offensive part of Tierney's correspondence, without ever explaining to G[eorge] P[onsonby] that the enquiry had been produced by Lord P[onsonby's] own declaration to Tierney of what he Lord P[onsonby] had heard from his uncle.

“ It is clear to me that Lord P[onsonby's] wish to remove his uncle has made him exaggerate the report of his conversation beyond what he could venture to describe to his uncle; and, on the other hand, I suppose G[eorge] P[onsonby] to have hesitated originally about resuming the lead, and to have recently decided for it in consequence of Petty being withdrawn, and of thinking his own pretensions better than Tierney's or Whitbread's. If the party will accept of G[eorge] P[onsonby] that is certainly the easiest and the best; but if they will not follow him as leader he cannot lead them as followers. Certainly however I should incline to think that you would do best in agreeing with Lord Grey for the actual continuance of G[eorge] P[onsonby], with the reserve of the necessary reconsideration of that subject, if a new government should be required; a chance which you cannot think more remote than I do, because all that I see confirms me in the belief that out of our weakness, disunion, and distraction, this weak and contemptible government will find a strength and consistency which their own means alone could never have supplied to them. I return you Holland's letter with the copy of your answer, which latter is, as I think, quite unobjectionable. I cannot say that I equally approve of Holland's letter; his absence from England the whole of last session has prevented him from observing the direct hostility which Whitbread carried on against us, both in his peace amendment, and in his support of the still coarser hostilities of Madocks and of Creevey. But after Holland has been informed of the extent to which this was carried, he has no right to *claim* for Whitbread the same course of confidential intercourse, as arises naturally between those who are politically agreed and confidentially connected. Holland forgets that, while he is maintaining this claim of unlimited confidence to be reposed in Whitbread, Lord Grey thinks that Whitbread has politically separated himself from

us, and has very recently told Whitbread that he did so consider him. I am not stating this as a reason why all fair means should not be taken to render union practicable, nor is there anybody who desires it more than I do ; but I object to the whole of the tone and view which is to be traced in Holland's letter upon this subject, because in the whole of that letter he urges the reasons of complaint which we afford to Whitbread by not consulting him about the amendment, and by presuming to suggest a mover without his previous approbation. If Whitbread will join the party in the fair and ordinary interpretation of that word, he would be entitled to these marks of confidence, and to every other fair consideration from the party ; but it is a little too much to *claim* that confidence for him, in his state of more than half hostility, which belongs only to staunch and approved friends.

"I have not shown to Tierney the letter from Holland, or the answer.—Lady H[olland] is hard at work to obtain proper concessions from us to Whitbread, from her imagination being haunted by the dread of union with Canning.

"Report increases daily of Wellesley Premier—Percival Chancellor—Canning Minister of House of Commons—Huskisson Chancellor of Exchequer—but I know not how to believe it."

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET to LORD GRENVILLE.

1809, December 27. Bradley House.—"It will give me very great pleasure to be present at your installation, and I look forward with much expectation to the satisfaction which I promise myself from re-visiting Oxford on that occasion. That indeed I already anticipate in the very general expression of those sentiments which the result of the contest has called forth ; and in the persuasion I feel, considering the circumstances under which it took place, of the decided preference which was marked by its termination."

LORD FOLEY to THE SAME.

1809, December 28. London.—"I had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter, and in reply beg leave to assure you that the result of the Oxford contest afforded me the highest satisfaction ; and that I esteem myself extremely fortunate in having had it in my power to contribute (although in so small a degree) to that which I firmly believe was the anxious wish of the greatest part of the kingdom."

THOMAS GRENVILLE to THE SAME.

1809, December 30. Cleveland Square.—"I had observed the *Times* beginning to take an eager part in defence of Jackson, and in question of Erskine ; I therefore got my friend to say a word of caution upon this subject of America, and I have not seen it renewed. But by what I hear to-day I think

there is very little chance left, if any, of avoiding war. Tierney saw Pinkney yesterday, whose language to him was that of some blame of Jackson, still more of Maddison, but a most undisguised apprehension of very immediate war. Tierney has this day seen his *confidential friend* who talked of American war as a thing quite decided; and Tierney almost suspects, more from his manner than from his words, that the first blow will be struck by us. To me this conduct appears like absolute insanity, because American war was the only remaining evil that was left to us to apprehend in the present state of the world; and our real greatness and superiority enabled us to endure more from America in avoiding war than we could have done with respect to a power of more established naval and military force. We shall now lose all that remains to our commerce through the neutral flag of America; a few of our navy captains will make some prize money; and France will renew and confirm her connection with America, whose seamen mixed with many of our own will man the ships and fight the battles of France. Tierney's friend spoke of our retaining Canada and Halifax as quite hopeless from the total deficiency of sufficient military force to defend them; but with all this I see that Tierney thinks American war will be popular in the city, and that the Government will derive strength from an event which, as I think, should make a first article of impeachment against them. From the same quarter I learn that Percival and Wellesley are still pressing Huskisson to be Chancellor of Exchequer, Percival still continuing first Lord, which is at least a new *Dramatis Personæ* in the House of Commons; and, it is added, that the hope of Wellesley prevailing upon Canning to take the Admiralty is not thought desperate.

“The *runners* of Government look wise and mysterious when they name the word *Peace*. Pinkney told Tierney he believed there had been some general overture; and Bonaparte's gracious admission of South American independence is, by some, looked upon as connected with this supposed overture of peace.”

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## APPENDIX.

## THOMAS GRENVILLE to LORD GRENVILLE.\*

1806, August 5. India Board.—“I have just called in Downing Street to give you the enclosed letter which I found last night from Lord Carysfort. You will see in it that the bishop in the most explicit manner assured Lord Carysfort that he *was authorised to answer for the persons he named*; and, further, Lord Castlereagh has since been down there with the bishop. I cannot help thinking that, in this shape, what was said by the bishop must be considered as a distinct proposal, and must be treated as such; how far it can be entertained is another question, and not an unimportant one. For myself I confess that I incline to think it so desirable as to make me still wish for your pursuing it; and I cannot help thinking, in that view, that my suggestion is well worth the adopting. Why should you not *in the present moment* (without waiting the precarious state of poor Fox) consider the India Board and a seat in the Cabinet as disposable either to Canning or to Castlereagh, with the Mint for the other of them, and a promise to Rose? I should thus still remain in the Cabinet, for the present without office; and when any arose in which I could be useful, I might then take it, whether Admiralty which is bad, or Home seals instead of Lord Spencer, which is best.

“This seems to me to offer such great advantages that, if you agree with me, you will write a line to Lord Carysfort to say that, as he describes this to be a communication which the bishop was *authorised* to make, you are ready and desirous to talk it over with him. Less than this you cannot well say in answer, unless you are determined to *bar the door*. The only real embarrassment that I see is with respect to Tierney and Whitbread, and perhaps those difficulties are not to be easily surmounted; but still my advice to you is to entertain the discussion proposed by Lord Carysfort, and I think that my furnishing this facility in *the present moment through the office which I hold*, will give us a better right to the disposition of it in this shape, than if we waited first for another opening for me; to me it will be no inconvenience, for I can equally remain in the Cabinet without India. Pray reflect upon this.”

\* This letter, and the following one of Lord Carysfort, were found among Lord Grenville's correspondence for the year 1809, after the publication of Volume VIII to which they properly belong. The displacement is to be regretted as they throw a little more light on the somewhat obscure negotiation between Lord Grenville and Mr. Canning in 1806. See Introduction to Volume VIII, page 36.

*Postscript.*—"Do not forget Sir G. Barlow's red ribbon to-morrow. You have not returned me Lady Stafford's letter, nor told me what to say to her. If you write to Lord Carysfort it must be at Hinchbrook, in his way to the bishop."

*Enclosing:*—

LORD CARYSFORT TO THE SAME.

1806, July 27. Elton.—"I dined at Buckden on Wednesday, and as the bishop talked to me before I left him on Thursday night, upon general, as well as upon Huntingdonshire politics, you must not remain unapprized of what passed. The details of our conversation are of no consequence. The result is that Lord Castlereagh, Canning, and Rose are to be had, if you think it worth while to buy them. The bishop says it would attach to you the whole body of Pitt's friends. What number, and what description of persons this denomination may be now supposed to include you know better than I can. In my estimation none of these men are of sufficient calibre to lead the House of Commons, and Tom's accession to the Cabinet has, I think, considerably lessened your difficulties in that respect; but the reconciling them would certainly break completely the *present* Opposition. I collect from the bishop that Lord Castlereagh would expect the Cabinet, and that Canning would be satisfied with less. A consciousness of the difficulty of making immediate openings for them, or, perhaps, that they are not likely to keep anybody long in opposition, would make them satisfied with hope for the present. The bishop professed his readiness to go to you if you should wish to see him. The uncertain state of Fox's health, and the recess of Parliament, makes it not necessary to do anything in the matter at present. Lord Castlereagh appeared to me in Ireland a man of application, and showed a good deal of firmness and discretion in his management of the union, but I never could consider him as a great statesman, or a powerful speaker.

"I hear that Lord Althorpe declared himself a candidate for Northamptonshire at the assizes, and that Sir William Langham also starts. I know very little of that county, but I hear Lord Westmorland is hostile to Lord Althorpe; and I doubt the Duke of Buccleuch and his connections will be so too. Lord St. Helens should be applied to for Lord Exeter's interest, which must be considerable. I think Huntingdonshire promises well."

*Expedition to Constantinople.*

*Most Secret.* [W. WINDHAM] TO GENERAL HENRY EDWARD FOX, Commanding His Majesty's troops in the Mediterranean.

1806, November 20. Downing Street.—"Some late proceedings on the part of the Porte having rendered it indispensably

necessary that measures of a prompt and decisive nature should be adopted towards that Government, I have it in command to inform you that orders have been sent to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood to detach a squadron of five ships of the line under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth and Rear-Admiral Sidney Smith with directions to the former to proceed without a moment's loss of time to the Straits of Constantinople, and there to take such a hostile position as will enable him, should representations suitable to the occasion which Mr. Arbuthnot has been directed to make to the Turkish Government fail of the effect, to act offensively against Constantinople.

"I have it further in command to inform you that orders have been sent to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood to direct Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, in the event of strong measures becoming necessary, immediately on the commencement of hostilities to despatch a fast sailing vessel with intelligence to you of the same ; and I am to convey to you his Majesty's pleasure that, without waiting even for such communication, you make all necessary arrangements and preparations for the transporting of a corps consisting of 5,000 men under a suitable convoy to Egypt.

"On the completion of these arrangements and preparations you are to instruct the officer whom you may appoint to command the expedition, to proceed to Alexandria, (that is, provided you shall at the time have received information from Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth of hostilities having commenced) and on his arrival there, to use his utmost endeavours to effect the capture of that fortress. Should he succeed, he is to occupy and hold it on the part of His Majesty until he shall receive orders for his further proceedings. The object of His Majesty's Government in determining upon this measure is not the conquest of Egypt, but merely the capture of Alexandria ; and this for the sole purpose of preventing the French from regaining a footing in that country. Indeed, the views of His Majesty's Government do not even extend to the permanent occupation of Alexandria, it being in contemplation to make over the possession of that fortress to some friendly power, as soon as it can be made over consistently with a due attention to the object which I state.

"In choosing an officer to command this expedition, attention should be paid not only to military talents, but to those qualities which may fit such officer for a civil or political trust of very considerable importance. His interference in those party dissensions by which Egypt is generally agitated, or in those contests for power which are generally maintained amongst the Beys, will probably be unavoidable, and yet the precise line he ought to take in the exercise of such interference is difficult at this time and at this distance to point out ; but on such points it will be advisable that he should communicate with Major Misset, and that he should



pay due attention to the opinion of that officer, in all cases to which the local information he must necessarily possess may be supposed to extend." *Copy.*

*Removal to England of COUNT DE PROVENCE, afterwards  
LOUIS XVIII. OF FRANCE.*

*Copie du Pouvoir, que sa Majesté Louis XVIII. a remis  
au Comte de la Chapelle, au moment où il partait, par ses  
ordres, pour l'Angleterre.*

"Je prie les personnes qui liront ce billet, d'accorder toute confiance à ce que le Comte de la Chapelle leur dira en mon nom, sur l'objet important des intérêts qui me sont communs avec sa Majesté Britannique."

Mittau, ce 22 Novembre, 1805.

Signé, Louis.

Certifié conforme à la minute écrite et signée de la main du roi, et restée entre mes mains.

Londres, le 20 Fevrier, 1806.

Signé, le Comte de la Chapelle.

Délivré par moi, soussigné, a son Altesse Sérénissime Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans.

Londres, ce 20 Fevrier, 1806.

Signé, Le Comte de la Chapelle.

*Secret. No. 1. LE COMTE DE LA CHAPELLE à LE DUC  
D'ORLÉANS.*

1806, Fevrier 20.—"J'ai l'honneur de transmettre à votre Altesse Sérénissime la note par laquelle elle verra le desir que le Roi a de se fixer en Angleterre avec sa famille. Sa Majesté réclame par cette note, les bons offices de Monseigneur pour suivre cette négociation, au succès de laquelle il est facile de voir qu'elle attache une grande importance, par le choix même d'un négociateur tel que votre Altesse Sérénissime.

"Je ne doute pas que dans le tems nécessaire pour avoir une réponse de Mittau, Sa Majesté n'adresse à votre Altesse Sérénissime un pouvoir légal, signé de sa main, pour lui servir de titre, comme quoi c'est en son nom qu'elle agit et agira. Mais comme il est important que cette affaire ne souffre aucun retard, le pouvoir général et spécial que j'ai de sa Majesté (et donc je puis donner copie certifiée à votre Altesse Sérénissime) m'autorise suffisamment pour ne laisser aucun doute à quelque Ministre que ce puisse être, que c'est par l'express commandement du Roi mon maître, que j'ai communiqué à Monseigneur la note chiffrée qui contient le desir de sa Majesté et sa volonté expresse que ce fut votre Altesse Sérénissime qui fut uniquement, et exclusivement, chargée de cette négociation, qui exige le plus profond secret, jusqu'à ce que son succès ne laisse plus aucun moyen de la traverser.

“ J’ajouterai, à votre Altesse Sérénissime, que cette intention de Sa Majesté de se fixer en Angleterre avec sa famille, est tout à fait conforme à ce qu’elle m’a exprimé, avant que je me séparasse d’elle par ses ordres ; et qu’elle est en outre absolument concordante avec la confiance que sa Majesté prend dans la loyauté de sa Majesté Britannique, de son Ministère, et de sa nation, ainsi que je suis spécialement chargé de le faire connaître.” *Copy.*

NO. 2. NOTTE DU COMTE DE LA CHAPELLE à SON ALTESSE SÉRÉNISSIME MONSEIGNEUR LE DUC D’ORLÉANS.

1806, Fevrier 22. Londres.—“ Les ménagemens que le roi doit à l’Empereur de Russie ne lui permettent pas de manifester à ce souverain aucun désir de quitter ses états. Très reconnaissant de l’asile qu’il lui a donné, et surtout de ne l’avoir pas obligé d’aller à Kiow, sa Majesté sent cependant que le résidence de Mittau, qui lui a été accordée jusqu’ à présent, le place dans un trop grand éloignement de ses véritables intérêts, et principalement de l’Angleterre, où le Roi a depuis longtems le désir de fixer sa résidence.

“ Le Comte de la Chapelle est expressement chargé par sa Majesté de communiquer à son Altesse Sérénissime Monseigneur le Duc d’Orléans ce désir et ces intentions du Roi, et, en même tems, que c’est au zèle de son Altesse Sérénissime que le Roi confie le soin d’entamer, et de suivre vis-à-vis de sa Majesté Britannique et de son gouvernement, une négociation tendante à assurer la résidence du roi en Angleterre.

“ L’ Intention de sa Majesté est que son Altesse Sérénissime soit uniquement et exclusivement chargée de cette négociation ; et après avoir exprimé son désir, ses craintes, et les ménagemens auxquels sa position le soumet, le roi, dans sa dépêche chiffrée au Comte de la Chapelle, sous la datte de Mittau, le 18 Janvier 1806, dit textuellement ;

“ Ni Monsieur, frère du roi lui-même, ni aucune personnes que le roi ait jusques ici employées, ne peut l’être dans cette délicate négociation. Il faut une personne considérée par elle-même, écoutée du Cabinet de St. James, d’une discrétion à toute épreuve, et qui n’ait jamais reçu du roi aucune mission : ces différentes qualités se trouvent réunies dans M. le Duc d’Orléans, et le roi ne balance pas à la charger de cette importante affaire.

“ M. de la Chapelle lui en fera donc la proposition au nom de sa Majesté. Il lui donnera à cet égard les détails que les bornes d’une notte ne sauraient comporter, et ajoutera une grande vérité ; c’est que le roi saisit avec empressement cette occasion de donner à M. le Duc d’Orléans une marque de sa véritable confiance, et de mettre à l’épreuve son zèle et son habileté ; car pour son attachement, le roi en est bien sûr.”

“ Son Altesse Sérénissime sentira parfaitement que ce désir du roi est fondé sur des motifs bien importants.

“ 1°. Sur la confiance de sa Majesté dans sa Majesté Britannique et son gouvernement.

“ 2°. Sur la convietion dans laquelle est le roi, de parer, par sa présence, aux très graves inconvéniens qui résultent (*peut-être* pour le gouvernement Britannique, et sûrement pour le service du Roi) *de cette multitude d'agens non-avoués, et d'agences non-commandées*, qui obsèdent ici le gouvernement Britannique, par des projets incohérens, dont le moins funeste effet est de gêner et d'entraver les propres mesures de sa Majesté.

“ Le désir du roi est de resserrer de plus en plus les liens d'un intérêt commun entre le gouvernement Britannique et lui, et de mettre fin à un ordre de choses aussi nuisible.

“ Le Comte de la Chapelle n'entre pas dans de plus grands détails vis-à-vis de son Altesse Sérénissime ; s'en référant absolument, bien moins encore aux conversations qu'il a eu l'honneur d'avoir avec elle, qu'à ses propres lumières, dont il connaît l'étendue.” *Copy.*

CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CONDUCT OF  
H.R.H. THE PRINCESS OF WALES, 1806—1807.

- (1) *Report of Lords Grenville, Spencer, Ellenborough, and Erskine, on the charges brought by the Prince of Wales against the Princess, his wife.*

1806, July 14th. Camelford House.—“ Your Majesty having been graciously pleased by an instrument under your Majesty's royal sign manual, a copy of which is annexed to this report, to authorise, empower, and direct us to enquire into the truth of certain written declarations touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, an abstract of which had been laid before your Majesty, and to examine, upon oath, such persons as we should see fit touching and concerning the same, and to report to your Majesty the result of such examinations, we have, in dutiful obedience to your Majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions are hereunto annexed ; and, in further execution of the said commands, we now most respectfully submit to your Majesty the result of these examinations as it has appeared to us. But we beg leave at the same time humbly to refer your Majesty for more complete information to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment into which we may have unintentionally fallen, with respect to any part of this most important and delicate business.

“ On a reference to the above-mentioned declarations as the necessary foundation of all our proceedings, we found that they consisted in certain statements which had been laid before his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales respecting

the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess. That these statements not only imputed to her Royal Highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the Princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts; namely, that her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1802 in consequence of an illicit intercourse; and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her Royal Highness in her own house and under her immediate inspection. These allegations thus made had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or the delivery of her Royal Highness, but had related other particulars in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned.

“In the painful situation in which his Royal Highness was placed by these communications, we learnt that his Royal Highness had adopted the only course which could in our judgment with propriety be followed. When informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence applying to other points of the same nature though going to a far less extent, one line only could be pursued. Every sentiment of duty to your Majesty and of concern for the public welfare required that these particulars should not be withheld from your Majesty, to whom more peculiarly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state so nearly touching the honour of your Majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession to your Majesty's crown.

“Your Majesty had been pleased on your part to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which on every account demanded the most immediate investigation, your Majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining in the first instance what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your Majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt respecting them.

“On this review therefore of the matters thus alleged, and of the course hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper in the first place to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this inquiry had originated. Because if they, on being examined upon oath, had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity for further investigation might possibly have been precluded.

“We accordingly first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, who both positively swore, the former to his having observed

the fact of the pregnancy of her Royal Highness, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this report, and are circumstantial and positive.

“The most material of those allegations, into the truth of which we had been directed to enquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it our indispensable duty to follow up the enquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information as to the facts in question.

“We thought it beyond all doubt that in this course of enquiry many particulars must be learnt which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actually existing pregnancy, so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery; and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the Princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof either in the affirmative or negative on this part of the subject.

“This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your Majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess is the child of her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has anything appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our enquiries.

“The identity of the child now with the Princess, its parentage, the place and the date of its birth, and the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her Royal Highness’s protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. That child was beyond all doubt born in the Brownlow Street Hospital, on the 11th of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austen; and was first brought to the Princess’s house in the month of November following.

“Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Princess as stated in the original declarations, a fact so fully contradicted and by so many witnesses to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially extracted them in this report, lest by any unintentional omission, we might weaken their effect; but

we humbly offer to your Majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation on the result of the whole enquiry.

“We do not however feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your Majesty has been pleased to command us to enquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.

“From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your Majesty will perceive several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses who cannot be, in our judgment, suspected of any unfavourable bias; and whose veracity in this respect we have seen no ground to question.

“On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your Majesty’s wisdom. But we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the enquiry as distinctly as on the former parts, that as, on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so, on the other hand, we think that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between Her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited, until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

“We cannot close this report without humbly assuring your Majesty that it was on every account our anxious wish to have executed this delicate trust with as little publicity as the nature of the case could possibly allow; and we entreat your Majesty’s permission to express our full persuasion that if this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to anything unnecessarily said or done by us.

“All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty.”

## (2) CABINET MINUTE.

1806, July 29. Downing Street.

Present:

|                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| The Lord Chancellor. | Lord Henry Petty. |
| Lord Privy Seal.     | Mr. Windham.      |
| Earl Spencer.        | Mr. Grenville.    |
| Earl of Moira.       | Lord Grenville.   |

“Your Majesty having been pleased to refer to the consideration of your Majesty’s confidential servants a report made to your Majesty by the lords whom your Majesty was

pleased to direct to enquire into the truth of certain facts contained in certain written examinations, the abstract whereof had been laid before your Majesty, and which relate to the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and your Majesty having laid your commands upon your confidential servants to submit to your Majesty their advice as to the steps which it may be proper for your Majesty to take in consequence of the said report;

“It is humbly submitted to your Majesty that it would be proper in the first instance for your Majesty to direct that the Lord Chancellor should write to the Prince and to the Princess of Wales and transmit to each of their Royal Highnesses a copy of the said Report.” *Copy.*

(3) LORD GRENVILLE TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1806, November 10. Downing Street.—“I have felt so much uneasiness at the appearance of delay in the business which your Royal Highness adverts to in the letter of the 30th *ultimo*, which I have had the honour to receive a few days back, that I cannot help troubling your Royal Highness with a few lines on the subject. When the answer, which the Princess of Wales has been advised to make to the report of the Privy Councillors appointed to investigate the charges against her, was laid before the King by the Lord Chancellor, His Majesty gave orders to the Chancellor that a copy should be made of it, and that the original book should be returned to him. This has caused a great and unavoidable delay. The book is a moderate sized folio, pretty closely written; and as only one person could write from it at once, the copying it has taken up much time. Owing to this circumstance it was not till the middle of last week that I received it, though I have frequently enquired for it before. I lost no time in reading it through, not waiting even to make the continual references it requires to the report, and to the previous examinations; and I immediately sent it in circulation to my colleagues, and particularly to Lord Ellenborough, to whom I spoke on the subject, and who promised me that he would devote the whole of yesterday to a careful and studied perusal of it.

“The paper is of such a nature as to require a very careful consideration of it before any step is decided on; and I am sure I need not remark to your Royal Highness that the consequence of any false step in this stage of the business would be in the highest degree prejudicial both to our own characters and to the still more important consideration which is involved in this business.

“I think nobody can doubt who reads the defence that it is drawn with a view to publication. The question as to the nature of the answer, and particularly what degree of detail should be entered into for repelling any of the inferences it contains, is one of very great delicacy and importance;

and which I certainly should not wish to take upon myself to decide without the full benefit of the assistance of my colleagues.

“ I earnestly entreat your Royal Highness to believe that in a matter which cannot but be so anxious to your feelings, my own are deeply interested. It would be the utmost gratification to me if I could, by any step that could now be taken, relieve your Royal Highness’s mind from the anxiety under which it necessarily labours on this subject. But where there has been so much industry used to excite misapprehension and clamour, and where we may almost reckon upon the certainty of some attempt to bring the matter into Parliamentary discussion, I should ill discharge my duty to your Royal Highness if I omitted to urge the necessity of acting with the utmost circumspection and caution.

“ Lord Wellesley was in the highest degree sensible of your Royal Highness’s condescension and goodness to him. He had already received too many proofs of them to have suffered any impression whatever to be made upon his mind by the shameful publication in question, except that of indignation at the manner in which your Royal Highness’s name had been brought forward.” *Copy.*

#### (4) CABINET MINUTE.

1806, December 23. Downing Street.

Present :

The Lord Chancellor.  
The Lord President.  
The Lord Privy Seal.  
The Earl Fitzwilliam.  
The Earl Spencer.  
The Earl of Moira.

The Viscount Howick.  
The Lord Henry Petty.  
The Lord Grenville.  
Lord Ellenborough.  
Mr. Secretary Windham.  
Mr. Grenville.

“ Your Majesty’s confidential servants, in humble obedience to your Majesty’s pleasure communicated to them through the Lord Chancellor that they should take into their consideration the whole of the proceedings connected with the inquiry which had been in the first instance entrusted to the Lord Chancellor, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville and Lord Ellenborough, and with the most dutiful regard to the intimation which your Majesty at the same time condescended to make them of the necessity of acting with the utmost care and caution in a matter of so delicate a nature, have perused and weighed with the most serious attention every part of the proceedings connected with that enquiry; and however deeply they may regret the pain which any degree of delay on this subject may have occasioned to the feelings of her Royal Highness, it is humbly submitted that they might have incurred the blame of inattention to those feelings in other respects if, under the succession of distressing events which have lately occurred to her Royal Highness, anything like precipitation had been shown on their part, even if the



grave and important nature of the subject under their consideration, and your Majesty's express commands, had not demanded the most careful deliberation.

"Your Majesty's servants feel themselves called upon to express to your Majesty that they find no ground to question the legal competence and sufficiency of the authority under which the oath taken by the several witnesses examined in the course of that investigation was administered to them. That they cannot discover any just cause of complaint against the four lords to whom this enquiry was entrusted, because, in a proceeding which from its nature was necessarily carried on merely *ex parte*, they did not think fit to call upon her Royal Highness to suggest anything in explanation or contradiction of the matter into which your Majesty had directed them to make such preliminary enquiries as were necessary in order to enable your Majesty to decide whether any, and what further steps, should be taken upon it. Nor do they understand upon what pretence the law advisers of her Royal Highness have thought fit to state that those lords when they had, as it is alleged, satisfied themselves of the falsehood of the principal charge, and of the absence of all legal and substantive offence, had considered themselves empowered to proceed in the examination of the particulars of private life, and to report upon the proprieties of domestic conduct, and the decorum of private behaviour; it appearing on the very face of the papers that no such distinct enquiry was ever instituted, but that the enquiry carried on by those lords proceeded throughout, from its commencement to its close, upon the whole of the matter still depending before them, as that which might eventually be made the subject of legal trial; and that all the points to which their examinations were at any time directed were immediately connected either with the substantive charges then under their consideration, or with the credit of the testimony upon which the accusation rested.

"Those of your Majesty's confidential servants who were not parties to that enquiry feel it their duty to represent to your Majesty that they concur with the four lords above-mentioned in the several conclusions which they drew from the evidence before them. And your Majesty's confidential servants, after the fullest consideration of the observations and affidavits brought forward by her Royal Highness's legal advisers, agree in the opinions submitted to your Majesty in the original report of the four lords. In the present stage of the business they feel it their duty humbly to submit to your Majesty that, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion that the facts of the case do not warrant their advising that any further step should be taken in the business by your Majesty's Government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as your Majesty's

law servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend for the prosecution of Lady Douglas, on those parts of her evidence which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.

“Your Majesty’s servants observe that the statement which has been offered to your Majesty on behalf of her Royal Highness concludes with a prayer that your Majesty would ‘restore to her Royal Highness the blessings of your gracious presence, and confirm to her by your own gracious words your Majesty’s satisfactory conviction of her innocence.’

“Your Majesty’s servants humbly submit that whatever personal declarations your Majesty may be pleased to make to her Royal Highness, must be considered as depending solely on your Majesty’s own feelings and persuasion on the result of all that has passed in a matter so immediately connected with the honour, comfort, and decorum of your Majesty’s royal family in the more private relations of domestic life.

“The degree of intercourse and access to your Majesty’s person, to which your Majesty may be graciously pleased to admit any member of your royal house is also a point on which your Majesty’s servants feel themselves not properly competent to advise; and therefore they think themselves bound with dutiful humility to forebear to offer any opinion or recommendation thereupon.”

(5) CABINET MINUTE.

1807, January 25. Downing Street.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor.  
Lord President.  
Lord Privy Seal.  
Earl Spencer.  
Earl of Moira.

Lord Henry Petty.  
Viscount Howick.  
Lord Grenville.  
Lord Ellenborough.  
Mr. Secretary Windham.  
Mr. Grenville.

“Your Majesty’s confidential servants have given the most diligent and attentive consideration to the matters on which your Majesty has been pleased to require their opinion and advice. They trust your Majesty will not think that any apology is necessary on their part for the delay which has attended their deliberations on a subject of such extreme importance, and which they have found to be of the greatest difficulty and embarrassment.

“They are fully convinced that it never can have been your Majesty’s intention to require from them that they should lay before your Majesty a detailed and circumstantial examination and discussion of the various arguments and allegations contained in the letter submitted to your Majesty by the law advisers of the Princess of Wales. And they beg leave with all humility to represent to your Majesty that the laws and constitution of their country have not placed them in a situation in which they can conclusively pronounce on

any question of guilt or innocence affecting any of your Majesty's subjects, much less one of your Majesty's Royal Family. They have indeed no power or authority whatever to enter on such a course of enquiry as could alone lead to any final results of such a nature.

"The main question on which they had conceived themselves called upon by their duty to submit their advice to your Majesty was this; whether the circumstances which had by your Majesty's commands been brought before them were of a nature to induce your Majesty to order any further steps to be taken upon them by your Majesty's Government, and on this point they humbly submit to your Majesty that the advice which they offered was clear and unequivocal.

"Your Majesty has since been pleased further to require that they should submit to your Majesty their opinions as to the answer to be given by your Majesty to the request contained in the Princess's letter, and as to the manner in which that answer should be communicated to her Royal Highness.

"They have therefore in dutiful obedience to your Majesty's commands proceeded to reconsider the whole of the subject in this new view of it. And after much deliberation they have agreed humbly to recommend to your Majesty the draft of a message which, if approved by your Majesty, they would humbly suggest your Majesty might send to her Royal Highness through the Lord Chancellor.

"Having before humbly submitted to your Majesty their opinion that the facts of the case did not warrant their advising that any further steps should be taken upon it by your Majesty's Government, they have not thought it necessary to advise your Majesty any longer to decline receiving the Princess into your royal presence. But the result of the whole case does, in their judgment, render it indispensable that your Majesty should by a serious admonition convey to her Royal Highness your Majesty's expectation that her Royal Highness should be more circumspect in her future conduct; and they trust that in the terms in which they have advised that such admonition should be conveyed, your Majesty will not be of opinion, on a full consideration of the evidence and answer, that they can be considered as having at all exceeded the necessity of the case as arising out of the last reference which your Majesty has been pleased to make to them."

*Enclosing :—*

ANSWER FROM THE KING TO H.R.H. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

"The King having referred to his confidential servants the proceedings and papers relative to the written declarations which had been laid before his Majesty respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales, has been apprized by them that, after the fullest consideration of the examinations taken

on that subject, and of the observations and affidavits brought forward by the Princess's legal advisers, they agree in the opinions submitted to his Majesty in the original report of the four lords by whom his Majesty directed that the matter should, in the first instance, be enquired into. And that in the present stage of the business, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion that the facts of this case do not warrant their advising that any further step should be taken in the business by his Majesty's Government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as his Majesty's law servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend for the prosecution of Lady Douglas on those parts of her depositions which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.

"In this situation his Majesty is advised that it is no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the Princess into his royal presence.

"The King sees with great satisfaction the agreement of his confidential servants in the decided opinion expressed by the four lords upon the falsehood of the accusations of pregnancy and delivery brought forward against the Princess by Lady Douglas. On the other matters produced in the course of the enquiry the King is advised that none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations carried on in the absence of the parties interested can be considered as legally or conclusively established. But in those examinations, and even in the answer drawn in the name of the Princess by her legal advisers, there have appeared circumstances of conduct on the part of the Princess which his Majesty never could regard but with concern and disapprobation. The elevated rank which the Princess holds in this country, and the relation in which she stands to his Majesty and his royal family, must always deeply involve both the interests of the State, and the personal feelings of his Majesty, in the propriety and correctness of her conduct. And his Majesty cannot therefore forbear to express, in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation that such a conduct may in future be observed by the Princess as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection which the King always wishes to show to every part of his Royal Family.

"His Majesty has directed that his message should be transmitted to the Princess of Wales by his Lord Chancellor, and that copies of the proceedings which have taken place on the subject should also be communicated to his dearly beloved son the Prince of Wales."

(6) GEORGE III to THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

1807, January 27. Windsor Castle.—"The King has received from the Lord Chancellor the minute of Cabinet

upon the matters referred for their advice upon the subject of the Princess of Wales, and, with it, the draft of a message which, it is therein submitted, should be sent by his Majesty to the Princess through the Chancellor. Upon full consideration of the contents of that message, the King has thought proper to make one alteration by erasing the words ‘*and disapprobation*’ and inserting the word ‘*serious*’ as prefacing ‘*concern*’; as it has appeared to his Majesty that the former sentiment is sufficiently implied by the general expression and sense of the message, without having recourse to any harsh terms, which are repugnant to his Majesty’s feelings upon all occasions, but more particularly so when addressing a woman. The King approves of the message thus altered, and of the suggested mode of communication; and he desires that the Chancellor will return the draft to him, after conveying the message to the Princess.” *Copy.*

## (7) CABINET MINUTE.

1807, April 21st. Downing Street.

Present :

|                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| The Lord Chancellor.  | The Earl Bathurst.     |
| The Lord President.   | Viscount Castlereagh.  |
| The Lord Privy Seal.  | Lord Mulgrave.         |
| The Duke of Portland. | Mr. Secretary Canning. |
| The Earl of Chatham.  | Lord Hawkesbury.       |

“Your Majesty’s confidential servants have in obedience to your Majesty’s commands most attentively considered the original charges and report, the minutes of evidence, and all the other papers submitted to the consideration of your Majesty on the subject of those charges against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

“In the stage in which this business is brought under their consideration, they do not feel themselves called upon to give any opinion as to the proceeding itself or to the mode of investigation in which it has been thought proper to conduct it. But adverting to the advice which is stated by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to have directed his conduct, your Majesty’s confidential servants are anxious to impress upon your Majesty their conviction that his Royal Highness could not under such advice, consistently with his public duty, have done otherwise than lay before your Majesty the statement and examinations which were submitted to him upon this subject.

“After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the Commissioners, and of the previous examinations which have been submitted to your Majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence in the clear and unanimous opinion of the commissioners, confirmed by that of all your Majesty’s late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged

against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved. And they further submit to your Majesty their unanimous opinion that all the other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her Royal Highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, are either satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of your Majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants therefore, concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in their minute of the 25th of January, that there is no longer any necessity for your Majesty being advised to decline receiving the Princess into your royal presence, humbly submit to your Majesty that it is essentially necessary in justice to her Royal Highness, and for the honour and interests of your Majesty's illustrious family, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales should be admitted with as little delay as possible into your Majesty's royal presence, and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station in your Majesty's court and family.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants likewise beg leave to submit to your Majesty that, considering that it may be necessary that your Majesty's Government should possess the means of referring to the true state of this transaction, it is of the utmost importance that those documents demonstrating the ground on which your Majesty has proceeded should be preserved in safe custody, and that for that purpose the originals or authentic copies of all these papers should be sealed up and deposited in the Office of your Majesty's Principal Secretary of State."

(8) CABINET MINUTE.

1807, April 21. Downing Street.

Present:

The Lord Chancellor.

The Earl Bathurst.

The Lord President.

Viscount Castlereagh.

The Lord Privy Seal.

Lord Mulgrave.

The Duke of Portland.

Mr. Secretary Canning.

The Earl of Chatham.

Lord Hawksbury.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants think it necessary to notice in a separate minute the request of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that, for her more convenient attendance at your Majesty's court, some apartments should be allotted to her in one of the royal palaces. Although it appears to your Majesty's confidential servants that some arrangement in this respect may be supposed naturally to arise out of the present state of this transaction, yet they humbly conceive that this is a subject so purely of a private and domestic nature, that your Majesty would not expect from them any particular advice respecting it." *Copy.*

LETTERS FROM GENTZ TO LORD GRENVILLE, SEPTEMBER  
AND OCTOBER, 1806.

M. GENTZ TO LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 7, Dresden.—“ Je supplie Votre Excellence d'accorder à cette lettre, consacrée à des objets de la plus haute importance, sa gracieuse attention.

“ Un nouvel ordre de choses a commencé. Un mouvement prodigieux a tout-à-coup saisi tout le nord de l'Allemagne. J'ai consigné dans l'aperçu ci-joint\* les principaux faits, qui composent le tableau de la situation présente de la Prusse. Vous pouvez compter sur l'autenticité, sur l'exactitude de cet aperçu ; chaque donnée a été puisée dans des sources d'une autorité incontestable. Sachant que Votre Excellence ne peut pas avoir beaucoup de notions sur ce qui se passe aujourd'hui à Berlin, où, pour autant qu'il m'est connu, il n'existe dans ce moment personne qui puisse en fournir directement, j'ai cru remplir un devoir toujours également sacré pour moi, en Lui offrant le résultat de mes observations et de mes recherches.

“ J'avois justement fini cette pièce, lorsque le Prince Louis de Prusse est arrivé hier dans l'après-midi, et m'a communiqué sur l'état des choses à Berlin des renseignemens d'une autre nature encore, lesquels, en expliquant ce qu'il y a de surprenant de merveilleux dans cette révolution subite de système et de disposition, m'ont fait voir le fond du tableau, et les véritables ressorts du mouvement. Je ne puis pas confier à cette lettre ce que je possède maintenant de données importantes à cet égard ; mais j'attends le premier courier qui passera, pour faire parvenir à Votre Excellence la totalité de ces données, et tout ce qui peut servir à éclaircir les événemens du moment actuel.

“ Je ne le dis pas, par aucun motif personnel ; au contraire la disgrâce complète dans laquelle je suis tombé en Angleterre (d'où, depuis six mois, on n'a pas daigné répondre à trente ou quarante lettres, que j'ai successivement adressées à différentes personnes) devoit à-jamais me dégoûter de cette carrière ; mais l'idée de ce que je dois aux plus grands intérêts de mon tems, m'engage à l'observer : voici l'époque où je pourrois rendre les services les plus positifs, si on vouloit m'employer, ou seulement m'encourager. Personne de ceux qui écrivent à Londres, ne peut savoir la moitié des choses qui me reviennent, à moi, de toutes parts. Il est question dans ce moment de former des nouveaux liens entre le Nord et le Midi de l'Allemagne ; placé comme je le suis, pas un mouvement qui se fait dans ce sens ne peut m'échapper ; il existe encore d'autres circonstances que je ne puis pas mentionner ici. Enfin, je demande seulement, non pas une lettre directe, mais que Vous autorisiez qui que ce soit à me dire, que je ne suis pas rayé à-tout-jamais de la liste de ceux qui peuvent travailler pour le bien-public. Votre

\* [This document has not been found among Lord Grenville's papers.]

Excellence excusera ma liberté ; le tems presse ; je ne puis pas pésér et limer les expressions ; mais j'ose dire, que vous vous prépareriez des regrets si, pour quelque raison que ce fut, vous négligiez ces avis, dictés par le zèle le plus pur et par le dévouement le plus invariable."

M. GENTZ to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 10. Dresden.—“ À la suite de la lettre que j'ai osé adresser à Votre Excellence le 7 de ce mois, j'ai voulu Lui soumettre un récit détaillé de ce qui s'est passé à Berlin depuis quatre semaines, pour amener la révolution étonnante dans le système de cette Cour, dont nous voyons aujourd'hui les effets. Le courrier qui me surprend, ne peut s'arrêter qu'un quart d'heure ; je me contente donc de vous communiquer ce qu'il a de plus essentiel à dire à ce sujet ; en garantissant à Votre Excellence l'authenticité des sources de mes données.

“ Depuis trois ou quatre mois déjà, l'opposition au Cabinet actuel du Roi de Prusse, opposition composée de tout ce qu'il y a de grand et d'illustre dans ce pays, en fait de naissance, de rang, de lumières, et de talens, avoit pris une consistance redoutable. Son but bien prononcé étoit, de substituer à ce que l'on appelle à Berlin le *régime-de-cabinet*, un *gouvernement ministériel*, qui auroit sur celui qui existe les deux avantages majeurs, d'abord de réunir les hommes les plus dignes de conseiller le Roi, et puis d'être composé de personnes *responsables*. Le Cabinet actuel, exclusivement formé par M.M. *Beyme* et *Lombard*, simples Secrétaires en apparence, mais premiers Ministres de fait, et de plus du Comte Haugwitz, qui depuis long-tems n'avoit été considéré que comme l'instrument aveugle, et comme le premier serviteur de ces Secrétaires, faisoit depuis long-tems le fléau et la honte de la Prusse. Le plan de culbuter ce cabinet avoit été continuellement agitée dans les réunions des principaux personnages qui fesoient la force de l'opposition ; plusieurs de ces personnages avoient présenté individuellement au Roi des mémoires et des représentations redigées avec une énergie sans exemple. Enfin, il ne falloit qu'une secousse, pour développer les germes de ce grand changement.

“ Au moment où arriverent à Berlin les rapports alarmans de M. de Luchesini, qui avoit appris par des canaux secrets, mais infaillibles, que le projet de subjuguier la Prusse étoit mûr pour son exécution, et que ce projet s'exécuteroit, soit sous le prétexte de forcer la Prusse à faire cause commune contre la Russie, si l'Empereur ne ratifioit pas la paix, soit en lui déclarant qu'il devoit rendre la plus grande partie de ses provinces Westphaliennes, si la Russie avoit sanctionné la paix—la voix de cette même opposition s'éleva d'une manière si irrésistible, que les trois coryphés du Cabinet se voyoient obligés de plier sur-le-champ. Ils se trouvoient tout-à-coup dans une espèce de minorité effrayante ; seuls contre toute



la Cour, tout le public, la plupart des généraux et des Ministres. Si le Roi étoit secrètement de leur avis, Il jugea convenable de plier avec eux. C'est alors que l'ordre fut donné de mettre toute l'armée sur le pied de guerre ; c'est alors que fut résolue la déclaration vigoureuse, par laquelle on annonçoit à Bonaparte que le départ de ses troupes de tous les points de l'Allemagne, et sa renonciation à toute démarche par laquelle il voudroit prendre part aux affaires intérieures de l'Allemagne, étoit la seule condition sous laquelle la Prusse pouvoit rester en paix avec lui. Le Cabinet se détermina d'autant plus facilement à ces mesures, qu'il étoit en effet abandonné de tout-le-monde, et même de ses propres partisans. Car Lucehesini, jusqu'ici des plus actifs parmi ces partisans, avoit enfin voté lui-même pour la nécessité urgente d'un système de vigueur ; et le Duc de Brunswic, soit par une conviction tardive, soit par calcul politique (puisqu'il s'apercevoit de la chute prochaine de l'ancien système) écrivit au Roi qu'il approuvoit complètement les nouvelles mesures, qu'il les trouvoit sages et indispensables, et qu'il prioit seulement, en égard à son âge et à ses infirmités, de le dispenser de concourir à l'exécution.

“ L'immense majorité des adversaires de ce cabinet odieux et méprisé se convainçut, tout-de-suite, qu'il ne falloit pas s'endormir sur cette première victoire. Ils croyoient voir distinctement, qu'avant que ce cabinet ne fut entièrement mis de côté, il n'étoit pas possible ni de compter sur la stabilité d'une conduite honorable, ni, sur-tout, d'inspirer la moindre confiance aux puissances étrangères. Ils prirent donc le parti d'aller plus loin. Les deux chefs de cette opposition étoient proprement M. de *Stein*, Ministre d'État et des Finances, homme à grandes vues, de lumières éminentes, d'un caractère extrêmement élevé, et qui je ne crains pas de désigner à Votre Excellence comme le premier homme d'état de l'Allemagne ; et pour le militaire le Général de *Phull*, Quartier-Maitre-Général, reconnu comme un des premiers officiers de la Prusse, et dont le Roi a tellement besoin que son accession seul à un plan quelconque rendoit ce plan excessivement fort. Le centre, et l'ame de tous les projets étoit le Prince *Louis* de Prusse, auquel aboutissoient tous les rayons de cette vaste entreprise, et qui en dirigeoit secrètement tous les fils. Le Général *Rüchel*, le Général *Blücher*, le Comte *Goetzen* (quoiqu'ami personnel du Roi, et chargé de la commission importante de négocier avec la Cour de Dresde) tous les aides-de-camp actifs (à la seule exception de *Koeckritz*, que sa bêtise sans bornes permettoit de regarder comme zéro) presque tous les Ministres étoient absolument gagnés pour ces projets. Enfin, la *Reine*, quoique très réservée et prudente dans sa conduite, avoit cependant tellement embrassé ce parti, qu'on pouvoit compter sur toute espèce d'appui qu'elle seroit en état de lui donner. Après beaucoup de tentatives particulières, on se détermina enfin à présenter au Roi une requête en forme,

signée par les Princes *Henri* et *Guillaume* frères du Roi, les Princes *Louis* et *Auguste*, fils du Prince *Ferdinand*, le Prince d'*Orange*, et la Princesse son épouse ; et rédigée par M. de *Stein*. Dans cette requête on demanda au Roi d'une manière aussi respectueuse qu'énergique, de céder au voeu de toute sa famille, et de tout son pays ; de sacrifier le Cabinet actuel, objet de l'indignation et du mépris public ; et de composer un véritable conseil, pour diriger les affaires de la monarchie. Cette pièce fut présentée la veille du jour où tous les Princes partirent pour les armées ; on ne connoit pas encore avec précision l'effet qu'elle a pu produire ; mais ceux qui ont présidé à cette démarche sont invariablement résolus de ne pas se désister de leur plan, et de travailler sans relâche jusqu'à ce qu'il soit pleinement accompli. Si la guerre éclate, le succès en est presque infaillible ; et dans tous les cas, il est vraisemblable que le *triumvirat*, craignant pour sa sûreté personnelle (et à ce que je crois, non pas sans raison) anticipera le résultat final, et quittera lui-même le timon de l'état.

“ Il m'a paru fort intéressant de vous faire connoître ces détails, puisqu'ils peuvent puissamment influer sur la conduite future des cours étrangères relativement à la Prusse. Quelque grand et redoutable que soit l'obstacle que présentera toujours à un système de vigueur et de persévérance le caractère personnel, et l'extrême incapacité du Roi, il est cependant à présumer que ce qui se passe à présent amenera par force un changement complet de principes et de mesures ; et que ce changement une fois effectué, comme l'opinion publique l'entourera de tout son pouvoir, il ne sera plus en celui d'aucun individu de faire renaître les anciens errements.”

#### M. GENTZ to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 14. Dresden.—“ Le Prince de Hohenlohe est de retour de Berlin depuis avant hier ; et les nouvelles qu'il a apportées sont telles, que la guerre peut de plus en plus être regardée comme inévitable. Le Cabinet Prussien est allé si loin, qu'il ne peut plus maintenant se rétracter. Les chefs de ce Cabinet paroissent avoir pris leur parti. Si la guerre va mal, ils diront que ce n'est pas eux qui l'ont voulue ; si elle va bien, ils s'en attribueront un peu de mérite. Ils auroient peut-être tout fait pour paralyser les démarches décisives que (par les raisons que j'ai eu l'honneur d'expliquer à Votre Excellence dans ma lettre du 10) ils ont été obligés de faire envers Bonaparte ; et si Bonaparte avoit entendu ses intérêts et avoit pu maîtriser ses passions, il n'auroit eu qu'à leur tendre la main ; et l'orage auroit été dissipé. Mais la violence, (cette fois peut-être heureuse) de Bonaparte, ne lui a pas permis de les seconder ; et toute autre retraite leur est coupée.

“ Le Prince de Hohenlohe, pensant absolument comme tout ce qu'il y a aujourd'hui d'hommes-de-bien et d'honneur en Prusse, et marchant sur la ligne dont j'ai déjà rendu compte

à Votre Excellence, n'a pas voulu quitter Berlin avant qu'il ne fut complètement sûr des intentions du Cabinet. Il en a donc demandé une déclaration franche et positive ; et elle lui a été donnée dans les termes les plus satisfaisans. Cette déclaration a même été rédigée par écrit (en forme d'un avis) et signée par le Comte Haugwitz. Elle porte que si le Gouvernement Français ne s'explique pas d'une manière tout-à-fait suffisante sur les points qui font le contenu des dépêches dont M. de Knobelsdorff étoit chargé :—éclaircissemens sur les négociations avec l'Electeur de Hesse, pour lui faire accepter une partie des provinces Prussiennes en Westphalie—renonciation à toute intervention dans les affaires des villes Anséatiques—départ de *toutes* les troupes Françaises de l'Allemagne—renonciation ou modification au protectorat de la ligue du Midi—la Prusse ne discontinuera pas ses armemens et mouvemens militaires, et, plutôt que de se désister de ces points, en viendra aux mesures offensives. Voilà la substance de l'avis du Comte Haugwitz, et l'espèce de garantie sur la foi de laquelle le Prince Hohenlohe est parti de Berlin, pour se mettre à la tête de l'aile gauche de l'armée Prussienne. On lui a dit, en outre, que Knobelsdorff n'avoit été envoyé à Paris que pour gagner du tems, et qu'il n'avoit pas le pouvoir d'entrer dans aucune négociation ; qu'une armée Prusse de 60,000 hommes étoit effectivement en marche, et qu'on feroit, ou qu'on avoit déjà fait des démarches vis-à-vis de l'Angleterre, dont la base seroit d'abord l'ouverture des ports de l'Allemagne, et puis la proposition préalable de rendre l'Electorat de Hanovre, sous condition de rentrer dans les Provinces Prussiennes cédées. Votre Excellence pourra apprécier la vérité de cette dernière promesse ; car, si on a été de bonne foi, le Gouvernement Anglois doit en être instruit avant que cette lettre arrive à Londres.

“ Nous apprenons dans ce moment que celles des troupes Françaises qui avoient eu ordre de rétrograder, ont reçu celui de s'arrêter ; que 20,000 Français se sont de nouveau portés sur la rive droite entre Bingen et Oppenheim, et que le *Moniteur* du 5 Septembre (qui malheureusement ne nous est pas encore arrivé ici) contient des articles presque décisifs. Le mouvement des troupes Prussiennes continue sans relâche ; l'armée est animée d'un esprit qui promet tout ce qu'il est possible de désirer.”

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1806, September 17. Dresden.—“ Les préparatifs de guerre continuent sans relâche, et prennent chaque jour une consistance plus déterminée. L'armée du Centre, qui a été formée près de Magdebourg, s'est avancée sur la *Sale* ; l'avant garde du Duc de Brunsvic a du arriver à *Naumbourg* le 15 au soir. L'aile droite, commandée par le Général Rüchel, se rapproche par sa droite du pays de Hesse, où une armée de

30,000 hommes se réunit, par sa gauche, des petites principautés de Saxe. L'aile gauche, commandée par le Prince Hohenlohe et le Prince Louis, ayant passé l'Elbe ces jours-ci, se portera en avant sur Chemnitz, Plauen, aussitôt que la tête de l'armée du centre sera établie sur la Saale ; le Roi de Prusse prendra son premier quartier-général à Weissenfels, entre Naumbourg et Leipzig. Toute l'armée Prussienne fera face vers le midi ; car c'est en Bavière, en Souabe, en Franconie, que les Français ont la presque totalité de leurs forces, et leur grande ligne d'opération s'étend de Mayence, par Wurtzbourg jusqu'à la frontière d'Egra. La ligne d'opérations des Prussiens commence aujourd'hui à Munster, où se trouve le corps du Général Blücher, et finit aussi près d'Egra. C'est sur le théâtre que comprennent ces deux lignes, Wurtzbourg au centre de la première, Magdebourg au centre de la seconde, que doit se jouer la première scène des grands événemens que se préparent. Les deux principaux dangers qui menaceront l'armée Prussienne seront d'un côté, une diversion faite par la Hollande, par laquelle les Français menaceront l'aile droite des Prussiens ; et d'un autre côté, l'entrée des Français en Bohême, qui leur faciliteroit extrêmement leurs opérations contre l'aile gauche des Prussiens. Il est singulier que l'idée de cette dernière opération soit si fort imprimée dans la tête des principaux personnages de l'armée Prussienne, qu'ils sont tous convaincus qu'elle aura lieu ; et que leurs opinions ne sont partagées que sur l'étendue du mal ; les uns se bornant à croire que l'armée de Bernadotte entrera par Egra, pour se jeter sur Plauen, et pour s'emparer de l'Elbe au-dessus de Dresde ; tandis que d'autres présument que les Français entreront en Bohême par Pilsen avec des forces considérables, tâcheront de tourner de cette manière toute la position des Prussiens, et se jetteront avec 30 à 40,000 hommes sur la Silésie, aujourd'hui dé garnie de troupes. Cette opinion, fondée sur des renseignemens secrets auxquels les Prussiens attachent une grande confiance, mais que, pour ma part, je ne trouve point concluans, suppose deux choses, dont ni l'une ni l'autre peut facilement être admise. Elle suppose d'abord que la Bohême seroit plus ou moins sans défense, et que l'une ou l'autre des places fortes de ce pays, soit Prague, soit Königsgratz ou Theresienstadt, tomberoit par un coup-de-main. Elle suppose ensuite, que Bonaparte braveroit l'Autriche dans un moment où toutes les forces du nord de l'Allemagne sont dirigées contre lui. Je dis, que ni l'une ni l'autre de ces suppositions est vraisemblable. Quant à la première, je sais à présent, à ne pas pouvoir en douter, que les places de la Bohême sont toutes dans un tel état de défense, qu'aucune ne sera prise par un coup-de-main ; et je sais de plus que l'Autriche fait rassembler à Tabor un corps de 40,000 hommes, qui en imposera assez aux Français pour les détourner de toute cette opération. Quant à la seconde, il est vrai que l'expérience

de l'année dernière a prouvé que lorsqu'il s'agit d'un grand avantage militaire, Bonaparte est capable d'exposer au hazard les plus grands intérêts politiques, puisqu'il a risqué alors une guerre avec la Prusse plutôt que de se refuser le passage par le pays d'Anspach. Il *peut* faire la même chose cette fois-ci ; mais en considérant l'ensemble de sa position, il me paroît infiniment peu croyable qu'il provoquera l'Autriche, à moins d'avoir la certitude qu'elle se levera contre lui dans tous les cas. Toutefois ce raisonnement ne s'applique qu' à la probabilité de ce que j'appelle la *grande* expédition de Bohême ; car quant à la *petite*, c'est-à-dire, l'entrée par Waldsassen et Egra pour abréger et faciliter la marche sur Plauen, elle pourroit se faire dans tous les cas, puisque les Autrichiens sont incapables de l'empêcher, et que Bonaparte se flatteroit de la couvrir de quelque prétexte ou excuse qui, pour le moment, seroit avalée par l'Autriche.

“ Je ne puis pas entrer ici (cette lettre n'étant confiée qu' aux voies ordinaires) dans la discussion de ce qui se passe à Berlin. Je me contente de certifier à votre Excellence, que d'après les dernières nouvelles arrivées aux personnes de marque que se trouvent actuellement à Dresde, aucun changement réel ne s'est opéré ni dans les mesures ni dans les dispositions. Ils sont tous ici également et fortement persuadés que, quoiqu'on fasse à Berlin, on ne peut plus détourner la guerre, à moins que Bonaparte ne se soumette à des conditions, auxquelles personne ne sauroit imaginer qu'il se soumettra. On est étonné à la vérité de l'avantage incalculable qu'il a accordé à la Prusse, en lui laissant le tems de faire tous ses préparatifs ; mais on attribue ce délai (sans lequel la position de la Prusse auroit pu devenir excessivement critique) d'un côté à l'incrédulité de Bonaparte sur les véritables intentions du cabinet de Berlin ; d'un autre côté à la nécessité de préparer de son part des mesures auxquelles il n'avoit pas cru devoir recourir de si-tôt, vu le système pacifique de ce cabinet, que Bonaparte a cru imperturbable, puisqu'il ne *pouvoit* pas calculer la force des circonstances majeures qui l'ont subitement dérangé. Au reste, d'après les avis du Général Bliicher, arrivés hier, l'explosion prochaine devoit chaque jour plus vraisemblable, et les mouvemens de l'armée de Bernadotte dans le Haut Palatinat sont tels que dans huit jours il peut ouvrir la campagne. Dans le même espace de tems, l'armée Saxonne sera prête à agir ; et alors les Prussiens, pleinement organisés, pourront leur tenir tête sur tous les points. Il est décidé qu'ils prendront l'offensive aussitôt que leurs préparatifs seront achevés.”

#### M. GENTZ to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 18. Dresden.—“ J'ai déjà eu l'honneur d'exposer à votre Excellence quelques-unes des raisons qui m'engagoient à croire que le Cabinet de Berlin s'étoit trop avancé cette fois-ci pour reculer autrement que par quelque

perfidie secrète de ceux que dirigent les affaires, ou bien par quelque démarche rétrograde bien décidée de la part de la France. Cette opinion s'affermir chaque jour; et chaque jour aussi diminue la probabilité de l'une et de l'autre des deux seules chances en faveur du système pacifique.

“Quant aux chefs du Cabinet de Berlin, il est indubitablement sûr qu'ils n'auroient jamais pris le parti que nous les avons vu prendre, s'ils n'y avoient pas été forcés par la révolution qui s'étoit opérée dans l'opinion de toute la monarchie Prussienne. Cette révolution s'étoit annoncée d'une manière vraiment effrayante. Depuis plusieurs mois le Roi étoit chaque jour assiégé par des représentations et des mémoires de la part de ce qu'il y avoit de plus éclairé, et de plus estimable autour de lui. Dans toutes ces pièces la première et la dernière proposition étoit toujours de renvoyer les deux Secrétaires du Cabinet, et le Comte de Haugwitz. J'en ai vu et lu une quantité, dans lesquelles la nécessité de ce changement étoit représenté avec une force prodigieuse, quelquefois dans des expressions presque menaçantes. On y recapituloit tout ce que ce Cabinet avoit fait depuis huit ans pour déshonorer la Prusse, et pour ruiner l'Europe; la conduite qu'il a tenue en 1799, où il auroit dépendu de La Prusse de délivrer la Hollande du joug François, et de sauver la rive gauche du Rhin; en 1800, et 1801, où Sa Majesté l'Empereur auroit été sauvée du malheur de signer une paix funeste, si la Prusse avoit voulu se mettre en avant; en 1802, où on accuse les Conseillers du Roi d'avoir achevé la destruction de l'Empire par l'appui qu'ils ont prêté à la France dans l'affaire des indemnités; en 1803, où ils ont lâchement consenti à l'occupation de l'Electorat de Hanovre; enfin, en 1805 et 1806, où en abandonnant d'une manière scandaleuse les intérêts de la maison d'Autriche, ils ont conduit l'Europe au bord du dernier abîme; et, pour empêcher ensuite que la Prusse y fut engloutie avec la reste, ont eu recours aux mesures les plus désespérées et les plus honteuses, en s'emparant des possessions du Roi d'Angleterre, en vendant les leurs, en signant des traités d'amitié et presque d'alliance avec l'ennemi commun.

“Voilà le sens dans lequel étoient rédigés tous les mémoires qu'on présentoit au Roi; voilà entr'autres le sens de celui qui lui fut remis, le 2 Septembre, signés par les deux Princes ses frères, par les deux Princes fils du Prince Ferdinand, par le Prince d'Orange et son épouse. Mais ce n'étoit pas là encore les seules démarches auxquelles on se borna. Le Comte Haugwitz et les deux Conseillers du Cabinet reçurent continuellement des avis secrets, mais dont ils connoissoient la source, portant que s'ils ne se déterminoient pas à céder leur places, et à réparer par là le mal affreux qu'ils avoient fait, on ne s'en tiendroit plus aux représentations, et que la honte de la Prusse pourroit être finalement lavée dans leur sang!

“ Ces tentatives, qui se reproduisirent sans interruption, n’ont pas, à la vérité, atteint le but que ceux qui les imaginoient s’étoient proprement proposé. Elles n’ont point culbuté le Cabinet ; et il est même très douteux si, sous certains points-de-vue, il eut été désirable qu’elles réussissent . Si le Roi avoit directement cédé à ces instances, à ces menaces, il auroit gravement compromis son autorité ; et, quelques bonnes que pussent être les intentions qui avoient dicté ces démarches téméraires, on auroit pu, en cas de succès, en faire l’instrument des entreprises les plus pernicieuses. Plusieurs de ces projets paroissent même avoir été formés avec une imprudence frappante ; et il ne me sera pas bien difficile de convaincre Votre Excellence que, notamment, tous ceux auxquels le Prince Louis a participé, se trouvent dans cette catégorie. Son esprit et ses talens sont connus ; ses principes et ses intentions sont aujourd’hui tout ce qu’il y a de plus noble et plus élevé ; il est considéré par tous ceux, qui s’intéressent au bien-public, comme le chef du bon parti, et comme un des hommes les plus précieux pour l’affranchissement et pour le rétablissement de l’Allemagne. Mais sa chaleur, sa précipitation, quelquefois sa légèreté l’ont entraîné au delà du but ; et au lieu de renverser un parti justement odieux, il l’a plutôt fortifié, puisqu’il a fait craindre au Roi qu’en se soumettant cette-fois-ci aux demandes qu’on lui faisoit, il pourroit bien arriver à un point, où il ne seroit plus le maître de rien refuser. Cette réflexion, très naturelle, et au fond très vraie, a été soigneusement mise en avant par les chefs du Cabinet eux-mêmes. Ils l’ont même employée en dernier lieu pour se procurer de nouveaux alliés, et il est certain qu’ils ont réussi à détacher complètement la Reine de ses liaisons avec leurs adversaires. Dans une conférence de plusieurs heures M. de Haugwitz a représenté à la Reine toute l’étendue du danger auquel le Roi se trouvoit exposé aujourd’hui ; il l’a pressée, il l’a conjurée, de ne pas augmenter ce danger en s’associant aux projets de l’opposition ; et en lui faisant sa profession de foi, en lui jurant que désormais il ne cesseroit plus d’agir d’après les principes les plus honorables et les plus conformes à l’intérêt général de l’Europe, il a fait sa paix avec Elle. Immédiatement après, il a proposé au Roi d’admettre la Reine à tous les conseils qu’ils se tiendroient sur les grandes affaires du moment. La Reine a déclaré elle-même à plusieurs Princes et Princesses de la maison, qu’Elle ne vouloit plus prendre part à rien qui put compromettre l’autorité du Roi ; et Elle a dit à M. le Prince de Hohenlohe, le jour qu’il est parti de Berlin, ‘ que, quoique bien persuadée que le Comte Haugwitz n’avoit mérité la confiance de personne par sa conduite passée, Elle jugeoit sa conservation nécessaire dans les circonstances présentes, et étoit intimement convaincue, qu’il ne s’éloigneroit plus de la bonne route.’ Quelques jours après ces évènements M. de Hardenberg est arrivé à Berlin ; il a fait l’impossible

pour voir le Roi ou la Reine ; mais il a été refusé partout, et on lui a fait dire qu'il n'avoit qu' à communiquer au Comte Haugwitz tout ce qu'il pouvoit avoir à observer ou à proposer.

“ Mais quoique le coup principal ait manqué, il n'en est pas moins sûr que tous ces mouvemens ont produit un très grand et très salutaire effet. Le triumvirat du Cabinet a compris sa situation ; il a vu que la tems des tergiversations, des menées sourdes, et des mesures équivoques étoit passé ; que, s'il ne changeoit pas de système et de conduite, il lui étoit impossible de se soutenir ; et qu'au premier malheur qui arriveroit, l'indignation publique, dirigée par des chefs redoutables, se tourneroit toute entière contre lui, et lui feroit payer bien cher le crédit dont il avoit joui jusqu'ici.

“ Ce sont ces réflexions-là bien que les évènements politiques par eux-mêmes, bien plus que les avis de M. de Lucchesini, les propositions faites à l'Electeur de Hesse, les confidences du Roi de Wurtemberg, et une quantité d'avertissemens particuliers arrivés en même tems à la Cour de Berlin, qui ont amené le changement de système ; et c'est la peur, peut-être aussi un dernier reste d'espoir de se relever dans l'opinion, qui soutiendra ce changement. Votre Excellence connoit le Comte Haugwitz. Un petit amour-propre, et un grand fond de paresse, sont les bases de son caractère. Il n'a jamais été attaché au système Français, ni par principe (il n'en a aucun) ni par conviction de sa bonté, ni par corruption, (il ne se soucie pas d'argent) ni même par gout, puisqu'il a plutôt ambitionné d'être envisagé comme un homme bien-pensant. De fausses mesures, et un manque d'élévation et de force pour juger à-tems les effets de ce système funeste, l'ont entraîné dans une route dont il a plus d'une fois senti lui-même les dangers et les écueils. Mais une fois entraîné, il a vu qu'en convenant de ses erreurs, il donnoit gain de cause à ses adversaires ; et son amour-propre l'a retenu. Son aversion pour le travail, son horreur pour tout ce qui exige des efforts soutenus, son penchant pour le repos et les amusemens obscurs, enfin, l'idée de plaire au Roi en flattant le malheureux gout de ce Prince pour les partis foibles et timides, ont fait le reste. Il s'aperçoit, peut-être trop tard, de l'abîme qu'il a creusé sous ses pas ; il s'aperçoit que toutes ses bassesses et tous ses petits moyens n'ont fait que reculer le moment décisif, et que son prétendu système est devenu l'horreur ou la risée de l'Europe. Je suis loin de croire qu'un homme comme lui puisse être radicalement converti ; je le regarderai toujours comme le plus grand des obstacles dans tous les projets de rétablissement et de salut ; il ne peut, et il ne doit jamais inspirer une véritable confiance à ceux qui agiront de concert avec la Prusse ; et aucun moyen sage et discret pour le faire disparaître de la scène ne doit être négligé. Mais ce que j'ai l'honneur d'exposer ici expliquera, du moins, comment ce même homme a pu participer aux démarches vigoureuses que la Cour de Berlin



a faites depuis un mois, et comment il a pu être dans un certain sens l'auteur et l'instrument de ces démarches.

“ J'ai lieu de croire, que Votre Excellence a été directement instruite des dernières déclarations de la Prusse, et des instructions qui ont été données à M. de Knobelsdorff. Si les avis que j'avois pris la liberté d'en présenter à Votre Excellence ont précédé cette communication, celle-ci l'aura convainçue que je n'avois pas exagéré. Il y a encore une circonstance particulière dont je ne sais pas si elle est venue à sa connoissance ; c'est, que le dernier article des instructions de M. de Knobelsdorff, celui où il est dit que toute tentative qui pourroit être faite pour menacer de nouveau la maison d'Autriche seroit ressentie par la Prusse comme ayant été faite contr'elle-même, a été ajouté par le Roi en personne, et écrit de sa propre main. Lorsque M. de Goetzen est parti de Berlin la dernière fois pour communiquer ces instructions à la Cour de Dresde, et négocier avec elle, il a demandé au Roi (avec lequel il a été élevé, et qui lui accorde une confiance particulière) ‘ si, outre ces instructions, M. de Knobelsdorff en avoit encore de secrètes’ ; ajoutant, que ce n'étoit que sous la condition que rien de pareil n'existât qu'il s'engageoit à obtenir dans trois jours le consentement de l'Electeur de Saxe ; le Roi lui a répondu, que Knobelsdorff n'étoit chargé que de ce qu'il connoissoit, et que rien au monde ne l'engageroit à la moindre modification.

“ Je sais bien, qu'en dépit de cette assurance, les chefs du Cabinet ont pu faire, et à l'insu même du Roi, des démarches secrètes en sens contraire ; et je ne suis rien moins que guéri des soupçons que j'ai développés là-dessus dans ma lettre du 12,\* et que tout ce que j'ai pu apprendre de la conduite et des propos de M. Laforêt ont plutôt renforcés que diminués. Mais les cas est devenu si critique et si périlleux, qu'à-moins de quelque révolution extraordinaire dans la façon de penser et d'agir de Bonaparte, ceux qui se seroient servi de ces moyens, en seroient probablement pour la honte de les avoir employés. Leurs mesures publiques, leurs déclarations, leurs protestations, leurs engagements sont tous dans le sens opposé ; et ce qui est arrivé à M. le Prince de Hohenlohe, en fournira à vous une preuve remarquable.

“ Lorsque le Prince de Hohenlohe est arrivé ici, il a trouvé une invitation de se rendre à Berlin. Il a d'abord décliné le voyage ; une invitation plus pressante l'a obligé de partir. Arrivé à Berlin, il a eu avec le Roi, en présence de la Reine, une longue conversation, dans laquelle il a dit tout ce qu'il pensoit sur M. de Haugwitz et ses coopérateurs, et sur l'impossibilité de compter sur aucune autre puissance tant que ces hommes seroient en place. Le Roi lui a expliqué pourquoi il ne pouvoit pas se rendre à ses argumens, soutenant que ces hommes étoient jugés avec trop de sévérité, et que, pour à présent, il n'y avoit plus aucun reproche à leur faire.

\* This letter has not been found.

Après cela M. de Haugwitz a eu ordre de communiquer au Prince de Hohenlohe toute la suite de ses négociations et correspondances avec le Gouvernement Français depuis le mois de Decembre dernier ; le Prince a employé plusieurs jours à étudier ces pièces ; il y a vu parfaitement comment l'opinion du Roi sur la loyauté de la conduite du Comte Haugwitz a pu se soutenir jusqu' ici ; il y a trouvé une très grande adresse à donner à toutes les mesures un air de nécessité absolue, et à en jeter toujours sur les autres la faute ou la responsabilité ; mais il y a trouvé aussi, puisqu' il faut être juste envers tout le monde, des choses qui prouvoient que le Comte Haugwitz se doutoit depuis long-tems de l'impossibilité de suivre son système, et qu'il avoit déclaré plus d'une fois que la paix avec Bonaparte étoit une chimère. Après avoir fini ce travail, le Prince a été appelé à un conseil chez le Roi, où le Comte Haugwitz, pour lui donner une espèce de garantie formelle de sa conduite, a présenté un avis, écrit et signé de sa main, par lequel il a déclaré ' que les instructions remises au Général Knobelsdorff seroient la base de toutes les démarches futures du Cabinet ; qu'on ne s'en écarteroit dans aucun point, et sous aucune condition ; et que le Roi se regardoit dès-à-présent comme en état de guerre avec la France.' C'est après ce conseil, et muni de ces assurances positives, que le Prince de Hohenlohe est retourné à Dresde.

" Tous ces détails m'ont été communiqués et certifiés par lui-même ; et tout en avouant qu'il partageoit mon opinion sur le Comte Haugwitz, il m'a déclaré qu'il croyoit désormais toute rétractation ou tergiversation impossible. Il y a ajouté une circonstance qui m'a paru particulièrement intéressante ; que, dans les cas que les Français tentassent la moindre chose contre les possessions de S. M. l' Empereur, il avoit l'ordre positif du Roi de prendre sur le champ les mesures nécessaires pour agir contr' eux ; et il m'a même pleinement autorisé à faire de cette circonstance tel usage qui me paroitroit convenable.

" En réfléchissant sur ces communications, en voyant des hommes aussi solides et aussi respectables parfaitement convainçus de la réalité des démarches actuelles ; en pensant combien il seroit difficile et même dangereux pour les Ministres de tromper cette fois-ci l'attente publique, et de se jouer de la bonne foi des principaux chefs de l' armée ; en combinant de plus une quantité de données accessoires—les déclarations réitérées, inscrites dans les gazettes, ' que le Roi ne cédera plus un seul village de son territoire '—la paix avec la Suède a une condition qui compromet une partie essentielle de l'ancien système de la Cour de Berlin ; les démarches faites envers l'Angleterre en levant tous les obstacles à l'entrée des ports de l'Elbe et du Weser, et en envoyant M. de Jacobi à Hambourg, pour être prêt à se rendre en Angleterre ; il est certain que les probabilités les plus puissantes se réunissent en faveur de la guerre, et d'un système d'énergie et de fermeté ; et il n'en

faut pas moins qu'une méfiance sans bornes, comme celle qu'inspire malheureusement le Cabinet de Berlin, pour se livrer encore aux doutes et aux soupçons. Aussi, en me plaçant dans l'hypothèse que je fusse aujourd'hui obligé à me déterminer à un parti quelconque fondé sur la conduite probable de la Prusse, je prendrais celui de la confiance, puisque les argumens les plus raisonnables sont de ce côté-là ; mais je le prendrais en tremblant, et préparé chaque instant à la nouvelle de quelque récidive funeste, de quelque grande et horrible contrariété.

“Aucune donnée positive n'est arrivée ici jusqu'à présent pour former des conjectures solides sur les résolutions du gouvernement Français. Avant hier un courier du Duc de Brunswic annonça au Prince de Hohenlohe que, d'après les avis du Général Blücher, la guerre seroit déclarée incessamment ; hier un autre courier du Duc apporta (probablement sur la même autorité) le bruit que le camp de Jeyst se formoit de nouveau, et que les hostilités prochaines contre la Prusse étoient déjà annoncées à l'armée Française en Hollande. Mais aucune de ces nouvelles ne s'est confirmée. Ce matin on apprit de Berlin que, d'après un courier arrivé de Paris, M. de Knobelsdorff n'avoit été admis à aucune audience ou conférence jusqu'au 6. Ce soir les feuilles publiques annoncent qu'il a été présenté à Bonaparte le 7. Il me paroît peu vraisemblable que jusqu'au 16, on n'ait encore eu à Berlin aucun renseignement ultérieur sur une mission d'aussi haute importance que celle de M. de Knobelsdorff ; ce silence, ou cette dissimulation, ne me paroissent pas d'un très bon augure. Au reste, non seulement M. de Haugwitz, mais le Roi lui-même a dit à plusieurs personnes qu'on n'avoit choisi M. de Knobelsdorff que pour gagner du tems, et que son incapacité connue étoit la meilleure preuve de l'intention invariable du Cabinet de n'entrer dans aucune négociation.

“En attendant, les mesures militaires continuent à s'exécuter avec une vigueur et une rapidité extrême. Les avant-postes de l'armée du Duc de Brunswic sont arrivés à Naumbourg le 15, aujourd'hui ils doivent déjà avoir passé Erfurt, pour se porter sur Rudelstadt. L'armée du Prince Hohenlohe est sur la rive gauche de l'Elbe ; les troupes Saxonnnes se forment de toutes parts ; l'Electeur de Saxe est, à la fin, complètement persuadé de la sincérité des intentions de la Prusse. Le Duc de Brunswic, dont la vie entière ne paroît être qu'un passage perpétuel d'un principe et d'une opinion à l'autre, a de nouveau embrassé le parti des mesures énergiques avec une ardeur qu'on ne lui avoit jamais connue. Il a voté pour l'offensive ; et on m'assure qu'il a tout-à-fait entraîné le Roi, malgré sa repugnance pour un système qui, dans les circonstances données, est cependant le seul raisonnable. L'armée de Bernadotte n'a fait jusqu'ici aucun mouvement positif. Les Généraux Prussiens croient toujours encore que la première opération des Français sera d'entrer en Bohême. Mais je ne

suis point converti à cette opinion ; et tout en applaudissant au projet d'une armée d'observation que, d'après les nouvelles arrivées ici, Sa Majesté l'Empercur fait rassembler dans les environs de Tabor, je ne puis absolument pas imaginer que Bonaparte provoquerait l'Autriche, de propos délibéré, dans un moment où tout le nord de l'Allemagne est armé contre lui.

“ L'armée Prussienne est animée du meilleur esprit possible. Parmi cette quantité de généraux et d'officiers que je vois chaque jour chez Monseigneur le Prince Louis, je n'en ai pas rencontré un seul qui ne palisse au moindre soupçon que la guerre pourroit ne pas éclater. Ils n'en sentent pas moins la gravité de la tâche qui les attend ; et l'intrepidité avec laquelle ils s'y préparent n'a aucune tiente d'aveuglement ou de jactance.

“ Madame la Princesse de Solms, soeur de la Reine de Prusse, a fait ici un séjour d'une semaine ; elle part demain pour Berlin. Elle m'a honoré de plusieurs conversations très-remarquables, qui m'ont bien convaincu que la Reine, en faisant sa paix avec M. de Haugwitz, l'a cru absolument et irrévocablement prononcé pour les meilleurs principes ; mais qui m'ont prouvé, en même tems, combien on doit regretter qu'Elle ait pris la résolution de renforcer le parti de ce Ministre. Comme la Princesse de Solms ignore encore, à l'heure qu'il est, le changement qui a eu lieu à cet égard, et que je me suis bien gardé de lui annoncer, Elle s'est exprimée sur l'état actuel des choses avec la plus grande franchise ; et j'aurois appris par ses conversations, si je ne l'avois pas su d'avance, que le Roi et ses trois conseillers confidentiels, s'ils vouloient cette fois-ci marcher dans un sens contraire à celui qu'on leur suppose aujourd'hui, seroient certainement seuls de leur côté dans toute la monarchie Prussienne.

Du 19 Septembre.

“ M. de Brokhausen, revenu à son poste, a porté à l'Electeur une lettre du Roi de Prusse, dans laquelle le Roi temoigne sa reconnoissance à l'Electeur de l'empressement qu'il a montré à seconder les armemens de la Prusse. Il ajoute que, n'ayant d'autre but que de faire cesser les maux qui affligent l'Allemagne, il ne fermera pas son oreille à des propositions pacifiques tendantes au même but ; mais que l'évacuation entière de l'Allemagne par les troupes Françaises étant la seule condition sous laquelle il seroit possible de lui restituer son ancienne indépendance, le Roi regardoit une guerre prochaine comme inévitable. M. de Brokhausen assure que le Roi est pleinement convaincu que la *federation du Rhin* est incompatible avec le repos et la sureté de l'Allemagne. Le même auteur prétend que, depuis peu de jours, le crédit de M. de Haugwitz avoit été de nouveau à la baisse, qu'il avoit annoncé sa démission, qu'il avoit encore une fois proposé M. de Hardenberg. Ces nouvelles

sont d'abord équivoques, puisque M. de Brokhausen, personnellement enragé contre le Comte Haugwitz, peut très bien confondre ses vœux avec ses espérances ; et elles seroient même vraies à un certain point que rien au monde n'y seroit gagné. Il est malheureusement certain, que M. de Hardenberg ne *peut* pas diriger les affaires dans une crise comme celli-ci ; l'histoire de l'année dernière et des trois premiers mois de cette année-ci, l'a prouvé jusqu'à l'évidence complète. Ce seroit donc toujours M. de Haugwitz qui régneroit sous son nom, et qui attendroit le premier embarras notable pour reparoitre avec un nouvel éclat. La nomination de M. de Hardenberg n'équivaudroit à un changement réel, qu'autant qu'elle seroit précédée ou suivie du renvoi des trois chefs du Cabinet à une distance d'au-moins cinquante lieues d'Allemagne de la capitale ; dans ce cas-là elle seroit une mesure *décisive* ; mais vû le caractère de l'homme, et la mesure de sa capacité, elle n'en seroit pas moins une mesure *insuffisante*.

“ Les derniers avis du Comte Tauenzien, de 17, portent que les Français rassemblent à Bamberg un corps de 40,000 hommes, dont les généraux ont des ordres cachetés, qui devoient être ouverts le 16. Ce qui se passe dans le Haut-Palatinat est caché avec tant de soin que le Comte Tauenzien ne pouvoit rien pénétrer depuis plusieurs jours.

Le Comte de Goetzen a reçu ce matin une lettre, par laquelle on lui annonce que le Roi a le projet de l'envoyer à Vienne avec une commission extraordinaire. Si cela se réalise, j'ose prévenir Votre Eminence que jamais un meilleur choix ne pouvoit être fait dans une occasion pareille.

#### M. GENTZ to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, September 21. Dresden.—“ La guerre est enfin décidée. Un courrier arrivé de M. de Knobelsdorff le 17 a porté à Berlin des réponses tellement inacceptables et outrageantes que le Roi a sur le champ déclaré qu'il n'y avoit plus lieu à délibérer ; il part aujourd'hui de Berlin. Je ne crois pas que dans ce moment-ci il existe encore aucune chance contraire à l'explosion.

“ Dans une lettre dont je prends la liberté de joindre une copie\* à la présente, j'avois fidèlement exposé l'état des choses, tel qu'il étoit jusqu'au moment où Bonaparte a décidé la question. Plusieurs articles de cette lettre étoient déjà connus à Votre Excellence ; mais je me flatte que l'ensemble et la liaison dans laquelle ils se trouvent ici, les rendront dignes de vous être présentés, sous cette forme plus achevée. Le seul mérite que j'ose attribuer à cette lettre, c'est que Votre Excellence pourra regarder comme parfaitement authentique chaque mot qu'elle contient.

“ On aura rendu compte à Votre Excellence de la scène touchante qui a eu lieu chez le vieux Prince Ferdinand,

\* Copy not found.

lorsque le Roi de Prusse y est venu dire adieu. Mr. Wynne étoit présent, quand la lettre de Madame la Princesse Louise qui en a donné les détails, est arrivée hier. Le Roi paroît devenu un autre homme. Dans une conversation qu'il a eue le 18, avec Monseigneur le Prince héréditaire de Cobourg, qui étoit allé à Berlin pour s' instruire du sort qui attendoit son pays, il a dit qu'il s'étoit *trop tard* convainçu que la guerre, et une guerre vigoureuse, étoit le seul moyen qui fut resté pour mettre un terme aux malheurs de l'humanité. Il lui a fait part des communications qui lui ont été faites par l'Empereur le Russie, relativement aux articles secrets que le Gouvernement Français vouloit ajouter au traité de M. Oubril; et d'après lesquels on auroit ôté à la Prusse tout ce qu'elle possède au delà du Weser, et en outre le Barent, en permettant à l'Empereur de Russie de prendre ce qui lui conviendrait du côté de la Pologne. Je n'ai pas voulu parler jusqu'ici de cette circonstance, puisqu'elle ne me paroissoit pas assez certaine; mais je ne puis plus en douter après ce que le Roi lui-même a dit au Prince de Cobourg.

“À présent, qu'une communication directe est rétablie entre l'Angleterre et la Prusse, mes avis auront nécessairement un intérêt moindre qu'ils ne peuvent en avoir eu jusqu'à présent. Pour peu cependant que Votre Excellence m'autorise à les continuer, je ferai toujours ce qui sera humainement possible, pour répondre à sa haute confiance. Je me flatte d'avoir été un des premiers qui ont présenté à Votre Excellence dans son vrai jour les grands événemens qui se préparent; et je serois les plus heureux des hommes, si j'avois pu par-là fournir une foible preuve de mon zèle et de mon dévouement.”

#### M. GENTZ to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, October 26. Teplitz.—“Les bontés que vous avez eues anciennement pour moi et ma conviction intime que j'ai continué à les mériter tant par ma façon de penser et d'agir, que par mon dévouement invariable à votre personne, me font espérer que vous accueillerez avec quelqu' intérêt la lettre que j'ose vous adresser aujourd'hui, et dont une partie se rapporte aux grands et tristes événemens publics, l'autre à ma situation particulière.

“J'avois été à Dresde depuis la malheureuse guerre de 1805. Le Gouvernement Autrichien avoit reconnu que dans l'état où il se trouvoit réduit par la paix de Pressbourg, je pouvois lui être plus utile à Dresde, qu' à Vienne, où, contrôlé et surveillé à chaque pas, il n'auroit pas même pu m'employer sans danger. Le Comte Stadion, mon ancien protecteur et ami, jugea d'ailleurs que, placé sur un point central entre Vienne et le Nord de l'Allemagne, et conservant toujours une quantité de relations avec Berlin et d'autres points principaux, ma correspondance seroit nécessairement une source d' instruction assez intéressante. Je crois avoir

répondu à son attente. J'ai entretenu une correspondance extrêmement suivie et active ; j'ai fait parvenir au Comte Stadion une quantité de données essentielles qu'il ne pouvoit guères recevoir que par moi ; j'ai, en outre, publié quelques écrits qui ont prodigieusement contribué à ranimer et à remonter l'esprit public.

“ Lorsque dans les premiers jours d'août un grand changement de système s'est développé à Berlin, j'ai été le premier à en informer la cour de Vienne avec tous les détails. Autant que les nouvelles dispositions du Cabinet de Berlin m'auroient enchanté dans d'autres conjonctures, autant elles me firent trembler dans un moment où je vis les armées Françaises établies au coeur de l'Allemagne, et la Prusse prête à se précipiter dans une guerre terrible, sans alliés, et sans ressource en cas de revers. L'année dernière j'avois désespéré du succès aussitôt que je m'étois aperçu qu'on le crut possible sans le concours positif de la *Prusse* ; cette fois-ci les mêmes inquiétudes devoient nécessairement me tourmenter, puisqu'on préparoit une expédition décisive sans pouvoir raisonnablement compter sur l'*Autriche* ; dans l'un comme dans l'autre cas l'assistance de la *Russie* ne me rassuroit, et ne me dédommageoit que foiblement, puisque j'étois trop convaincu que la *Russie* ne seroit jamais ni l'équivalent de la *Prusse* pour l'*Autriche*, ni l'équivalent de l'*Autriche* pour la *Prusse*. Il y eut même des conjonctures particulièrement funestes dans le cas actuel. La *Prusse* brouillée avec l'*Angleterre* par ses propres fautes, avoit encore à regagner sa faveur, et ignoroit, par conséquent, si elle pouvoit compter sur ses secours, et à quelles conditions elle les lui accorderoit. Je vis clairement que l'*Autriche* ne s'engageroit pas tout-de-suite dans cette guerre, qu'elle ne pouvoit pas même s'y engager ; mais je crus du moins indispensablement nécessaire qu'elle y attachât sa bonne volonté, et surtout sa confiance. Ce fut-là pendant six semaines l'objet de toutes mes sollicitudes ; et cette époque, si le succès avoit couronné l'entreprise, auroit été celle de ma vie dont je me féliciterois le plus.

“ Le Roi de *Prusse* avoit appris dans quel sens j'avois travaillé depuis le moment que je fus convaincu de la réalité du nouveau système qu'il avoit adopté. Je reçus le 1 d'Octobre une invitation infiniment obligeante et flatteuse de me rendre à son quartier-général. Je savois que, loin de désapprouver cette démarche, la Cour de Vienne en seroit plus que contente. Je me rendis à Naumbourg, où j'arrivai le 3 Octobre ; le lendemain je suivis le Roi à Erfurt, où je restai jusqu'au 11 ; je passai encore à Weimar le 11 et le 12 ; et ce ne fut que le 13, veille d'une des plus funestes journées que l'histoire moderne consignera, que je retournai à Dresde.

“ Traité pendant ce séjour intéressant avec une confiance illimitée, instruit de tout, initié dans tous les secrets puisqu'ils s'étoient proposé de gagner toute ma confiance, je fus en état de juger les événemens qui se préparoient, sous tous leurs

différens rapports. Le changement complet qui s'étoit opéré dans les principes de ce cabinet, les regrets sincères sur les fautes passées, l'intention fortement prononcée du Roi et de ses Ministres de les expier par des victoires qui devoient tourner à l'affranchissement final de l'Allemagne, au rétablissement de l'ordre, au bien commun de l'Europe ; le zèle et l'enthousiasme avec lequel l'Empereur de Russie concouroit à cette grande entreprise ; la manière noble, généreuse, magnanime, dont l'Angleterre, oubliant ses griefs particuliers, avoit consenti à envoyer un négociateur ; la tenue superbe des troupes Prussiennes, l'esprit qui animoit les officiers, la fermeté du Roi, le grand caractère que la Reine déploya dans cette occasion ; enfin, les besoins et les dispositions de toute l'Allemagne qui secondoit cette expédition de tous ses voeux—une pareille réunion de circonstances étoit faite pour m'inspirer de l'espoir. De l'autre côté, indépendamment des mes justes inquiétudes sur le choix du moment, sur l'impossibilité de s'attendre à la coopération de l'Autriche, sur la lenteur inévitable des secours Russes, une seule considération contre-balancoit presque l'effet de tous les motifs d'espérance ; l'opinion de toute l'armée étoit contraire au Duc de *Brunswic* ; les généraux les plus estimables voyoient dans sa nomination au commandement suprême un présage certain du mauvais succès de l'opération ; quelques-uns, entr'autres le Général *Kalkreut*, m'annoncoient même sans voile, qu'ils regardoient l'armée comme perdue, et qu'une seconde bataille d'Austerlitz seroit le résultat infaillible, si on ne revenoit pas sur ce choix.

“ C'est ainsi que je flottois sans cesse entre l'espérance et la crainte, entre l'élévation et le découragement jusqu'au jour où je quittai Erfurt. Le journal de ce voyage et de mon séjour au quartier-général, que je me propose de vous communiquer, et que je vous communiquerois dès à présent si je n'étois pas absolument dénué de tout moyen de le faire copier, vous paroitra, j'en suis sûr, une des choses les plus curieuses de ce tems ; mes observations continuelles sur tant de personnes et sur tant de rapports intéressantes, mes entretiens réitérés avec le Comte *Haugwitz*, avec M. de *Lucchesini*, avec M. *Lombard*, avec le Duc de *Brunswic*, avec la Reine, avec cette quantité de Princes, de généraux, et d'officiers, qui s'y trouvoient réunis ; les renseignemens, les éclaircissemens de toute espèce, que je recueillis dans ces dix jours ne seront certainement pas d'un prix médiocre pour comprendre et pour juger un jour la vraie marche de cet événement.

“ Plusieurs des meilleures têtes de l'armée avoient voulu qu'on donnât, tout-de-suite, à cette guerre un caractère *offensif*, et qu'on se hâtât d'en établir le théâtre sur le Meyn, ou au-delà. L'irrésolution du Roi et du Duc de *Brunswic* s'opposa à ce projet ; ils volurent aussi, au fond, une guerre offensive, et ils en parlerent sans cesse ; mais leurs



mesures n'étoient pas assez promptes pour la réaliser. L'armée étoit encore placée, et assez concentrée, le long de la forêt de Thuringe entre Eisenach et la Sale—la gauche commandée par le Prince Hohenlohe, et sous lui par le Prince Louis, Tauenzien, Gravert ; le centre par le Duc de Brunswick, et sous lui par Möllendorff, Kalkreut, le Prince d'Orange. . . . Wartenslaben, le Duc de Weimar ; la droite par Rùchel et Blùcher—lorsque les Français, ayant d'abord fait semblant de se rassembler près de Wurtzbourg, réunirent toutes leurs forces du côté de Bamberg, et entrèrent par Hof, Lobenstein, dans la vallée de la Sale.

“Deux combats malheureux ouvrirent la campagne. Le Comte Tauenzien se trouva à Hof avec un corps avancé de tout au plus 6,000 ou 7,000 hommes. Il fut attaqué ; il se défendit avec une bravoure extraordinaire ; le troisième jour, qui fut le 9, il fut obligé de se replier sur le Prince Hohenlohe ; ceci avoit été prévu ; mais on ne s'étoit pas attendu à ce que la retraite se feroit avec une perte considérable en hommes, et même en pièces d'artillerie.

“Le 10, le Prince Louis de Prusse posté à Rudelstadt avec un autre corps de 7,000 hommes, moitié Saxons, moitié Prussiens, qui fut proprement l'avant garde du Prince de Hohenlohe, s'engagea par une impétuosité funeste, et contre toutes les règles de la guerre, avec l'avant garde des Français, placée au delà de Saalfeld dans une position extrêmement forte, au milieu de gorges et de défilés inattaquables. Il fit pendant six heures des prodiges de valeur, dignes d'un meilleur sort, mais sur-tout d'une entreprise plus sage ; mais il fut battu, comme il devoit l'être ; il périt lui-même, victime d'une ardeur exagérée ; tout son corps fut dispersé.

“Ce jour même le Roi étoit parti d'Erfurt, pour se rendre à Blankenhayn ; toute son armée devoit marcher sur la Sale ; on arrive à Blankenhayn ; on apprend l'affaire de Saalfeldt ; et au lieu de presser, d'accélérer la marche de l'armée pour la faire arriver sur la Sale avant les Français, le Duc de Brunswick prend la funeste résolution de reporter le quartier-général à Weimar, d'y former un camp, d'y laisser l'armée du Roi pendant trois jours. Je n'oublierai jamais ces deux journées du 11 et du 12 que j'ai passées à Weimar. Je ne recontrais pas un homme qui ne fut désolé, bien moins du revers de la veille, que de l'effet qu'il avoit produit sur le Général-en-Chef ; je vis le mécontentement et la mefiance peinte sur toutes les figures ; une agitation sourde règne par tout. Le 12, les murmures contre ce camp, contre cette indécision, contre l'incapacité à chaque moment plus manifeste de Duc de Brunswick, menacèrent de prendre le caractère d'une véritable insurrection ; je fus témoin des scènes les plus effrayantes. Comme depuis le malheureux combat de Schleitz et de Saalfeld, le Prince de Hohenlohe s'étoit absolument concentré sur la rive gauche de la Sale, et ne dépassoit plus Orlamunde et Kahla, le chemin de Gera et Zeitz fut libre et ouvert ; c'est

par là que l'ennemi introduisit ses colonnes. Le 12 au soir, un détachement Français entra à Naumbourg, pour y prendre ou brûler les magasins ; un autre osa même paroître devant Leipzig dans la nuit du 12 au 13. Mes amis m'avoient presque forcé de partir les 13 au matin ; le danger étoit déjà si grand, que je cherchois en vain un passage sûr de la Sale ; je fus obligé de descendre jusqu'à Bernburg pour la passer, et de prendre ensuite la route de Dessau pour arriver à Dresde. Sur toute cette dernière route de fausses nouvelles d'une grande victoire remportée sur les Français me reçurent, et me ranimerent d'un endroit à l'autre ; mais en entrant à Dresde le 17, il y arriva au même moment un officier Saxon qui portoit à ces nouvelles le dementi le plus affreux que j'aurois jamais pu imaginer.

“ Les Français, peu incommodés pendant quatre jours, et s'augmentant chaqu'instant avec leur rapidité ordinaire, avoient pris une excellente position entre Jena et Dornburg. Tout ce pays est coupé par de petites montagnes ; la cavallerie Prussienne, qui seule eut pu fixer le succès, ne pouvoit presque pas se déployer. Cependant le danger étoit incalculable ; une division Française arriva après l'autre ; on vit bien que les momens étoient devenus plus que précieux. On se décida à l'attaque. Le 14 Octobre fut le jour sans nom, qui devoit éclairer la plus épouvantable catastrophe. Le corps du Prince de Hohenlohe, fut d'abord, comme le plus près, conduit contre la position des Français ; un bataillon après l'autre fut battu, et mis hors de combat. Alors arriva le corps du Général Rüchel, qui originairement avoit fait la droite de l'armée. Il attaqua à son tour ; il eut le même sort ; le Général lui-même fut grièvement blessé ; le corps dispersé. Dans ces entrefaites le Roi s'étoit aussi porté en avant avec le centre, et la réserve du centre ; les Français s'étoient déjà établi entre la Sale et lui ; il rencontra sur le chemin de Weimar à Auerstedt la division de Davoust, forte de 25 mille hommes ; la bataille s'engagea de ce côté-ci ; le Duc de Brunswic fut mortellement blessé avant même qu'on en fut aux mains ; cette circonstance augmenta le désordre et la consternation ; la bataille fut terrible ; plusieurs parties de l'armée Prussienne, tous les généraux et officiers sans exception firent leur devoir ; mais une grande partie des troupes se conduisit lâchement ; et l'avantage resta aux Français. Dans ce moment cruel deux immenses colonnes Françaises descendirent des montagnes des deux côtés de Jena ; et comme rien n'étoit plus réuni, elles balayerent tout devant elles. La déroute devint complète ; plus de commandement, plus de liaison, plus de but connu ; chacun fit sa retraite par tel chemin qu'il jugea le plus convenable. Tous les baggages de l'armée, plus de 200 pièces de canon, toutes les avenues, tout le pays tomba entre les mains des vainqueur. La retraite devoit naturellement se faire sur Ahlstedt, Sangerhausen, Magdebourg ; violà aussi la route que prit la plus grande partie de l'armée

battue ; mais soit par méprise, soit par embarras, un corps de 10 à 12 mille hommes préféra malheureusement celle d'Erfurt. Il y fut fait prisonnier le lendemain avec le vieux Maréchal de Mollendorff, le Prince d'Orange, et une quantité d'autres généraux.

" Il existoit encore un corps intact, qui fut celui de Prince Eugène de Wurtemberg fort d'à peu près 13 mille hommes, qu'on avoit fait venir à marches forcées de Magdebourg, et qui se trouva à Halle. Dieu sait par quel aveuglement, par quelle démence, ce corps ne fit pas sur le champ sa retraite en apprenant le résultat de la bataille ; il fut attaqué le 17 par Bernadotte tout près de la ville de Halle ; il fut battu complètement, perdit beaucoup de monde, et tous ses canons.

" Le lendemain du 14, Bonaparte, qui, à ce qui paroît, n'avoit pas été présent à la bataille, fit venir tous les officiers Saxons prisonniers, pour leur annoncer qu'il n'étoit pas en guerre avec l'Electeur, et qu'il vouloit ménager son pays. La cour de Saxe, aux abois, fut la dupe de cette ouverture perfide ; elle s'imagina pouvoir être neutre ; le malheureux Electeur se détermina à ne pas partir de Dresde. Le sort de Leipzig, où, sous prétexte de confisquer les propriétés Angloises, on pillait et saquea tout, le sort de 14 villes qui furent pillées ou incendiées alentour ; enfin de Dresde même, où les Français ont mis une forte garnison, et où Jérôme Bonaparte va élever quelque nouveau trône à son exécration, lui apprit bientôt ce que c'étoit que la magnanimité d'un tel vainqueur.

" Le Roi de Prusse se livra à un découragement total. La Reine, qui étoit restée à Weimar jusqu'au jour de bataille, obligée enfin de fuir, parut emporter tout ce qui lui resta de force et de tête. Il quitta l'armée ; il se rendit à Berlin et de là à Custrin. Depuis ce moment on ne sait absolument plus ce qu'est devenue son armée. En évaluant au maximum la perte qu'elle avoit faite en tués, blessés, et prisonniers, et en y ajoutant la désertion énorme qui suit toujours ces grandes catastrophes, il n'est pas possible qu'elle n'ait pas pu rassembler 60 mille hommes. Mais qui aura pris le commandement, quelles auront été les mesures, si les troupes seront restées réunies ou non ; quel nombre se sera jetté dans Magdebourg, et ce que les autres auront fait—voilà ce que nous ignorons complètement ; et après tout ce qui s'est passé, je crains bien que l'incertitude actuelle ne soit moins terrible encore que le moment qui nous apprendra le dénouement.

" La monarchie Prussienne est un pays de peu de ressources. Elle ne pourroit être sauvée que par le génie d'un très grand homme, de quelque Frédéric II, qui sortiroit tout-à-coup de son tombeau. Comme le tems des miracles est passé, il est difficile d'entrevoir la moindre chance de salut. On assure que Lucchesini est resté à Potsdam, pour négocier, ou plutôt pour demander les conditions de la paix. Les Russes étoient fort loin encore ; et grâce à la longue indécision du

Roi qui, au lieu de donner quatre semaines plutôt le signal que l'Empereur de Russie paroissoit attendre avec impatience, n'a fait partir Krusemark que le 18 Septembre, ils ne pouvoient pas être plus avancés. Je ne serois pas même fort étonné si le Roi ne Prusse eut déjà, à l'heure qu'il est, conjuré l'Empereur de ne pas s'exposer en pure perte ; du moins ce sera là une des premières conditions de toute cessation d'hostilités.

“ Je me suis retiré ici, avec tout le corps diplomatique de Dresde ; et tout ce qui ne pouvoit pas hasarder de rencontrer les Français. Nous sommes ici à portée d'apprendre ce qui se passe, et nous nous flattons qu'ils respecteront assez la neutralité de l'Autriche pour ne pas nous troubler. Vous concevez ma position. Ma carrière, recommencée encore une fois sous des auspices qui parurent favorables, est de nouveau finie ; et je me vois placé sur les ruines de l'Allemagne. Je sens que dans cet état des choses je suis un être assez nul aux yeux du gouvernement Anglais. L'Angleterre, en général doit maintenant se soutenir par ses propres moyens, et par sa propre énergie. Elle ne succombera point ; j'en suis plus que jamais persuadé. C'est une idée ravissante de voir votre pays, non seulement se conserver, mais se fortifier et s'aggrandir au milieu des ruines. Les vains efforts d'un tyran pour vous exclure du commerce du monde ne font tous que retomber sur sa tête ; il s'appauvrit à travers toutes ses victoires, et il appauvrit et détruit tout autour de lui. Votre prospérité au contraire augmente chaque jour ; chacune de vos conquêtes est un gain réel et solide ; les richesses de tout l'univers, opprimé et déchiré par une main de fer, doivent naturellement se porter chez vous ; votre pays est inattaquable, et la mer est hors de sa domination. Vous survivrez à toutes ses victoires, et vous survivrez aussi au terme de ces victoires, et à l'affranchissement de l'Europe, qui, tôt ou tard, s'opérera en dépit de la triste incapacité de ceux qui président à ses destinées.

“ Je le repete : dans une situation pareille tout ce qu'un étranger peut faire pour une cause, qu'on appeloit autrefois commune, mais dont bientôt il ne restera que des souvenirs, ne peut plus vous intéresser beaucoup. Mais vous êtes aussi généreux et nobles ; et vous l'avez toujours été vis-à-vis de moi. Ne m'abandonnez pas, dans la plus horrible époque de mon existence. Peu d'hommes, j'ose le dire, ont plus travaillé pour le bien général, qué moi ; en passant en revue ce que j'ai fait depuis quinze ans, mais surtout tout ce que j'ai fait dans les trois dernières années malheureuses, je suis autorisé à croire quelqu' orgueilleux que paroisse l'assertion, que s'il y avoit eu une vingtaine de personnes en Europe doués du zèle et de l'activité qui ne m'ont pas quitté un instant, nous ne serions pas tombés dans l'abîme qui nous engloutit aujourd'hui. Cependant permettez que je vous présente un aperçu de ce qui m'est arrivé depuis six mois de la part de votre pays.

“Jusqu’au moment de la mort de M. Pitt, j’avois été traité avec une faveur et distinction toujours égale par ceux qui ont tenu chez vous les rênes du gouvernement. Après le changement de Ministère, je crus que la marche la plus convenable, étoit de m’adresser à ceux.”\*

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM of SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY  
IN REGARD TO THE RE-CAPTURE OF BUENOS AYRES.

1807, January 29. London.

“From an attentive consideration of all the circumstances attending the re-capture of Buenos Ayres and the arrival and subsequent proceedings of the re-inforcement under Lieut. Colonel Backhouse, the following conclusion appears to me to be a reasonable ground on which further proceedings may be projected and acted upon.

*Lieut. Colonel Backhouse.*

|                  |              |
|------------------|--------------|
| 20 Lt. Dgns. ..  | 191          |
| 21 Do. ..        | 140          |
| Rl. Artillery .. | 6            |
| 38 Foot ..       | 811          |
| 47 ” ..          | 685          |
| 54 ” ..          | 103          |
|                  | <u>1,936</u> |

“The force under Lieut. Colonel Backhouse consists of 1,900 men, with which having reconnoitred (and given up the plan of attacking) Monte Viedo, he had made himself master of the town and dependencies of Maldonado, where supplies could be obtained for the troops and the fleet.

“I think therefore that no further attempt will be made against Monte Video (which the Spaniards will do their utmost to strengthen) and that we shall remain in full possession of Maldonado, which is reported to be tenable, until the re-inforcement under Achmuty arrives in the river.

*Sir S. Auchmuty.*

|                  |              |
|------------------|--------------|
| 17 Lt. Dgns. ..  | 628          |
| Rl. Artillery .. | 111          |
| 40 Foot 1 Bn. .. | 1,000        |
| 87 ” ..          | 801          |
| 95 ” (360 rs) .. | 230          |
|                  | <u>2,770</u> |

“His forces consist of 2,770, and 9 Light Dragoons as detailed in the margin, which united with that under Backhouse, will form an effective force of 5,338 men.

“I should imagine (taking everything into consideration) that with this force he would immediately invest, and possess himself of Monte Video, but that he would not attempt anything further, at least that he would not proceed against Buenos Ayres.

The 9 Lt. Dgns. 632  
sailed afterwards for  
Buenos Ayres to join Sir  
Samuel Auchmuty.

\* The remainder of this letter does not appear to have been preserved.

*B. General Craufurd.*

|                  |     |
|------------------|-----|
| 6 Dgn. Gds. ..   | 299 |
| Rl. Artillery .. | 242 |
| 5 Foot l Bn. ..  | 836 |
| 36 " " ..        | 822 |
| 45 " " ..        | 850 |
| 88 " " ..        | 798 |
| 95 " (560 rs) .. | 364 |

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4,211

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9,549 R. and F.

“ In this situation therefore, I suppose our affairs to be on the arrival of Brigadier General Craufurd, whose force consists of 4,211 men, when the whole British force in the River Plate, under the command of Brigadier Achmuty would amount to 9,549 men.

“ With this force it is reasonable to conclude that measures would be immediately adopted to re-take Buenos Ayres and to secure the possession of it until further orders from England, as to the future disposition of the forces employed against it.

“ On full consideration of the secret instructions of Craufurd, I am of opinion that he will not think himself warranted in quitting the River Plate, leaving the territory of Buenos Ayres to the insecure possession of Achmuty with the former force of 5,338 men. I am pretty confident that Achmuty from *his* instructions would feel himself warranted in detaining Craufurd.

“ It therefore seems advisable that no time should be lost in sending out two general officers of rank and ability to take upon themselves the command, and direct the further operations in that quarter; the administration of the Government will afford ample occupation for the senior of these officers, and his second in command should be a man accustomed to troops, and to military operations.

“ It is now necessary to consider the *quantum* of force which it may be proper to station in the vice-kingdom of Buenos Ayres, with a view to preserve the sovereignty of it to Great Britain.

|                               |        |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| Regulars .. ..                | 1,350  |
| Militia { Artillery           | 961    |
| { Cavalry                     | 12,200 |
| { Infantry                    | 2,088  |
| Light Volunteer Cavalry .. .. | 2,290  |
| Total .. ..                   | 18,889 |

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be considered in some respects as revolutionary, and therefore to have added to the increase of the military force.

“I cannot think therefore that the undermentioned estimate of the force required is rated at too high a proportion.

“Estimate of the force required for the conquest and possession of Buenos Ayres.

|  | <i>Infantry.</i> | <i>Cavalry.</i> |
|--|------------------|-----------------|
| “Monte Video, Maldonado, and for the necessary detachments on the left bank of the River Plate in the vicinity of the above ports. | 1,200            | 400             |
| “For the possession and garrison of Buenos Ayres and the necessary detachments in the neighbourhood.                               | 2,500            | 1,000           |
| “For the occupation of the town of Cordova, and the intermediate posts between Cordova and Buenos Ayres.                           | 1,500            | 700             |
| Total . . . .  | 5,200            | 2,100           |

“This calculation must be considered as the garrison of the whole territory westward of the Cordilleras.”

*REPORTS OF SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY ON THE SUBJECT OF  
LORD GRENVILLE'S PROJECT FOR THE CONQUEST OF  
NEW SPAIN.*

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 2. Thomas's Hotel.—“I send you two memorandums, one upon the general plan proposed in the paper which your lordship communicated to me; No. 2 upon points on which orders should be sent to India if you should determine to adopt the plan as originally proposed, or as proposed by me to be modified in No. 1 on account of the state of the seasons in the China seas and in Lueonia [Luzon?]. I will wait upon you to-morrow morning after you will return to town.”

MEMORANDUM, NOVEMBER 2, 1806.

“Before reviewing the plan for attacking New Spain, connected with an attack upon Manilla, I find that the state of the seasons will render it impracticable.

“In order to be able to make the direct voyage from Manilla to the coast of America in any reasonable period of time, it is necessary to depart from Manilla in the beginning of August. The attack therefore upon Manilla must be made in July.

“In the months of May, June, July, and August, the south-west winds prevail in the China seas, and blow with great violence into Manilla Bay. In order to secure the shipping the first operation would necessarily be to obtain possession

of Cavité, which would consume more time than is allotted by the plan for the operations in Luconia. But this is not the great objection to this part of the plan. The south-west winds occasion rains upon the south and west coasts of Luconia in the season in which those winds prevail; and supposing that it should be practicable to carry on the operations against Cavité and Manilla during the rains, the troops would suffer materially in their health, and would be very unfit to undertake the long voyage what would follow those operations.

“The best season for an attack upon Manilla directed from India, is in the middle of September. The troops should sail from Madras on the 1st of August, and they would enjoy the advantage of the south-west winds for their voyage, and would arrive at Manilla towards the middle or end of the month of September, when the rains on the south and west coasts of Luconia begin to cease.

“If an attack should be made at any other time, the troops would be exposed either to the rains in Luconia, as I have pointed out, in the proposed attack, or they would suffer the inconvenience of a long voyage of three months in the season of the north-east monsoon in the China seas. The track in this case would be after leaving the Straits of Malacca, by the south end of Borneo, and through Sooloo [Sulu] and Mindoro seas.

“If it is still thought desirable to attack Manilla, and to connect the attack upon that place with the operations in new Spain, the best mode of proceeding would be that the expedition should sail from Madras on the 1st of August; make the attack upon Manilla at the proper period, and be in a situation to embark from Manilla on the 15th of October. The track for the fleet would then be down the China seas with the north-east monsoon, till they would fall in with the track which the China traders always take to the southward of Borneo, when they are too late for the south-west monsoon in the China seas. I should imagine that this voyage would require three months, which would bring them upon the coast of Panama in the middle of January. This would be too late for any thing more than a mere communication with the proposed Jamaica force of the fact that they were arrived; there could be no concerted co-operation formed upon a view of the state of affairs in America.

“The plan for both divisions must be fixed in this country, and must be carried into execution by each independently of the other. This communication would be the only benefit which in this stage of the operations would be derived, from the possession of Panama, and of the Isthmus of Darien.

“Before I proceed further to the consideration of this part of the subject I must point out that 1,000 men will not be a sufficient garrison for Manilla if that place should be taken. Roper was very nearly driven out after he had captured the fort, and was obliged to fortify himself, and was confined



within a very narrow space in the neighbourhood of Manilla. The population of Luconia [Luzon] has been estimated at 2,000,000 of people ; but there is no doubt that there are 1,000,000 at least. The people, like all those in the Spanish dominions, are under the influence of the priests ; and if the Spanish governor was to adopt the measures adopted by his predecessor after the former siege, he would soon reduce the garrison to great distress, and would retake the place. I think that 600 Europeans and 3,000 Sepoys would be a sufficient garrison for the island of Luconia, and the latter could be sent from Bengal without inconvenience, either with the expedition, or after it would have sailed from India.

“ Thus far I have considered this plan on the ground of its being absolutely necessary that troops from India should co-operate in an attack upon New Spain, after having captured Manilla. Although I consider the capture of Manilla to be a necessary consequence of the possession of New Spain for reasons which it is not necessary to detail at present, it does not appear possible to carry the plan into execution in all its parts and enjoy all its advantages in an attack upon New Spain. As that attack must be considered the principal object, and the circuitous voyage after the late attack upon Manilla must be exposed to great risks and delays, probably the best thing to do would be to give up the attack upon Manilla entirely at the present moment.

“ A question then arises upon the disposition of the force allotted for the attack of New Spain, consisting of 5,000 European troops, 5,000 negroes, and 3,000 Sepoys ; to replace the latter of which 1,000 Europeans, according to the plan, would be sent to India.

“ This would take from the Atlantic 4,000 disposable European troops, with a view to collect a force upon the west side of New Spain ; and I will now consider whether that is the best mode of disposing of those troops with a view to the attack of New Spain.

“ This attack upon the *two* sides of the country at the same moment is intended to distract the Viceroy and to oblige him to divide his force. But considering the nature of the operations which we shall have to carry on, and the natural difficulties which will oppose our early advance, the enemy may without much danger leave one of the divisions to itself, and turn all his efforts against that division what either from its numbers or its composition or any other cause he may think the weakest. The operation will be dangerous in proportion to the strength of the enemy's army in New Spain, and I am convinced that no adequate advantage will be gained by it ; supposing that no accident should happen to either division.

“ But it is useless to point out all the reasons against making a double attack upon New Spain, as from the state of the seasons I really believe an attack of that nature cannot be

made. I believe that when the fair season will commence in the Gulf of Mexico in the months of December and January, the rains will commence on the western coast of New Spain, and, if that should be the case, there can be no doubt that it would not be advisable to send 4,000 European troops for the purpose of obtaining possession of Panama and the Isthmus of Darien, in order that they may endeavour from thence to penetrate into New Spain by land. The chance of success in this operation is not very promising; and as I think there is reason to believe that the rains on the Isthmus of Darien are constant, I apprehend that we should lose many men by sickness while stationed there.

“Upon the whole therefore I believe that with a view to the conquest of New Spain the best mode of disposing of the 4,000 men (3,000 now at Buenos Ayres and 1,000 destined to go to India) would be to send them to the general rendezvous at Jamaica in the proper season. The Sepoys from India would then come in as a reinforcement, according to the original plan when the season would permit.

MEMORANDUM UPON THE PLAN OF OPERATIONS AS PROPOSED  
NOVEMBER 2, 1806.

1. This part of the plan is practicable. The orders by the *Saracen* will reach India sufficiently early to have the preparations at Madras completed by the time the China Indiamen will arrive there. The embarkation can certainly be made by the 15th of June.

“I conclude that it is intended that the China Indiamen shall perform the whole service. If this should not be intended it will be necessary to order the Government of India to prepare tonnage for the troops, which tonnage might follow the expedition to Manilla. Any quantity that can be required can be got in the ports of Bombay or Calcutta by giving timely notice.

“Whether the China Indiamen are to perform the whole service or not, it may be necessary to order tonnage to be prepared in India, and sent to Prince of Wales’ Island for the detachment from Buenos Ayres; as it may be expected that their transports will be in bad order; and, at all events, heavy sailers in comparison with the China Indiamen.

“The government of India should likewise be desired to prepare a train of ordnance and artillery for the Madras and Buenos Ayres detachments, with stores for a siege, a detachment from the corps of pioneers, of 200 men with officers in proportion, likewise a commissariat and pay department. Upon this part of the subject a question will arise, namely, are the troops which will proceed from Buenos Ayres to be placed on Indian pay and allowances? The difference will affect the officers principally; the soldiers not at all in their pay, and but little in their provisions. But it will be difficult to convince them that being the efficient part of the Indian

army, and being fed and paid by the same officers, they ought not to receive the same pay.

“If the Buenos Ayres troops should receive this Indian pay and provision, the same may be expected thereafter possibly by the whole army serving in Mexico. I mention this now as it may influence the decision upon the claim of the Buenos Ayres troops, which must be made immediately, in order that the Indian government may provide accordingly.

II. “This is practicable. I should recommend that the troops from Buenos Ayres should not go to the Cape, unless absolutely necessary, to receive a supply of provisions, but should proceed at once to Prince of Wales’ island; where they will get every thing they want, and will join the Madras detachment.”

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY to LORD GRENVILLE.

1806, November 21. Deal.—“I send you with this some papers on all the points to which you have desired me to turn my attention; and I shall be ready to attend you in London whenever you will desire that I should come up.

“Since I saw you I have received a letter from Mr. Frazer in which he announces to me his determination to devote himself to the service of the government; and to give up his other pursuits. I propose therefore to make an arrangement with him, according to the directions which I before received from your lordship.”

*Postscript.*—“Your lordship will observe that I have made the demand upon India for only 3,000 sepoy, instead of 4,000, as put down in your letter. I think that the government of Bengal will find it difficult to procure more than 3,000 volunteers for this service; and I don’t think that the sepoy of any of the other establishments would answer so well. Besides I think that 3,000 will be as many as we should require.”

MEMORANDUM AS TO THE PLAN FOR COLLECTING TROOPS,  
NOVEMBER 20th, 1806.

“After the fullest consideration of the subject it appears decided that the principal attack upon New Spain must be made by one corps on its eastern coast; that the operations of this corps should be concentrated as much as possible in the first instance; and that the assistance to be looked for from the East Indies should be more in the nature of a reinforcement to the troops who should have made the conquest of New Spain, than of a corps to co-operate in the conquest. The best season for an attack upon New Spain, for reasons which will appear hereafter, is the month of December, and the rendezvous for the troops ought to be the island of Jamaica. The troops for this attack should be 6,000 European infantry, 3,000 negro infantry, 2,000 artillery, two regiments or 1,400 European cavalry, 200 pioneers, 4 brigades or 24 pieces of

field ordnance, of which six howitzers, 4 pieces of battering ordnance on travelling carriages, 2 10 inch and light mortars upon beds which can be moved by hand, with stores in proportion. To this ought to be added 400 horses of the artillery or wagon corps with their drivers ; and 400 mules with their saddles and equipments and drivers, and, if possible, a corps of rangers.

“ This corps ought to sail from Jamaica in the middle of November so as to arrive on the coast of New Spain early, in December. It ought to be collected as follows. The troops ought to arrive in Jamaica by the 20th of October, 3,000 European infantry and 400 mules with their drivers and equipments to be sent from Buenos Ayres. They should sail from Buenos Ayres in the middle of September. The orders for the sailing of the troops should be sent from England in the end of June ; and those for the purchase of the mules, and the hire of their attendants, and the preparations for their transport and their food on the passage, as early as April. They ought to be trained mules. 3,000 European infantry, 200 artillery, 1,400 cavalry, 400 horses of the wagon corps with their drivers, with the ordnance and stores abovementioned, and the provisions as stated hereafter, to be in readiness to sail from Falmouth by the 20th of August. The European infantry and the artillery to replace similar numbers to be taken from the Island of Jamaica.

“ 3,000 negroes and 3,000 European infantry and 200 artillery to be prepared in the island of Jamaica to sail upon the proposed expedition in the middle of November. The 3,000 European infantry and the 200 artillery to be replaced by the troops of the same description and numbers which will sail from England in August.

“ The troops to bring with them their camp equipage, 60 rounds of ammunition, and, if the troops in the West Indies and at Buenos Ayres have no camp equipage, or there should be none in the stores in the West Indies, a quantity for 6,000 men to be sent from England in August with the troops.

“ Pioneers and rangers to be collected in the settlement of Honduras according to a plan which will be discussed in a separate memorandum.

“ Vessels for the transport of the negroes from Jamaica to New Spain to be sent from England in August with the troops. These transports, and in general all those intended for this service ought to be of a small size, and of a light draught of water ; but well found in naval stores, and particularly in anchors and cables.

“ The point of attack for this expedition will be discussed in a separate memorandum.

“ In order to reinforce and support this corps which will have made its attack upon New Spain, 3,000 Sepoys and 500 Europeans are to be sent from Bengal in the month of October.

The native troops must be volunteers, and it will take three months to collect them at Calcutta from the different corps and stations of the army; and the orders respecting them ought to arrive in Calcutta in the beginning of July. Allowing 5 months for these orders to reach India from England, they ought to be despatched from England on the 1st of February. This corps ought to arrive upon the western coast of New Spain in the month of February. It may be expected that they will be 4 months on their passage; and one more is allowed for stopping at places of refreshment. These should be in the first instance for a few days at Prince of Wales' island, where they ought to fill up their water; and in the second at Botany Bay. There they ought to be landed and encamped in a healthy situation.

"Vessels loaded with rice and other articles used by the sepoys ought to be sent with this corps, for their consumption, particularly while they may be at Botany Bay. Measures ought to be taken also for the supply of fresh provisions to the Europeans during the same period.

"I cannot at present determine upon the landing place for this corps in New Spain. There is time for the consideration of this point, and at all events it will be possible to communicate to them their ulterior orders in New Holland."

MEMORANDUM ON THE DIFFERENT POINTS OF ATTACK,  
NOVEMBER 20th, 1806.

New Spain is accessible upon its eastern coast by the following points :

1st. In the Gulf of Mexico, on the whole coast to the northward of La Vera Cruz.

2ndly, at La Vera Cruz.

3rdly, by the river Avarado.

4thly, by the river Gujalva.

5thly, by the river Balleze.

6thly, by the Golfo Dolce into Guatimala.

7thly, by the river St. Juan into the Lake Nicaragua.

"The seasons throughout New Spain appear to prevail as in the Gulf of Mexico. The rains commence in April and cease in September and October. During this season the low countries upon the sea coasts and banks of rivers are, of course, unhealthy. This season is followed, in the months of October, November, December and January, by the northerly winds in the Gulf of Mexico. These at times blow with great violence; and at those times it is dangerous and indeed impossible for a ship to remain upon the coast, excepting under the shelter of the rock or island of St. Juan D'Ulloa. After this season, the weather becomes more moderate in the Gulf of Mexico, and the wind blows occasionally from the land. But during this season the low country upon the sea coast is more unhealthy than during the prevalence of the northerly

winds, owing, it is supposed, to the unwholesomeness of the land winds which blow over the lagunes and marshes.

“It would appear therefore that the most healthy season for an attack upon New Spain would be the months of December and January after the rains would have ceased, the country would have had some time to become dry, and before the unhealthy season occasioned by the wind blowing over the lagunes and marshes would have commenced.

“But this is the season in which the northerly winds are violent; and admitting that the attack from the eastward is that which promises most success, the question is upon what point shall it be made?

“Mr. Frazer says that those accustomed to the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico know, from the appearance of the weather, when the northerly gales are coming on; that the common mode adopted of placing the ships in safety is to go to sea, and remain at a distance from the coast till the gale is over; that a fleet obliged to adopt this measure for its safety would find good anchorage and security upon the bank on the north and west coasts of the peninsula of Yucatan; that these gales seldom last longer than two or three days; and that the interval of fine weather between each gale is from ten days to a fortnight, in which space of time it is supposed that a fleet might perform any operations required from it upon the coast. This plan might answer for a single ship well stored and manned, but not in my opinion for a fleet of transports. Supposing the whole statement to be true, namely that the gales can be foreseen, and that each gale is followed by an interval of one fortnight’s fair weather, I cannot conceive that it is consistent with the deliberation and sobriety with which this whole plan is considered, and with which it is proposed to be conducted, to land an army of 10,000 men in the Gulf of Mexico, and take away from them all their transports immediately; or that any Admiral would undertake to keep up the communication with the army under such circumstances.

“I have not sufficient evidence to make me certain that there is a communication between the towns on the coast to the northward of La Vera Cruz, and the city of Mexico; but admitting that there is one, I doubt whether the considerations above referred to ought not to induce us to abandon altogether an attack upon those parts of the coast, as being impracticable in the months of December and January in which the climate in the low country upon the coast is supposed to be least unhealthy.

“The next point to be considered is the attack upon La Vera Cruz itself. There a fleet would be sheltered from the northerly winds after the army would have obtained possession of the fort, on the island, or rock of St. Juan D’Ulloa; and upon the chance of obtaining early possession of this fort there are two questions. First, is it true that in the

season of the northerly winds (that is in December) there is an interval of ten days or a fortnight of weather in which a fleet might anchor upon the coast? Mr. Frazer speaks positively to this point; and on the other hand I have to mention that every traveller whose voyage I have read, in whatever season he may have arrived at La Vera Cruz, experienced a gale from the northward; Gage particularly on the 11th of September; and Chappe D'Auteroche on the 8th of March.

2ndly. "Supposing the weather would allow of a fleet anchoring upon the coast in that season for ten days, would that period of time be sufficient to take the fort of St. Juan D'Ulloa? By all accounts the fort is not very strong. It is square, with a dry ditch, covert way, and glacis, with bastions at the four angles; is very small; contains about 70 pieces of cannon, and has no casemates or bomb-proof magazines. The garrison is supposed to be 2,000 men, commanded by a lieutenant. The fort is situated upon the island or rock of St. Juan D'Ulloa, the whole of which it does not occupy; but there is not room for a regular attack by the island. Gage says that the island is not more than the distance which a musket would carry from the continent, in which account other authorities nearly agree. If this be true, it might be practicable under cover of a fire from the opposite shore, from the shipping, and from batteries which we might be able to construct from the island, to carry the place by a *coup de main*.

"If St. Juan D'Ulloa cannot be taken in this manner, of which I entertain no doubt, I think it probable that the garrison in that fort has always depended for its supply of provisions upon the town of La Vera Cruz, immediately opposite to it. Of this we should certainly have possession; and by the distress which the garrison would suffer from the fire kept upon them, and from the want of provisions, it is more than probable they would surrender.

"From La Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico there is a road practicable for an army, through a plentiful country, and the distance about 100 leagues.

"If the attack by La Vera Cruz should be thought impracticable, the next to be considered is that by the river Alvarado. This river empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico, to the southward of La Vera Cruz. It is navigable for small vessels to Ilapotecas and St. Ildefonso in the province of Guaxaca; at no great distance from the city of Guaxaca. This province is fertile, and abounds in every thing which an army would require; and the city of Guaxaca itself is only 80 leagues from Mexico, and the road excellent. Teguanteifel and Guatuleo are harbours in this province upon the South Sea, each about 200 miles distant from Guaxaca. The question upon this attack turns upon the state of the navigation of the river Alvarado, upon which the government of Jamaica

ought to have information. But there appears no doubt that the Spaniards use this river for their commerce ; and I conclude that it is a weak point, as I understand that the Spanish government have established gun-boats on it.

“The next point of attack is the river Gujalva. The mouth of this river is likewise in the gulf of Mexico ; and it is said to be navigable to Chiapar de Los Indos in the province of Chiapas. But the same question arises about the navigation of this river ; and it is to be observed that the distance from Chiapas to the city of Mexico is more than 200 leagues ; and over the mountains Quelenes. I consider this attack therefore to be out of the question.

“The next attack is by the river Balleze. This empties itself into the sea, in the southern parts of the British settlements in Honduras. It is navigable for small vessels, as far as a point only 15 miles from the great road leading from Campeachy to Guatemala. The distance from Guatemala to the city of Mexico is 300 leagues ; and part of the road leads through a very unhealthy country bordering upon the South Sea.

“The next attack is by the Golfo Dolce into Guatemala. The Golfo Dolce is navigable for small vessels to Bodegas Altas about 180 miles from Guatemala. The country from thence to the city of Guatemala is good and plentiful, excepting the first 15 leagues. The state of the road and distance from Guatemala to the city of Mexico have been above stated.

“The next attack is by the river St. Juan with the Lake Nicaragua. The river St. Juan is navigable during only a very short period of the year ; I believe not after the rains have ceased. The country upon the bank of Lake Nicaragua is fertile and healthy ; but the distance from the lake to the city of Mexico is not less than 1,500 miles. There is a good port, El Healeyo, on the South Sea at no great distance from the Lake Nicaragua.

“Upon a review of all the inlets with New Spain, I should prefer to make the attack by La Vera Cruz. It will be necessary that the army should be well supplied with mortars of different sizes ; and that the fleet should be attended by gun and bomb vessels, in order to have a capacity of attacking St. Juan D’Ulloa with a very heavy fire. These vessels ought to be of a very small size, and to draw but little water.

“If the attack cannot be made by La Vera Cruz we must try it by one of the rivers. Of course I should prefer the Alvarado, if its navigation will answer. In a view to this necessity I should recommend that the transports employed with the troops upon this occasion should be the smallest, and of the lightest draught of water that could be found ; and that early measures should be taken to insure their being well found in stores, particularly anchors and cables.”



(No. 3.) MEMORANDUM ON THE AID TO BE DERIVED FROM  
HONDURAS, NOVEMBER 20th.

“I understand that the population of the settlement of Honduras is greater than the settlement requires or can employ, and that this excess amounts to nearly 2,000 upon a population of 5,000 persons, not including the negro regiment stationed at Honduras, and calculated to have 1,200 men. There appears, no doubt consequently, that a number amounting to between 1,500 and 2,000 men might be taken away for the proposed service in New Spain without putting the colony to any inconvenience; and from the nature of the service there is reason to believe that the principal settlers would willingly lend their aid to the plan, and that this number of people would come forward voluntarily to give their service to government.

“The population of Honduras is, I understand, composed of some Europeans, some settlers born in the country, some free negroes, and the greatest proportion negro slaves. A proportion of all the classes might be induced to come forward in the service of government upon this occasion, and it is imagined that the masters of the slaves in particular would give the service of their slaves, in the hope that they should have a share of the plunder, in the same manner as they had during the American war at Fort Omoa.

“The whole population of Honduras, whether slaves or not, are trained, and are in the habits of performing military service; but although service by slaves might answer well enough for the defence of such a settlement of Honduras, considering the circumstances in which it is placed and the people by whom it is likely to be attacked, I should doubt whether it would be expedient to employ a very large number of these slaves in the attack and conquest of New Spain.

“The plan therefore which I would propose would be to endeavour to raise a corps of 5 or 600 free negro rangers, and another of from 2 to 300 free negro pioneers, to be officered in part by the European and native settlers at Honduras, and in part by the officers of the line, to be taken from the establishment in the West Indies. If this number of free negroes could not be procured, or could not be taken from the settlement of Honduras without distressing it for that description of population, the deficiency might be made up by the purchase of slaves at Honduras on his Majesty's account, in the same manner as the slaves are purchased for the West India regiments; they might cost there about 80*l.* sterling a man. If the number cannot be made up in this manner, the corps of rangers might be free negroes and the pioneers slaves.

“If it should be necessary to employ the slave owners of Honduras and their slaves, whether as rangers or pioneers, government will be obliged to engage to pay 80*l.* sterling

for every man who will be lost on the service ; to give the slaves their pay and provisions in the same manner as other soldiers, and possibly to make some allowance to the owner for the loss of the profit he would derive from the labour of his slave while the service would be going on. The advantage which the slave owner would propose to himself would be the share which he would expect his slaves would have of any property that might be captured.

“These plans in Honduras must be carried into execution through the government of Jamaica. Three months will be required to collect the men and make all the arrangements in Honduras ; therefore the government of Jamaica ought to commence them in July ; and the orders respecting them ought to be sent from England on the 1st of May.

“The next point to be considered is the arming of the corps of rangers, and the transport of them and the pioneers from Honduras to the scene of action. If there are no arms in Honduras, arms and accoutrements ought to be sent from Jamaica in August.

“Transports for 1,000 men must be provided in England for these troops. They might sail with the others from Falmouth in August. From Jamaica they would be sent down to Honduras in a few days ; and when the armament would sail from Jamaica in the end of November, intelligence might be sent to Honduras, and the whole fleet would rendezvous off Cape Catoche. The corps from Honduras would have a long and bad passage to Jamaica, for which reason this mode is proposed.”

(No. 4.) MEMORANDUM IN REGARD TO ORDNANCE FOR THE SERVICE IN NEW SPAIN, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1806.

“A field train consisting of four brigades or 24 pieces of light ordnance, of which 6 pieces to be howitzers, to be embarked, and in readiness to sail from Falmouth on the 20th of August next. The car-brigades would answer best ; with the ammunition packed in boxes of that size which would be most easily carried by hand.

“The following ordnance and stores to be embarked and in readiness to sail at the same time :

20,000 muskets and bayonets.

Intrenching tools for 8,000 men.

A double quantity of ammunition and stores for the field-train.

2,000,000 musket ball cartridges.

70,000 musket flints.

100,000 carbine and pistol ball cartridges.

5,000 pistol and carbine flints.

4 iron 18 pounders upon travelling carriages—stores for these guns.

4,000 loose 18 pound shots.

A proportionate quantity of powder in barrels.

- 2 10 inch mortars—stores for them.
- 4 small 5½ inch mortars upon beds capable of being transported by hand ; stores for them.
- Scaling ladders.
- Sand bags.”

(No. 5.) MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICTUALLING BOARD, FOR THE SERVICE IN NEW SPAIN, NOVEMBER 20TH.

“To be in readiness to sail from Falmouth on the 20th of August next :

- Beef, pork, and spirits, for 11,000 men for two months.
- Biscuit for the same number for three months.
- Flour for the same number for one month.
- Oats for 400 horses for two months.
- Hay for 400 horses for one month.”

MEMORANDUM IN REGARD TO TRANSPORTS FOR THE SERVICE IN NEW SPAIN, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1806.

Transports to be prepared in La Plata bearing 3,000 European infantry, and 400 mules with their river and other equipments to Jamaica ; and thence to New Spain.

Transports to be prepared in England to carry 400 horses of the artillery or waggon train with their river and other equipments from England to Jamaica, and thence to New Spain.

Transports to be prepared in England to carry 200 artillery, 3,000 European infantry, 1,400 dismounted dragoons from England to Jamaica, and thence to New Spain.

Transports to be prepared in England to carry 3,000 negroes from Jamaica to New Spain.

Transports to be prepared in England to carry 1,000 negroes from Honduras to New Spain.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE BY A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

[1807, February.]—“I should be sorry it should be understood I stand up as an advocate for the inhumanity practised in the slave trade, as I presume I entertain as much abhorrence to slavery in every respect, and to the slavery of the West India negroes, as perhaps any gentleman or neighbour who intends to sign the petition offered for our consideration.

“And however I differ with them in opinion, I praise and admire the humanity of Mr. Wilberforce, and his coadjutors. Yet I cannot forbear to express my disapprobation of every method hitherto used to emancipate the slaves at one stroke. I feared from the first its dangerous consequences, and which are now alarming. And I verily believe (after every method is taken to restrict and regulate the trade from Guinea) every other effort to liberate the negroes all at the same time will incite them more and more to rebellion and massaere.

“The petition to Parliament now under your consideration is, I understand, to abolish the importation of slaves into our West India colonies. Suppose it be effected, is it not highly probable (I should think it beyond probability) that the negro at present in slavery will naturally say, the senators of Great Britain allow my being formerly purchased in Guinea to be unlawful; and if I was not purchased into slavery there, my parents were. The Parliament of Great Britain allow it to be unjustifiable, and against the laws of God and man; ‘I will therefore be free, because I have a right to be free.’ Horrid to reflect on what may ensue.

“We in this island sitting peaceably under our own vine and fig tree, ought most seriously to consider what may be the loss to the present owners of plantations and negroes, if they are deprived of the profit of their slaves. It is not in the power of the revenue of Great Britain to compensate them for what they and their forefathers esteemed lawful possessions. And what may be the dreadful consequences of the conflict for liberty which these humane (I was going to call them mistaken) applications encourage them to? And even that liberty, which is the idea of your wishes, I greatly fear from what I conceive of them, they would not be satisfied, quiet, and industrious with, after emancipation.

“With respect to bondage or slavery we all know our great law-giver was aware that it existed in his days upon earth. I presume he that knew all things, knew it must exist, until mankind should become more humane and civilized, and his doctrine better understood. Many of the good people, petitioners against the slave trade, I consider of this description; and I presume we all hope the time is approaching when the rights of man of all descriptions, will be better understood, not by annulling all subordination, destroying constitutions, and senates, but by improving them, liberating the negroes, and reforming their minds with our own in every Christian virtue.

“Nor would I be understood as one altogether ignorant of the people whom this petition is meant to befriend. I have been among them when a young man, nearly four years together, rather as a visitor than an inhabitant. Yet I have viewed them, their operations, and treatment, from the blowing of the conque to call them to their morning’s work, through the day, at their different occupations, as well in the plantations, building of fortifications, as in their domestic employments, and I never observed that cruelty exercised over them so much as is generally complained of. I have viewed them to the evening, and declare I have seen in and about their villages of huts, pleasure, plenty, and every appearance of joy among them. The times of their festivity and dancing, I observed, were chiefly on Sundays; and in the island of Barbadoes, at a country place called the Fontibelle (the burying ground of the negroes of that part of the island towards

Bridge Town) their mirth was excessive, and no one to my knowledge ever interrupted them. (It may be remarked here, they are not allowed to make any associations in towns.)

“If then I am an advocate for the abolition of the slave trade, it may be expected I should mention some scheme or proposal in what manner and in what degree I would wish to see the negroes liberated. The petitioners on this subject have made great (and as I observed before) praiseworthy efforts, because they were founded in humanity. My scheme may be regarded as chimerical. If the Legislature of this kingdom have power to abolish the slave trade at one stroke, as they have been taught by all the petitions hitherto offered on the subject, it would be a less stretch of power to do it partially or by degrees, which may not distress the planters, and at the same time keep the slave in obedience; and therefore I would offer something like the following:—

“The negro who has attained his 40th year, and served his master 14, to be set at liberty.

“He between 35 and 40, having served his master 14 years, to be liberated at his attaining his 40th year.

“He between 20 and 30 having served his master 14 years to be liberated at his attaining his 30th year.

“And all those under 30 having served 14 years to be set free at attaining their 30th year (I might have said before, under proper restrictions) provided such negroe has neither done nor plotted anything enormous.

“Doubtless the humane heart will still wish for the liberation of those not freed by this scheme. Let the people of this country, and elsewhere, the numerous advocates for the abolition of the slave trade, open subscriptions for the liberation of West Indian negroes. I presume thousands who hitherto have not been advocates for them, would now become subscribers, and it is hardly to be doubted but the planter will release them at a reasonable price.

“By some such scheme the planter would be able to continue his work free from the present alarms; the negro would be stimulated to attain his freedom, and that when he has youth and strength to provide for his family. And by such lenient means each party, the planters and the negroes, would become more interesting to each other, and that diabolical trade between Guinea and the West Indies would soon abolish itself. And it is further to be expected that our laudable commercial intercourse between Africa and England, and the West Indies, would by this time be so well established, that if more assistance was necessary to the planters, I have not a doubt but numbers of negroes who are by nature better calculated to till the ground under the scorching heat of the torrid zone, will be adventurers to the Antilles islands as freemen and labourers.

“For I say again; it is my firm opinion; the negroes and people of colour, were they all immediately emancipated,

they would be so imperious, and so idle, they would not sufficiently cultivate the ground ; and I am as firmly of opinion Europeans cannot.

“If there are any gentlemen here, who may know more of the West Indies, or more of the people, the subject of the petition before you, than I do, I am ready to answer any questions they may be pleased to put to me.

“I have now only to thank this assembly for giving me this opportunity of declaring my sentiments upon the business ; they are entirely my own ; I have no party, nor no wish, but the good of mankind ; and being alone, I may remain the only one who cannot consistently with my own ideas sign this petition.”

1807.

A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE EASTERN PARTS OF INDIA, AS CONNECTED WITH THE PRESENT ASPECT OF POLITICS IN EUROPE :

Contributed by SIR JOHN MACPHERSON, BART.

“Admitting the position, that we do not possess the power of liberating Holland from the dominion of France, and that it is very much within the range of probabilities, that the Dutch possessions in India will ultimately enable France to annoy us in that quarter of the globe, it is worthy of consideration whether it would not be a politic measure for Great Britain, at the present juncture, to take possession of Java.

“The advantages of reducing Java are incalculable. It abounds with numerous forests of teak fit for our marine, rice equal to the effectual aid of India in cases of famine, coffee, spices, sugar, and all the most valuable articles of Eastern production. The extent and value of its produce may be estimated by the exclusive Dutch trade in former times, and by the combined Dutch and foreign trade with the ports of Java at the present day.

“As Java would yield to the British nation an immense revenue, great trading produce and resources in provisions, and a supply of timber equal to the demand of the largest navy, it would be worth retaining, even if its establishment should be in some degree expensive ; but in order to diminish that as much as possible, the liberal line of policy for Great Britain to adopt would be to demolish to their very foundation all the petty Dutch forts scattered throughout Java, and the other parts of the Eastern Archipelago, and to restore the territories attached to them (under certain stipulations) to their native sovereigns, securing only one or two strongholds on the eastern parts of Java, which posts it would be advisable, as promptly and effectually to preserve, as it is to guard and maintain India itself.\*

\* See note A.

“By following up the capture of Java by such a system of policy, we should not only increase our trade, our revenues, and our maritime resources to an incalculable extent, without much addition to our expense, but by moving those great resources out of the reach of France, we should place insurmountable obstacles in the way of any serious attack upon our power in India, which the French might with great ease and prospect of success attempt, should they turn their attention to the possession of the fruitful and opulent country of Java.

“It will be proper now to proceed to consider the objects more immediately connected with the expedition.

“If a choice of seasons could be commanded, a force destined to attack Java should rendezvous at Prince of Wales’s Islands in October, and quit it about the 15th of November, so as to arrive at Batavia just when the rains cease, and to have the whole of the fine monsoon, or a period of five months, for the execution of the proposed plan. Twenty-four hours only should be allowed for treating, and such is the avarice of the Dutch, so hollow their patriotism, and so great their fear of their own slaves, that there is little doubt but safety to persons and property would command the keys. If these terms should be refused, the place should be stormed, the fortifications destroyed, treasury and warehouses emptied, and that spot relinquished with all practicable despatch. In the same rapid procedure, the British force might run along the coast of Java, reducing all the other forts, which would be a work not difficult of execution; after the surrender of Batavia, they would fall of their own accord, as well as all the Dutch outposts in the Eastern archipelago, which it might be deemed advisable to summons.\*

“As the time of the year, however, is already too late for an expedition quitting this country at present, to derive *all* the advantages of the favourable season, that is—to have the whole of the north-west monsoon, or from December to April inclusive, for its operations on the spot, it will be absolutely necessary, if the plan be considered a politic one, either for the expedition to sail from this country *immediately*, and to proceed direct to Java (by which means it might arrive there, and reduce the island before the setting in of the south-east monsoon, which generally blows violently by the first week in May); or to defer quitting England until May or June next, in which latter case it would be advisable to rendezvous at Prince of Wales’s Island, as has been already noticed. But, it is submitted, that no time is to be lost, for the Dutch are at present unprepared, and the sooner the resources of Java are snatched from the grasp of France, the more certain the benefit to the great commercial interests of Great Britain, the more secure our present possessions

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\* See note B.

in the East, and the less the danger that Bonaparte's favourite system of excluding us from the continental ports, even if successful, will prove injurious to the essential revenues of the state.

“The details connected with the most judicious mode of attacking Batavia are submitted in appendix No. I.; and as they were collected from the information of an intelligent traveller, and are founded on actual experience, they may be considered deserving of particular attention. Two thousand European troops would be fully adequate to the undertaking; and although it might be desirable that some of the native troops of India should co-operate in the reduction of the island, it would not be necessary to delay the measure solely for that purpose. Instructions might be sent for the native troops to assemble at Prince of Wales's Island, from whence they could be ordered to proceed to Java at so very short a notice, as to be there within five weeks after the expedition from this country. To ensure the co-operation of the native troops of India in the reduction of the island, the plan must necessarily be protracted until May or June next.\*

“Should Java be occupied by the British, we need not be solicitous about Pegu, the extensive teak forests of which country have hitherto been considered of much importance to our maritime interests. More especially, if we continue to cultivate a firm friendship with the King of Siam, no other European power could maintain itself in the dominions of Pegu or Ava.

“To reduce the Mauritius would render us indolent in India, add nothing to our resources, increase our expenses, and in fact, relieve our enemy from a burden, which the point of honour more than any other consideration, induces him to support. The distance between the Mauritius and India is so great, and the supplies at the former place so *very scanty*, that I question much if an attack upon our possessions in India could be so easily effected from the Mauritius, as from some of the southern parts of old France.

“With respect to the Spanish settlement in the Philippine Islands, it has hitherto been a colony paid by others for our advantage, and on these grounds, the attack of it appears to be decidedly objectionable. The silver that is exported from thence annually, and finds its way into our possessions in India, only passes through Manilla from Mexico, and is given in exchange for the productions and manufactures of British India. Were the Philippines therefore in our hands, the sources would be stopped up, and we should have to send money there; while we should also lose a channel for the vent of our Indian manufactures. In case, however, of the subjugation of the Spanish power in Mexico by the British

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\* See note C.



arms, or, as a measure having relation to the great link of connection between Europe, America and the East Indies, to which the existing state of affairs appears favourable, the capture of the Philippines may, perhaps, be thought worthy of consideration.

“I have deemed it proper to state the objections that have hitherto occurred to my mind upon general principles, but viewing the subject as connected with the present opening scene, it is not within my sphere, nor will I presume to appreciate the bearings and operations of such an event as the capture of the Philippines on the British interests.

“Should an attack upon Manilla be taken into consideration, I think I could furnish some particulars respecting that place which might be found in some degree useful.\*

“Having taken this cursory review of some of the principal stations in the eastern parts of India, I shall now return to the more immediate subject of this paper, and conclude by observing that it appears to me that if we occupy Java, and should even be obliged to restore it at a general peace, the operation of the foregoing measures on the prosperity of the British trade would produce the most permanent and substantial advantages; that, should we retain Java at the peace, our liberal policy and freedom of trade (which would form a striking contrast to the narrow and self-destructive system of the Dutch) would not only ensure to us the predilection of the natives, but would very probably conciliate the other independent nations of Europe, and render them less jealous of that extension of our power; while, as the English are endowed with a daring spirit of adventure, have a great command of capital, perfect security of property, and the sovereignty over those territories which produce the manufactures that every part of India would demand, all Europe would be directly or indirectly under our agency, almost the whole of the trade would centre with us, and no competition, excepting with specie, would in reality exist. Finally, setting aside all speculative provisions of peace, while we possess India and Java, no naval attack can be made from Europe by France on our possessions in the East. With the resources of Java *at the command of France*, we may be annoyed from a near and convenient station, which will afford our enemy abundant supplies, independently of India; whereas, since the Mauritius can afford no supplies, and in fact cannot subsist without India or Java, we have little to dread from that quarter.

“Batavia ought therefore to be taken, its fortifications destroyed, its warehouses and treasuries emptied, and the capital transferred to the healthy towns of Sumaran and Gressey, or such other of the eastern ports as may, on scientific survey, be judged most advantageous.”

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\* See note D.

## THE NOTES.

*Note A.*

This liberating system may startle some persons at first, but while we possess India, and command the produce and manufactures of that empire, our tonnage and capital combined with that peculiar spirit of adventure and local knowledge which we possess, must give us a decided superiority over every other nation in the trade of those ports that we might wish to restore to their native sovereigns. We should command the whole of the trade excepting what may be carried on with specie from Europe; but admitting, under these circumstances, that two-thirds only of the trade would centre with us, the point of decision in such case comes to be, is it better to secure two-thirds without charges, than all at a heavy expense? Indeed, I much doubt whether the Dutch have hitherto, with all their forts, armies, and cruisers, and by exercising the most arbitrary system of monopoly, been able to secure so great a proportion of the trade.

*Note B.*

It is scarcely necessary for me to remark that the unhealthiness of Batavia is the principal reason for my urging such great expedition in the demolition of it. All the other parts of the island of Java enjoy a most salubrious climate, at some of which, I have already observed, that I would permanently establish the British power.

*Note C.*

As all the European force which principally consists of Germans, as well as the native troops of Java, would enlist in the British service, the capture of that island would not occasion any diminution of our forces in India, excepting during the first year of the conquest. It is my opinion, indeed, that we should on the contrary acquire an accession of strength to our Indian possessions, as the number willing and eager to enlist at Java would far exceed the few sepoys that might in the first instance be required.

“The natives of Celebes make excellent soldiers, and may be *depended upon*.”

*Note D.*

As connected with the plan of substituting Chinese labourers in the West Indies, in lieu of coffee slaves, the capture of the Philippines would afford prominent advantages from its proximity to China.

The capture of Java would also contribute great facilities for the prosecution of that object.”

1809.

A POEM OF 42 STANZAS—AND SELECTED NOTES.

1

Fill'd with the genius of his sire,  
Pitt long attun'd Britannia's lyre,

To deeds of martial fame ;  
 Responsive to th' awakening strain,  
 Europe, throughout her wide domain,  
 Had caught the sacred flame.

## 2.\*

But hark ! what harsh discordant sound !  
 From blood-staind Austerlitz rebound  
 The cries of vanquishd Kings !  
 The mighty master looks around,  
 No *kindred mind*\* is near him found,  
 To sooth his secret stings.

## 3.

As thus with public cares opprest  
 Pitt's pow'rful genius sunk to rest,  
 Untun'd the lyre uphung ;  
 Till Fox and Grenville once again  
 Renewd the bold impressive strain  
 And gave the wires a tongue.

## 4.†

True to their practis'd touch, the shell  
 With wider compass, louder swell,  
 Obeys their joint control ;  
 And now the master-key they find  
 To *Pitt denyd*, and now *unbind*  
 "Sweet music's hidden soul."

## 5.

Afric's sad sons have caught the sound ;  
 And soon her suff'ring race unbound,  
 Their shores from blood and rapine free ;  
 Shall raise to heav'n the grateful eye,  
 And as they view deliverance nigh  
 "Clank their rude chains in harmony."

## 6.

Ierne too with rapture hears  
 Strains fit to soothe her anxious fears  
 And wake a sister's love ;  
 Fain would she bid her harp conspire  
 In strict accord with Britain's lyre  
 A kindred sound to move.

## 7.

And tho' awhile th' harmonious wires  
 Have lost in death their wonted fires  
 Tun'd to their Fox's solemn knell ;

\* See note A.

† See notes B. and C.

Yet still on Grenville's faithful ear  
Vibrate those accents strong and clear  
Which from the dying patriot fell !

## 8.\*

But ah ! those sounds are heard in vain  
Mad *superstition* bursts her chain  
And pours her savage moan ;  
Not now, as erst, to *mobs confin'd*  
Her spells attempt a loftier mind,  
She casts them round the throne.

## 9.†

First in her train, mild Sidmouth's form  
Is seen, just scaping from the storm,  
His breath conspir'd to raise ;  
Sidmouth, whose soft persuasive art  
Condemn'd to play a second part  
*Aspires* to Hawkesbury's praise !

## 10.‡

Next dark-brow'd metaphysic Scott  
Well skill'd to find, or make a plot,  
On Windsor's heights is seen  
But e'er in . . . s gracious ear  
He pours the precious poison *dear*,  
Grave Hawkesbury steps between.

## 11.

To him the golden lyre's assign'd,  
Tis his to sooth the . . . mind  
Hereditary station !  
Strait at his call a motley throng  
Of would-be statemen, old and young,  
" Rise like an exhalation."

## 12.§

These oft with Pitt had borne a part,  
Echos of his all-pow'rful art,  
Or charmers of his vacant hour ;  
Now each, ' for madness rul'd the brain '  
In diff'rent key and separate strain  
' Would prove his own expressive pow'r.'

## 13.||

But Hawkesbury first enjoys the prize ;  
And, as the '*Paris march*' he tries  
His earlier strains renewing,

---

\* See notes D and E.

† See note F.

‡ See note G.

§ See notes H and I.

|| See notes K L, M, and N.

Again 'four French Departments' quake,  
 Again the 'golden' words of Drake  
 Charm 'Stratsburg' to her ruin.

## 14.

Soon, waking from his rapt'rous dream,  
 He chose a more *domestic* theme  
 To notes of sharp complaining,  
 Lest Bonaparté in his zeal  
 On half-drill'd Volunteers to steal  
 Should interrupt their training.

## 15.\*

Thy numbers, Castlereagh, in vain  
 Court music's *just, unerring* strain  
 Nor suit th' *harmonious chorded* shell.  
 'Two strings at least thy bow' supplies ;  
 Foil'd in finance, *war's* arduous prize  
 May suit thy various powrs as well.

## 16.†

Or if rich *India* still delight  
 Again her ivr'y's purest white  
 May prop thy *bed of roses* ;  
 Thy *Stamen* there, slim Cas-tle-reagh  
 At ease recruit ; while Britain's day  
 On thy unconscious slumber closes !

## 17.‡

Blest state ! which 'scapes pert Canning's *pleas*  
 His quibbles, points, and repartees,  
 Where rhyme's at war with reason ;  
 For still he treads the self-same round  
 And still he bids the lyre resound  
 To jokes long out of season.

## 18.

On Portland now th' assiduous art  
 Which gaind Pitt's open genrous heart  
 With equal ease he tries ;  
 No dread of pop'ry feels or feigns ;  
 Enough for him, that to his strains  
 Is giv'n the wish'd-for prize.

## 19.

Last, superstition's genuine heir !  
 Whose narrow front, and bigot air  
 A zealot's fury's stamp on ;

---

\* See note O.

† See note P.

‡ See note Q.

With madd'ning hand he strikes the lyre  
 In hopes with kindred zeal to fire  
 Th' electors of Northampton.

## 20.\*

Self-calld, he *now* the church defends,  
 And *now* for state reform contends  
 The foe of life-grants and reversions !!  
 Nor spares the dead; but 'gainst thy shade  
 Lov'd Fox, now low thy head is laid,  
 He vents his splenetic aversions.

## 21.†

(Gaul's adverse coast repeats his song;  
 Her *crafty priests* the notes prolong  
 Skill'd in fanatic lore;  
 By *Quimper's* art religion's rays  
 Diverted, lo! a firebrand blaze  
 Aim'd at Ierne's shore.)

## 22.‡

*Tentie Dundas* his hand forbears  
 (Himself for once oerlook'd) he hears  
 To other's notes the strings resound;  
 And as in unison he plays  
 His native bagpipe's *pawkie* lays  
 Sustains the lyre's *unequal* sound.

## 23.

Hush'd be the wild disheartn'ing blast!  
 Scenes of my country's glory past  
 Beam on these joyless eyes;  
 Heroes and patriots, forms rever'd!  
 To sad experience more endear'd  
 In bright succession rise!

## 24.

In vain your deeds of bold emprise,  
 Your pious cares, your councils wise,  
 The stately fabric raise;  
 In vain, to grace our laurell'd chiefs  
 Swell the proud columns rich reliefs  
 That prompt the deeds they praise.

## 25.§

If wisdom from the sacred shrine  
 No more exalt her voice divine  
 Inform, inspire the mighty whole;

---

\* See notes R and S.

† See notes T and U.

‡ See notes V, W and X.

§ See note Y.

*Headless alike* of friends and foes  
The gauntlet headstrong valour throws,  
Released from wisdom's firm control.

## 26.\*

Great Chatham! with what alter'd mien  
Had thy exalted spirit seen  
This contrast to thy gen'rous sway;  
The tow'ring eagle's high-built nest  
By night's ill-omen'd birds possess  
Of owls and bats *obscene* the prey!

## 27.†

And thou, to whose prophetic sight  
(As now thy spirit took its flight)  
To read our fate twas giv'n;  
Well might'st thou, on thy failing knees,  
(Foreseeing ministers like these)  
Cry, 'save my country heavn.'

## 28.

Reversions, pensions, ribbands blue  
May make opinion's native hue  
Change with each varying hour;  
But high, and just, and gen'rous views  
Tis nature *only* can infuse  
This passes K . . . y powr.

## 29.‡

Whence rose the power that dares despoil  
The globe? ensanguines evry soil?  
And decimates our race?  
Could bare-fac'd tyranny beguile?  
*Was there who trusted in the smile*  
That grimly lights the tyrant's face?

## 30.§

*Weak, treacherous, councils* fixd the fate  
Of each dismay'd, disjointed state  
That sunk, th' invader's easy prey;  
Hence o'er the heads of crouching kings  
Gaul's crimson'd eagle claps her wings  
And mocks their mimic sway!

## 31.

As life-blood driv'n thro ev'ry vein  
Returns to cheer the heart again

\* See note Z.

† See note AA.

‡ See notes BB and CC.

§ See note DD.

True to th' impelling powr ;  
 As dews our parent earth bestows,  
 Repay the soil from whence they rose,  
 With many a kindly shower.

## 32.

A grateful, thus, and gen'rous land  
 Supports the firm, and fostering hand,  
 Whose wise and vig'rous rule *alone*  
 In one extensive scheme unites  
 A people's *duties*, with their *rights*,  
 And links them to the *throne*.

## 33.\*

*Distinguished* Wellesley ! Yet beware ;  
 Thou, for thyself, an ample share  
 Of Pitt's *jam'd cloak* may'st justly claim ;  
 But oh ! disdain its *remnant* base  
 Nor let this shiv'ring half-cloth'd race  
 Bask in the sunshine of thy fame !

## 34.

With Grenville long in friendship join'd,  
 Can thy enlarg'd, capacious mind  
 Such diff'rent colleagues own ?  
 Can *these* thy lofty councils aid ?  
 Hop'st thou the torrent may be stay'd,  
 By *thy* strong arm *alone* ?

## 35.

If yet thy hapless country's love,  
 Grenville, thy gen'rous bosom move  
 Resume thy noble toil ;  
 Nor let the noxious weeds that creep  
 O'er goodly W . . . s fertile steep  
 Deform so fair a soil !

## 36.†

Tho Fox's rhet'ric fervid, strong,  
 No more in thunder roll along,  
 No more in vivid lightnings play ;  
 In thee his dauntless spirit lives  
 In thee the splendid hope survives  
 That *cheur'd* great Fox's parting day.

## 37.‡

Tis thine each sword's just bounds to know ;  
 To bid the free-born spirit glow

\* See notes EE and FF.

† See notes GG and HH.

‡ See note LL.



With scorn of slav'rys reign :  
 Whether o'er Afric's sands she low'r,  
 Or prostrate Europe own her pow'r  
 And cowering kiss the chain ;

## 38.\*

And shall thy wisdom not unbind  
 Those deadliest fetters of the *mind*  
 'Neath which Ierne's hope expires !  
 Must the bright flame, forbid to soar,  
 (With dang'rous force condens'd) explore  
 New issues for its active fires !

## 39.†

No ! let our foe with wild amaze  
 Behold the patriot ardour blaze  
 Which ne'er in *slavish* bosoms glow'd ;  
 Th' *unshackled* arm alone can wield  
 Freedom's firm steel, or grasp the shield  
 That guards her lov'd abode.

## 40.

Oh then, e'er gathering storms o'erwhelm,  
 Drive these rash pilots from the helm,  
 Unskill'd the gale to weather ;  
 So may two sisters yet unite  
 With equal int'rest, equal right  
 To sink, or swim together.

## 41.

And when our children's children tread  
 The mansions of th' illustrious dead  
 Devote to patriot fame,  
 As now fair glory's sculptur'd wreath  
 Directs them to the tomb beneath,  
 That bears thy noble name.

## 42.‡

No sophist's head, no heart of steel  
 Shall bid the cold salt drops 'congeal'  
 'A chrystal shrine to rear,'  
 To him whose comprehensive mind  
 Embrac'd the rights of *all* our kind,  
 Be pour'd the *gen'ral* tear.

The End.

---

\* See note JJ.

† See note KK.

‡ See note LL.

## SELECTED NOTES.\*

*Stanza 4.*

And now unbind etc.] untwisting all the chains that tie  
 The *hidden soul* of harmony.  
 Milton.

*Stanza 7.*

Which from the dying patriot fell etc.] Mr. Fox's anxiety for the abolition of the slave trade, and for Catholic emancipation, continued even to his last moments. A third object of his dying wishes was an *honourable* peace.

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\* The other notes referred to at foot of pp. 501-507 do not appear to be extant.—*Ed.*

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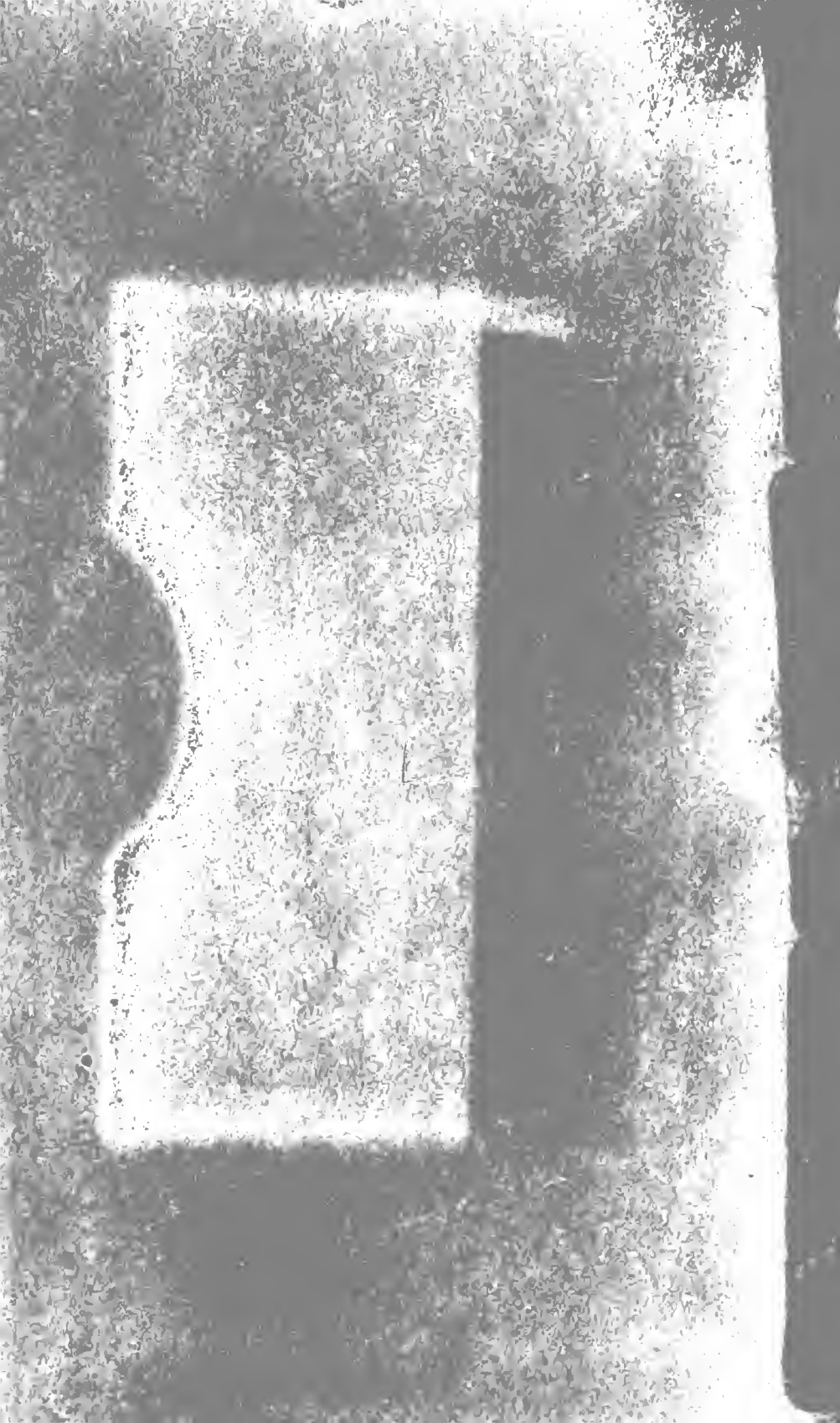
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